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A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

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A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

TO A.D. 461

BY

B. J. KIDD, D.D.

WARDEN OF KEBLE COLLEGE; HONORARY CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH AND EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE BISHOP OF OXFORD

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ERRATA

p. 39, line 7, *for* has *read* had.
p. 60, last line, *for* Epiphanus *read* Epiphanius.
p. 99, line 12, *for* †7 *read* †66.
p. 101, note 6 (i) (3), *for* 256 *read* 356.
p. 124, par. 2, line 9, *for* Niceae *read* Nicaea.
p. 191, line 1, *for the read* the.

PART II

THE CHURCH OF THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE,

A.D. 313–408

Note.—The Documents, to which reference is made in this volume, are those of *Documents illustrative of the History of the Church,* vol. ii, A. D. 313–461 (S.P.C.K.)

CHAPTER I

CONSTANTINE AND LICINIUS: WITH THE BEGINNINGS OF ARIANISM, 313–23

From the Edict of Milan to the sole supremacy of Constantine was just a decade, 313–23. At its opening, Constantine and Licinius were ruling as colleagues. But they drifted apart; and, § 1, the destiny of Licinius shaped itself towards persecution of the Christians and the championship of heathenism in proportion as, § 2, the policy of Constantine was directed more and more towards patronage of the Church. The rivalry ended with, § 3, the overthrow of Licinius; and Constantine, now sole Emperor, might well have looked for unity and peace. But his hopes were dashed by, § 4, the rise of Arianism. These are the events which, in this chapter, are to be considered in detail.

§ 1. Constantine and Licinius had not, by the Edict of Milan, established Christianity as the religion of the State, but they gave recognition to the religion of a persecuted minority. Nominally, both paganism and Christianity were placed on an equality; but, actually, Constantine, by lending imperial favour to the Christians, set the Church on the way to take that rank. This growing association of Church and Empire continued throughout the fourth century. It is the unifying movement of that period which will occupy us in this volume. By the death of Theodosius I, in 395, the association was complete. The Church in the heathen Empire had become the Church of the Christian Empire.

The first civil war, March to October 314, between Constantine and Licinius, checked the intentions of the former, but not for long. Gibbon 'discovers a conspiracy'[1] of Licinius against his too powerful colleague. If conspiracy there were, it was quickly avenged by the successive defeats of Licinius first at Cibalis,

[1] Gibbon, c. xiv (i. 429, ed. Bury).

8 October 314, now Vinkovce,[1] in Hungary, between the Save and the Danube, about a hundred miles west of their junction at Belgrade, and then 'on the plains of Mardia in Thrace'. He submitted, December 314, and a fresh partition of the Empire took place by which Constantine ruled 'from the confines of Caledonia to the extremity of Peloponnesus', while Licinius was left with 'Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt',[2] together with much animosity against his conqueror's friends, the Christians.

The Licinian persecution[3] was the result of this. It broke out, probably, not before 319[4]; and was local[5] and unavowed, but bitter. Thus Licinius forbade bishops to have intercourse with each other and to hold synods, knowing as he did, like other tyrants—Maximin,[6] the Vandal King Gaiseric,[7] Henry VIII,[8] and the minister Walpole,[9]—the powerlessness of the Church when deprived of synodical action. 'It is impossible', says Eusebius, 'to bring important questions to satisfactory adjustment, except by means of synods.'[10] Next, as if in the interests of public morality, Licinius forbade women to go to church with men. And, this edict being received with ridicule, he ordered Christian congregations to assemble for worship not in the cities but in the open country, because there the air would be purer.[11] It was probably after these mandates had been treated with the scorn they deserved, that he cleared his court of Christians,[12] though Eusebius, afterwards bishop of Nicomedia, 325–39, still remained near his person,[13] cashiered Christian soldiers,[14] and began a policy of fine and banishment.[15] Then, heathen officials, taking their cue from the secret wishes of Licinius,[16] put bishops

[1] Gibbon, c. xiv, n. 100 (i. 430). [2] Ibid. (i. 432, ed. Bury).
[3] Eusebius, *H. E.* x. viii; *V. C.* i. 51–6; Tillemont, *Mémoires*, v. 502–14; F. Görres, *Die Licinianische Christenverfolgung* (1875), and Documents Nos. 1 and 4. [4] H. M. Gwatkin, *Studies in Arianism*[2], xxiii.
[5] Socrates, *H. E.* i. iii, § 3. [6] Vol. i, c. xviii.
[7] *Infra*, vol. iii, c. xviii.
[8] By the Submission of Clergy, 1532, and the Act of Submission, 24 H. VIII. c. 19 of 1534: H. Gee and W. J. Hardy, *Documents illustrative of English Church History*, Nos. 48 and 51; and R. W. Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, i. 102.
[9] He silenced Convocation, 1717, and it was in abeyance till 1852: see J. H. Overton and F. Relton, *History of the English Church*, 1714–18, p. 19; and Dixon iii. 382 for the results. [10] Eus. *V. C.* i. 51.
[11] Ibid. i. 53. [12] Eus. *H. E.* x. viii, § 10; *V. C.* i. 52.
[13] Constantine *ap.* Theodoret, *H. E.* i. xx, § 1.
[14] Eus. *H. E.* x. viii, § 10; *V. C.* i. 54; cf. Nic. 12, and W. Bright, *Canons*[2], &c., 46.
[15] Eus. *V. C.* i. 52. [16] Eus. *H. E.* x. viii, § 17; *V. C.* ii. 2.

to death : Basil, bishop of Amasia,[1] now Amasieh, in Diospontus, 314–†20, and Paul, bishop of Neocaesarea,[2] now Niksar, in Pontus Polemoniacus. At the same time there took place the martyrdom of the forty Christian soldiers of Sebaste, now Siwas, in Armenia Minor. We still possess their last will and testament, in which they take leave of their friends and bequeath them all of which they died possessed, i.e. their remains.[3]

§ 2. The policy of Constantine, meanwhile, evinced an opposite development. For, whereas Licinius had once been associated, as at the battle of Adrianople, 30 April 313, when he put his army under the protection of the God of the Christians,[4] with the plan of equal treatment for Christian and heathen, but by 319 stood out as the declared champion of paganism, Constantine passed over, in the interval, from protecting both religions to patronizing one. We may trace his progress, in his legislation[5] of these years.

(*a*) There are measures aiming at religious equality, and these of two classes.

The first class is made up of four legislative acts, dated from Rome, Aquileia, and Sardica, regulating but, to that extent, recognizing paganism. In 319 a rescript of 1 February—*Nullus haruspex*[6]—and an edict of 15 May—*Haruspices et sacerdotes*[7]—forbid private, but allow public, consultation of soothsayers ; not, however, without expressions, as in the rescript, of contempt for those who ' should desire in this way to gratify their own superstition '. These are succeeded, in 321, by two rescripts : the first, of 23 May—*Eorum est scientia*[8]—denouncing such magic as aimed at injuring persons or depraving minds, i.e. black magic, but admitting white witchcraft, i.e. for the cure of disease or the protection of crops ; the second, of 17 December—*Si quid*

[1] Tillemont, *Mémoires*, v. 515–17. [2] Theodoret, *H. E.* I. vii, § 5.

[3] O. von Gebhardt, *Ausg. Märtyrerakten*, 166–70 ; A. J. Mason, *Historic Martyrs*, 247–51, and Document No. 4; and for their martyrdom, Gebhardt, 171–81 ; Basil, *Hom.* xix (*Op.* iii. 149–56 ; *P. G.* xxxi. 507–26); Tillemont, *Mém.* v. 518–27.

[4] Lactantius, *De mort. pers.* xlvi, § 6 (*C. S. E. L.* xxvii. 226). At the second battle, 3 July 323, he sacrificed to the gods, Eus. *V. C.* ii, cc. 4, 5. For his change of mind, see Sozomen, *H. E.* I. vii, § 2.

[5] Constantine's laws ' are contained in the Theodosian and Justinian codes. The first are in a purer state and may be consulted . . . in the older standard folios of Godefroi [Lugduni, 1665], with their valuable historical notes [or in *Theodosiani Libri*, edd. Th. Mommsen and P. M. Meyer, Berolini, 1905]. The series of laws from both codes are arranged chronologically in *P. L.* viii. 93–402 ' ; *D. C. B.* i. 624.

[6] *Cod. Theod.* IX. xvi. 1, and Document No. 3.

[7] *Cod. Theod.* IX. xvi. 2. [8] *Cod. Theod.* IX. xvi. 3.

de palatio nostro [1]—permitting diviners to be consulted when, for instance, public buildings were struck by lightning, but requiring that their oracles, before publication, should be submitted 'to Our Wisdom'. Such legislation, indeed, is less proper to Constantine as Emperor than as Pontifex Maximus—an office which he and his successors retained till it was given up by Gratian,[2] 375, as ill befitting a Christian Emperor. But Constantine here uses the powers of that pagan dignity to limit the extravagances of paganism.

The second class of measures aiming at religious equality consists of acts intended to place Christianity on the level of privilege traditionally occupied by paganism. Such were laws of 31 October 313—*Haereticorum factione*,[3] of 21 October 319—*Qui divino cultui* [4]—and of 18 July 320—*Cum constitutio* [5]—conferring the same exemption from municipal duty on the Catholic Clergy [6] as was enjoyed by the pagan priesthood; but this much-prized [7] immunity was speedily limited by the last of the above three measures which conceded it. *Cum constitutio* provided that no one who was sufficiently well-off to serve as a Decurion should be ordained. Two laws of 321 also belong to this group: one, of 18 April—*Qui religiosa mente* [8]—permits enfranchisements in churches as well as in temples; and another, of 3 July—*Habeat unusquisque* [9]—bestows similar privilege in regard to legacies.

Closely connected with Constantine's aim, to equalize the privileges of Christian and pagan, is his policy of making the worship of the Church as splendid as that of the heathen. He built great churches,[10] endowed them at the public expense, furnished them with copies of the Scriptures [11] by the aid of the scholar-bishop Eusebius of Caesarea, and let prelates and people assemble for their dedication.[12] Thus in Rome [13] the

[1] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. x. 1.
[2] Gibbon, c. xxviii, n. 9 (iii. 190, ed. Bury).
[3] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. ii. 1.
[4] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. ii. 2.
[5] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. ii. 3.
[6] The privilege was first bestowed on the African clergy in a letter of 31 October 313 to the proconsul Anulinus, *ap.* Eus. *H. E.* X. vii, and Documents, i, No. 193.
[7] Gibbon, c. xvii. (ii. 192, ed. Bury).
[8] *Cod. Theod.* IV. vii. 1.
[9] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. ii. 4.
[10] Eus. *H. E.* X. ii; *V. C.* i. 42.
[11] Eus. *V. C.* iv. 36, and Document No 2.
[12] Eus. *H. E.* X. iii and iv, where Eusebius gives his sermon at the dedication of the cathedral of Paulinus, bishop of Tyre, *c.* 323. It contains, §§ 38 sqq., the oldest detailed description we possess of a Christian church.
[13] For the Roman churches see H. Grisar, *History of Rome and the Popes in the Middle Ages* (1911), i. 188 sqq., with map, 'Forma urbis Romanae aevo Christiano, saec. iv–vii'.

Emperor built the basilica of the Lateran,[1] the extra-mural churches of St. Peter[2] and St. Paul,[3] over their tombs at the Vatican and on the Ostian Way, and the church of St. Laurence.[4] In Palestine he reared a number of churches on the sites of the Holy Places. At Jerusalem, near the *Anastasis* or Sanctuary of the Resurrection where was the Holy Sepulchre, rose the great basilica of Constantine[5] or *Martyrium*, dedicated in 335[6]; besides churches at Bethlehem, on the Mount of Olives,[7] and at Mamre[8] where Abraham received the three heavenly visitors.[9] Constantine also built a church at Nicomedia.[10] At Antioch, the earlier church of the Apostles, situate in the Old Town[11] on the left bank of the Orontes, was supplemented by the Golden Church, of Constantine's erection, dedicated in 341.[12] At Constantinople,[13] too, the old church of St. Irene was found insufficient; and the Emperor built in addition, first, the church of St. Sophia[14] not far away to the south; and, afterwards, to the north-west, the church of the Apostles.[15] Close to it stood the imperial mausoleum, where Constantine placed twelve tombs deemed to be those of the Apostles; and the centre was occupied by his own sarcophagus,[16] as befitted 'the Equal of Apostles'.[17] Owing to the impetus given to pilgrimage by the Emperor's mother, St. Helena, and his mother-in-law, Eutropia, the sacred sites, with their churches, became places of pilgrimage; and in 333 they were visited and noted by a pilgrim from Bordeaux who has left us in

[1] Ibid. i. 205.
[2] Ibid. i. 266 sqq.
[3] Ibid. i. 202; and M. Tuker and H. Malleson, *Handbook to Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome*, i. 112 sqq.
[4] Ibid. i. 142 sqq.
[5] Eus. *V. C.* iii. 30–9; *Itineraria Hierosolymitana*, 23. l. 1 (*C. S. E. L.* xxxix).
[6] Socr. *H. E.* i. xxxiii, § 1.
[7] Eus. *V. C.* iii. 41–3; *It. Hier.* 23, ll. 4, 15.
[8] Eus. *V. C.* iii. 51–3; *It. Hier.* 25, l. 13.
[9] Gen. xviii. 1.
[10] Eus. *V. C.* iii. 50.
[11] Theodoret, *H. E.* ii. xxxi, § 11; Athanasius, *Tomus ad Antiochenos*, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 616; *P. G.* xxvi. 792 B).
[12] Athanasius. *De synodis*, § 22 (*Op.* ii. 587; *P. G.* xxvi. 720 c); Socr. *H. E.* ii. viii, § 2.
[13] J. Mordtmann, *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople* (Lille: Desclée, 1892), with map.
[14] W. Lethaby and H. Swainson, *St. Sophia* (1894). The church is so called as dedicated to the Second Person of the Holy Trinity.
[15] Eus. *V. C.* iv. 58–9. He does not mention St. Sophia, and Socrates attributes it to Constantius, Socr. *H. E.* ii. xvi. 16. St. Sophia was dedicated 15 February 360.
[16] Ibid. 60.
[17] Ἰσαπόστολος is the title under which both Constantine and Helena are commemorated by the Orthodox Church.

his *Itinerarium Burdigalense* [1] one of the most valuable monuments of Roman geography.

But to return to the legislation of Constantine. Perhaps the most famous of all his enactments intended to equalize the privileges of his Christian and pagan subjects is *Sicut indignissimum* [2] of 3 July 321. It provides for 'rest on the venerable day of the sun' by requiring the cessation of public works and the closing of the law courts; and so it placed the Lord's Day, as the Christian holy day, on the same level of obligation as the pagan festivals. Two years later *Quoniam comperimus* [3] of 25 May 323 forbade pagans to compel Christians to sacrifice. There still was need for vigilance in protecting liberty of conscience all round. But here occurs the first hint of Constantine's predilections. He contrasts with 'the rites of a foreign superstition' the Christian's service of the most holy law.

(*b*) This brings us to measures which go beyond equality, and display the imperial preference for Christianity.

Of these, the earlier exhibit Constantine's attraction towards a Christian theism. He could and did by this time appreciate 'the imposing monotheism of the Church',[4] even if he was not yet a Christian by conviction.[5] Thus, after the defeat of Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge, 312, he offered no sacrifices and paid no visit to the Capitol [6]; but set up, instead, a statue of himself with a lance in the form of a Cross in his hand, and the inscription: 'By this saving sign I have saved your City from the yoke of the tyrant.' [7] Next year, 313, should have been celebrated the *Ludi saeculares*, but they were omitted.[8] In 315 the Senate reared in his honour the Arch of Constantine, and cautiously observed, on its inscription, that he had freed Rome from the tyrant 'by divine guidance'.[9] Such events do not suggest more than that Constantine felt the attraction of the Christian creed.

But other proceedings of his illustrate his appreciation of

[1] *P. L.* viii. 783–96; and *It. Hier.* 1–33.
[2] *Cod. Theod.* II. viii. 1, and Document No. 5.
[3] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. ii. 5.
[4] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 36.
[5] L. Duchesne, *Early Hist. Ch.* ii. 48.
[6] Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, iv. 139 sq.
[7] Eus. *H. E.* IX. ix, § 10.
[8] Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* iv. 158.
[9] IMP · CAES · FL · CONSTANTINO MAXIMO P · F · AVGVSTO · S · P · Q · R · QVOD INSTINCTV DIVINITATIS MENTIS MAGNITVDINE CVM EXERCITV SVO TAM DE TYRANNO QUAM DE OMNI EIVS FACTIONE VNO TEMPORE IVSTIS REMPVBLICAM VLTVS EST ARMIS ARCVM TRIVMPHIS INSIGNEM DICAVIT, *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* VI. i, No. 1139.

Christian morals. 'He knew a great thing when he saw it,'[1] and 'his aim at Christian ends is clear from his action in social matters'.[2] This aim is clear enough up to 323, though from the time that he became sole Emperor a deterioration appears to have set in. Thus, as to slavery: by *Sola temporis*[3] of 28 April 314, the right of a slave to attain his liberty is put beyond prescription; by *Plagiarii*[4] of 1 August 315 penalties are enacted against kidnappers; by *Qui religiosa*[5] of 3 July 321 an easy form of manumission 'in the presence of the prelates of the Christians' is provided. As to women: there are laws e.g. *Maritus*[6] of 12 March 312 to save their appearance in court; by *Nemini*[7] of 14 June 321 concubinage is prohibited to married men; by *Si quis*[8] of 1 April 320 savage, though not unprecedented, punishments, are visited upon fornication; by *Qui iure*[9] of 31 January 320 the right, both of men and women, to remain unmarried is recognized. But *Quae adulterium*[10] of 3 February 326 and *Senatores*[11] of 21 July 336 reproduce, in all its vigour, the old class-feeling against low women. In regard to the poor: by *Aereis tabulis*[12] of 13 May 315 and *Provinciales*[13] of 6 July 322 Constantine provided for immediate relief of the destitute at the expense of the treasury; and by *Quicumque*[14] of 17 April 331 he mitigated the cruelty of the exposure of children by arranging for the rearing of foundlings. Laws of a fourth class evince his respect for human life: by *In quacumque*[15] of 30 June 320 he regulated punishments in prison, and by *Si quis*[16] of 21 March 315 he prohibited branding on the face 'because it is fashioned after the similitude of the heavenly beauty'. To these we may add *Quoniam plerique*[17] of 14 May 316. It was addressed to drivers in the public postal service, and forbids them to overtask their

[1] W. Bright, *Age of the Fathers*, i. 46.
[2] Gwatkin, *Arianism*, 35, n. 1, to which I owe the material of this paragraph.
[3] *P. L.* viii. 117 A.
[4] *Cod. Theod.* ix. xviii. 1.
[5] *Cod. Theod.* iv. vii. 1.
[6] *P. L.* viii. 94 A.
[7] *P. L.* viii. 253 B.
[8] *Cod. Theod.* ix. xxiv. 1.
[9] *Cod. Theod.* viii. xvi. 1; the enactment was a partial repeal of the Lex Papia Poppaea of A. D. 9 (for which see Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. xxviii, § 4) in favour of Christian ascetics (Eus. *V. C.* iv. 26; Sozomen, *H. E.* i. ix, § 3) in spite of the need of fighting men.
[10] *Cod. Theod.* ix. vii. 1.
[11] *P. L.* viii. 388 C.
[12] *Cod. Theod.* xi. xxvii. 1.
[13] *Cod. Theod.* xi. xxvii. 2.
[14] *Cod. Theod.* v. ix. 1, and Document No. 13.
[15] *Cod. Theod.* ix. iii. 1.
[16] *Cod. Theod.* ix. xl. 2.
[17] *Cod. Theod.* viii. v. 2. Such whips were called 'Scorpions'. Is this the meaning of 1 Kings xii. 11?

animals by the use of heavy sticks. 'A whip with a little barb, such as may "admonish by a harmless tickling", is all that his humanity will allow.'[1]

Constantine's coinage[2] affords further illustration of the trend of his sympathies. It is true that not till after the overthrow of Licinius do his coins carry the *Labarum* or standard with the monogram ☧. But between 313–23 pagan emblems disappear.

Finally, these preferences for Christianity became, in the West where the fear of having to reckon with Licinius would not weigh with him, a definite interest in the internal concerns of the Church. As early as 313 he intervened in the question between Catholic and Donatist; and wrote to Miltiades, bishop of Rome, 310–†14, 'I have such reverence for the legitimate Catholic Church that I do not wish you to leave schism or division in any place.'[3] Three years later, after four inquiries, he banished the Donatists[4]; and this was the first breach in the policy of religious equality set up by the Edict of Milan. Protection of all religions was fast becoming patronage of one.

§ 3. With Licinius drifting into the championship of heathenism and Constantine, at last, standing forth as patron of the Church, the final struggle was certain to come. After his victories in the Gothic war, 322, Constantine, says Gibbon, 'determined' on 'the destruction of Licinius'. The battle of Adrianople, 3 July, the siege of Byzantium, the forcing of the Dardanelles by the fleet of Crispus, son of Constantine, and the defeat of Licinius at the battle of Chrysopolis, now Scutari, 18 September 323, led to his submission and death at Thessalonica[5]; and Constantine was sole master of the Roman world.

§ 4. Within a decade, 313–23, the Emperor had put an end to persecution, checked schism, and crushed his rival. Now he might well look for a united Empire and peace[6]; but his hopes were dashed by the outbreak of the Arian controversy.[7]

Alexandria was the scene of the dispute in its earlier stages.

[1] W. Bright, *Age of the Fathers*, i. 47, where, however, 'string' must be a slip for 'sting' [aculeus].

[2] For the evidence of coins and laws, see the note on 'Constantine and Christianity' in Bury's Gibbon, vol. ii, app. 19.

[3] Eus. *H. E.* x. v, § 20, and Documents, i. No. 191.

[4] Augustine, *Contra ep. Parmen.* i, § 13 (*Op.* ix. 19; *P. L.* xliii. 43).

[5] Gibbon, c. xiv (i. 436–41, ed. Bury).

[6] As in his letter to Alexander and Arius, *ap.* Eus. *V. C.* ii. 64–72.

[7] Socr. *H. E.* i. iv, §§ 5, 6.

The bishops of that city, since the death of Dionysius, †265, an Origenist of 'the left', were, from the opening of the fourth century, Peter, Achillas, and Alexander, the first and the last being Origenists of 'the right'.[1] They laid more stress on the unity of being in the Trinity; and 'bequeathed to the generation contemporary with Nicaea its average theological tone'.[2]

Peter[3] was bishop 300–†11. After his accession he had three years[4] quiet, which he used to acquire the reputation of 'an admirable specimen of a bishop, alike in the excellence of his conduct, and in his familiarity with the Scriptures'.[5] But then broke out the Diocletian persecution, and Peter found it necessary, at Easter, 306, to put out a pastoral[6] concerning the conditions of readmission for those who had, in varying degrees, compromised their faith. Shortly after its publication, persecution reached the climax, 306–8, under Galerius and Maximin, and Peter sought safety in flight. But he ruled his church from his retirement[7]; and, about this time, excommunicated the chief of his suffragans, Meletius, bishop of Lycopolis, who, by intrusive ordinations, had been guilty of schism. The toleration proclaimed by Galerius in April 311 permitted his return; but, in the autumn of that year, Maximin renewed the onslaught, and 'the great bishop and father',[8] Peter, was beheaded, 25 November 311, 'in the ninth year of the persecution',[9] by virtue of a 'sudden' order 'without reason assigned'.[10]

Achillas, 311–†12, succeeded him. He had been Head of the Catechetical School under bishop Theonas, 281–†300. Eusebius speaks both of his ability and of his piety,[11] and Athanasius entitles him 'the great'.[12] He 'ruled', however, but 'for a short time'[13]; according to Epiphanius only for 'three months'.[14] His one misfortune was to have restored Arius to the diaconate, after the latter had allowed himself to become implicated in the

[1] For this characteristic of Peter's theology see L. B. Radford, *Three teachers of Alexandria: Theognostus, Pierius and Peter*, 60 sq., 69 sq.
[2] A. Robertson, *Athanasius*, xxvii.
[3] For Peter, see vol. i, c. xviii; W. Bright in *D. C. B.* iv. 331–4; Tillemont, *Mémoires*, v. 436–65.
[4] Eus. *H. E.* VII. xxxii, § 31.
[5] Eus. *H. E.* IX. vi, § 2; cf. VIII. xiii, § 7.
[6] Text in M. J. Routh, *Rell. Sacr.*[2] iv. 23–45; tr. *A.-N. C. L.* VI. 269–78
[7] Implied in Eus. *H. E.* VII. xxxii, § 31.
[8] Routh, *Rell. Sacr.*[2] iv. 92.
[9] Eus. *H. E.* VII. xxxii, § 31
[10] Ibid. IX. vi, § 2.
[11] Ibid. VII. xxxii, § 30.
[12] Ath. *Ep. ad. episc. Aegypti*, § 23 (*Op.* i. 232; *P. G.* xxv. 592 B).
[13] Theodoret, *H. E.* I. i, § 8.
[14] Epiph. *Haer.* lxix, § 11 (*Op.* ii. 735; *P. G.* xlii. 220 B).

intrigues of Meletius. Achillas then advanced him to the priesthood [1] and put him in charge of the parish church of Baucalis,[2] the oldest in Alexandria. There were already twelve [3] such districts, each under the care of a presbyter; and Alexandria is thus the first city to have anticipated, in some degree, the later parochial system.

Alexander [4] succeeded Achillas, and was bishop of Alexandria from 313–†328. He was an elderly man, of 'gentle and quiet' [5] disposition; but a good ruler, patient, vigorous, and discerning.

He showed his discernment when he took into his household Athanasius,[6] 298–†373, a young man of good birth and 'liberal education',[7] who subsequently became attached to his patron as deacon and secretary.[8] The celebrated story of the boy-baptism [9] points to Alexander's penetration and to the fitness of Athanasius; but, putting it at 312, the earliest date at which it could be supposed to have happened, i.e. on the first anniversary of the martyrdom of Peter, Athanasius was at least fourteen,[10] and a promising lad too old for such a childish game. He had been taught in theology by some who had suffered in the persecution; and that came to an end in Egypt in 311. To them he owed his familiarity with the Scriptures [11]; and this, with Greek learning,[12] he further developed as a pupil of the Catechetical School. Like Origen he was an ascetic [13]; but he was saved from Origen's

[1] Sozomen, *H. E.* I. xv, § 2.

[2] Epiph. *Haer.* lxviii, § 4, lxix, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 719, 727; *P. G.* xlii. 189 B, 201 D).

[3] Ibid. *Haer.* lxix, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 728; *P. G.* xlii. 205 A).

[4] W. Bright in *D. C. B.* i. 79–82; Tillemont, *Mémoires*, vi. 213–38.

[5] Rufinus, *H. E.* i, § 1 (*Op.* 217–18; *P. L.* xxi. 467 B).

[6] Works in *P. G.* xxv–xxviii; tr. A. Robertson, *Select writings of St. Athanasius* (*N. and P.-N. F.* iv); life in Tillemont, *Mémoires*, viii. 1–258; and W. Bright in *D. C. B.* i. 179–203: see, too, O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 253–64.

[7] Greg. Naz. *In laudem Athanasii* [one of the authorities for the life of A.], *Orat.* xxi, § 6 (*Op.* i. 389; *P. G.* xxxv. 1088 B).

[8] Sozomen, *H. E.* II. xvii, § 10.

[9] Rufinus, *H. E.* i, § 14 (*Op.* 241; *P. L.* xxi. 487 A, B).

[10] For the date of his birth, not earlier than 296 nor later than 298, see *D. C. B.* i. 179; Robertson, *Ath.* xiv, n. 1.

[11] Ath. *De Inc.* lvi, § 2 (*Op.* i. 77; *P. G.* xxv. 195 A).

[12] Sozomen, *H. E.* II. xvii, § 10. For traces of it, note his quotations from Plato in *De Inc.* iii, § 3 (*Op.* i. 39; *P. G.* xxv. 101 B); and the *Odyssey* in *Orat. c. Arianos*, iv, § 29 (*Op.* ii. 507; *P. G.* xxvi. 513 C); and his familiarity with the theories of the philosophical schools in *De Inc.* iii, Epicurean, §§ 1–2, Platonist, §§ 3–4, Gnostic, §§ 5–6.

[13] Ath. *Apol. c. Arianos*, § 6 (*Op.* i. 102; *P. G.* xxv. 260 A). The asceticism of Athanasius was not so much the asceticism based, like Origen's,

fanaticism [1] by his sense of humour,[2] of which Origen had none. Moreover, Athanasius was a Greek, with nothing about him, such as the name of Origen suggests, of the Copt or native Egyptian; and, while Origen was, of course, as 'mighty in the Scriptures',[3] Athanasius far excelled him in 'the independent grasp of Christian principles' [4] which distinguishes even his first literary works, the *Contra Gentes* [5] and the *De Incarnatione Verbi*.[6] The aim of the *Contra Gentes* is, § 1, to vindicate the reasonableness of the Christian Faith. This the author does by, §§ 2–29, a refutation of heathenism, followed by a plea that, §§ 30–4, the true God will readily be recognized by the soul of man, if freed from sin, and that, §§ 35–44, while our failings hinder us from finding Him, His own handiwork in Nature is a revelation of God. The concluding sections, §§ 45–7, lead on to the *De Incarnatione Verbi* [7] where, after §§ 2, 3, a review of the doctrine of creation and man's place therein, Athanasius proceeds, in Part I of his treatise, to give two reasons for the Incarnation: first, that, §§ 4–10, by departing from the Word, men lost the principle of life and were wasting away, so that what they needed was Restoration [8]; second, that, §§ 11–16, by departing from the Word, men had also lost the principle of Reason and were given over to superstition. Here what they needed was Illumination. Both Restoration and Revelation none was capable of giving but God the Word. These great gifts He bestowed upon us, as is argued in Part II, by, §§ 20–5, His Death and, §§ 26–32, His Resurrection. And the treatise concludes by a refutation of contemporary unbelief, whether, §§ 33–40, Jewish or, §§ 41–55, pagan. No summary however, can give an impression of the *De Incarnatione*. It is a masterpiece of Christian theology; and this requires us to put its composition as late in the early years of Athanasius as we

on Platonist ideals of the world and life (Robertson, *Ath.* xv); but, rather, a development of the ascetic tendency embedded in Christianity from the first (ibid. 193, and e. g. *De Inc.* xlviii, § 2, li, § 1). On the distinctive principle of Christian, as contrasted with oriental asceticism, see C. Gore, *The Sermon on the Mount*, 67 (ed. 1896), and J. R. Illingworth, *The Christian Character*, 47 sqq. (ed. 1904).

[1] Eus. *H. E.* vi. viii, § 2.

[2] e. g. the story of Arsenius at the Council of Tyre, Socrates, *H. E.* i. xxix; and cf. A. P. Stanley, *Eastern Church*, 230 sq. (ed. 1883).

[3] Acts xviii. 24.

[4] Robertson, *Ath.* xiv.

[5] Text in *Op.* i. 1–38; *P. G.* xxv. 1–96; and tr. Robertson, *Ath.* 4–30.

[6] Text and translation, ed. Robertson (D. Nutt, 1882–5).

[7] Ath. *Op.* i. 38–78 (*P. G.* xxv. 95–198); Robertson, *Ath.* 31–67.

[8] Document No. 42.

can. There is a reference to schism, probably that of Meletius,[1] but no trace of the outbreak of Arianism. As this took place in 319, the *De Incarnatione* must be assigned to 318. Its author took first rank among theologians when he was barely twenty-one.

Next year Arius, 256–†336, began to make proof of the patience and vigour of his bishop, Alexander. We have two pictures of the parish priest of Baucalis[2]: the one by Constantine,[3] less favourable but open to suspicion; the other, in Epiphanius, where he appears as having a name for ability and strictness of life, with his tall stature and crafty bearing, his sleeveless tunic and scanty cloak. He was dangerous too, for he had a pleasant address and charming manners.[4] Certainly he was vain,[5] and he had been factious.[6] But the silence of his enemies, no less than the honour in which Alexander held him,[7] shows that he was of unimpeachable life: so that he was a power in Alexandria when he 'went about from house to house'[8] and, finding support, like the Puritans,[9] specially from women,[10] began to propagate opinions about the Son of God: not, indeed, wantonly, but in answer to a problem which, at some time or other the Church would have had to face, if he had not raised it.

The beginnings of Arianism,[11] *c.* 319–23, and its early chronology[12] are obscure; but these four years fall into two equal periods, ending respectively with the excommunication of Arius and the intervention of Constantine.

For the first period, 319–21, it is best fo follow the account of Sozomen.[13] Arius then, *c.* 319, began to teach, concerning the

[1] Ath. *De Inc.* xxiv. § 4 (*Op.* i. 54; *P. G.* xxv. 376 sq.).

[2] Both quoted in J. H. Newman, *Select Treatises of St. Ath.*[2] i. 19 sq.

[3] In a letter to Arius and the Arians, *P. L.* viii. 517 A. But the letter is simply an exercise in declamation. Cf. Socr. *H. E.* I. ix, § 64; Epiph. *Haer.* lxix, § 9 (*Op.* ii. 734; *P. G.* xlii. 217 A).

[4] Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxix, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 729; *P. G.* xlii. 205 sqq.), and Document No. 56.

[5] Cf. his *Thalia*, as quoted in Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* i, § 5 (*Op.* ii. 322; *P. G.* xxvi. 20).

[6] *sc.* by taking part with Meletius, Routh, *Rell. Sacr.*[2] iv. 94.

[7] Sozomen, *H. E.* I xv, § 2. [8] Theodoret, *H. E.* I. xi, § 11.

[9] R. Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* Preface, iii, § 13.

[10] So Alexander to his namesake of Byzantium, *ap.* Theod. *H. E.* I. iv, § 5. Cf. Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* i, § 23 (*Op.* ii. 337; *P. G.* xxvi. 60 A); and Epiph. *Haer.* lxix, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 729; *P. G.* xlii. 208 A).

[11] See 'Histoire abrégée de l'Arianisme', *ap.* Tillemont, *Mémoires*, vi. 239–633.

[12] For an attempt to unravel it, W. Bright, *Waymarks*, app. B.

[13] Soz. *H. E.* I. xv is to be preferred to Socr. *H. E.* I. v; so W. Bright in *D. C. B.* i. 80; and L. Duchesne, *Early Hist. Ch.* ii. 99, n. 3. Sozomen

Son of God, that 'He had come into being out of non-existence'; that 'once He was not'; that 'as possessing free-will He was originally capable of vice no less than of virtue'; that 'He was created and made'.[1] We note here the manner of the expert logician,[2] afterwards so freely cultivated among his followers.[3] Probably the Arian syllogism, as given by Socrates,[4] was already in use. Set out in full it ran:

[What is true of human fatherhood is true of the relation between the Father and the Son;]
But the father's priority of existence is true of human fatherhood;
Therefore it is true in regard to the Father and the Son;

or, in other words, 'once there was no Son', i.e. at some very remote period He was 'created' by the Father.[5] As in all syllogistic reasoning, the conclusion is contained in the premiss. Here, too, as so often, the major premiss is suppressed, or taken for granted. This premiss with its *petitio principii* and its 'essentially rationalistic'[6] flavour, would be a powerful instrument in the propaganda of Arius. About 320 the bishop felt that he must take action. First, he tried remonstrance, at a private interview; then, discussion at a conference of clergy.[7] Their first meeting broke up without result. At a second,[8] Alexander, who had been blamed for indecision, spoke his mind: 'he declared himself in agreement with those who affirmed that the Son was consubstantial and co-eternal with the Father.'[9] His third step was to write to Arius and his supporters, who now included two Libyan bishops, Secundus of Ptolemais and Theonas of Marmarica, five presbyters, and six deacons, 'exhorting them to renounce his impiety, and to submit themselves to the sound Catholic Faith.' The letter was signed, at his instance, by the clergy of Alexandria.[10] But it produced no effect:

is fuller, and he had 'before him documents which we do not possess in their entirety': see Document No. 156.

[1] Soz. *H. E.* I. xv, § 3.

[2] Socr. *H. E.* I. v, § 2; Soz. *H. E.* I. xv, § 3.

[3] e. g. in the market-place at Alexandria; Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* i, § 22 (*Op.* ii. 336 sq.; *P. G.* xxvi. 57 C); at the Imperial Court, Socr. *H. E.* II. ii, § 8; in C. P. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxvii, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 488; *P. G.* xxxvi. 13 A, B); and the celebrated passage in Greg. Nyss. *De Deitate Filii et Sp. Sancti Oratio* (*Op.* ii. 898 C, D; *P. G.* xlvi. 557 B); Newman, *Select Treatises of St. Athanasius*[7], ii. 22 sq.; Gibbon, c. xxvii (iii. 143, ed. Bury), and Document No. 105.

[4] Socr. *H. E.* I. v, § 2, and Document No. 198.

[5] W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*[2], 139.

[6] W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*[2], 140.

[7] Sozomen, *H. E.* I. xv, § 4.

[8] Ibid., § 5.

[9] Ibid., § 6.

[10] Alexander, *Ep.* iii; 'Depositio Arii,' *P. G.* xviii. 581 C.

and the bishop had no choice but to take a fourth, and final, step by summoning, 321, a synod of the bishops of Egypt and Libya.[1] They met at Alexandria, to the number of about a hundred.[2] We have no certain knowledge of their proceedings. But it would seem that the Synod first elicited from Arius and his friends the avowals contained in Alexander's encyclical,[3] such as that 'God was not always Father'; 'the Son was a creature and a work'[4] and 'foreign from the essence of the Father'; 'He is made for us, that God might create us by Him'[5]; and 'being something made and created, His nature is subject to [moral] change'[6]; and then, upon these, excommunicated Arius and his followers. So ends the first stage.

The second period ran from 321 to 323.

Withdrawing from Alexandria Arius began to seek support; and, first, in Palestine, Macarius,[7] bishop of Jerusalem, 311–†33, and Philogonius,[8] bishop of Antioch, 319–†23, would have nothing to do with him[9]; but he found shelter with Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, 314–†40, and Paulinus, bishop of Tyre, †329. Next, he was found at Nicomedia, the Eastern capital.[10] Its bishopric was an important see, and occupied by a man of wide influence: for Eusebius—to be carefully distinguished from the historian—was an astute and able[11] leader, promoted from Berytus, now Beyrout, his original see, first to Nicomedia,[12] and thence, after the founding of 'New Rome', 330, to be bishop of Constantinople,

[1] Hefele, *Conciles*, i. 363–72.

[2] Alexander *ap.* Socr. *H. E.* I. vi, § 13.

[3] Given in Socr. *H. E.* I. vi, §§ 4–30; tr. in Robertson, *Ath.* 69–71, and Document No. 8 [4] Ibid., § 9. [5] Ibid., § 11. [6] Ibid., § 12.

[7] It was during his episcopate that the Empress Helena paid her visit to Jerusalem, which resulted in the building of Constantine's basilica at the Holy Sepulchre: see his letter to Macarius, Eus. *V. C.* iii, cc. 30–2; Socr. *H. E.* I. ix, §§ 56–63; and Tillemont, *Mém.*

[8] He was raised to the episcopate, like St. Ambrose, from civil office, Chrysostom, *Hom.* vi, § 2 (*Op.* I. ii. 495 D; *P. G.* xlviii. 751); and Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 201.

[9] Letter of Arius to Eus. Nic. *ap.* Theodoret, *H. E.* I. v, § 2, and Document No. 6. Both were orthodox, Ath. *Ep. ad episc. Aegypti*, § 8 (*Op.* i. 220 sq.; *P. G.* xxv. 556 sq.).

[10] Gibbon, c. xiii (i. 378, ed. Bury), who ranks it as the fourth, and Tillemont, vi. 252, as the 6fth, city of the Empire in point of size, Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Carthage, Nicomedia.

[11] Sozomen, *H. E.* I. xv, § 9.

[12] On this translation, see Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 6 (*Op.* i. 102; *P. G.* xxv. 260 B). It was prompted, like that to CP, by ambition, and such translations are forbidden by Nic. xv (W. Bright, *Canons*[2], &c., 57); J. Bingham, *Ant.* IV. vi, § 6. They illustrate the secularity of tone soon generated in the church by the sunshine of imperial patronage.

339–†42. In order of time he comes next after Paul, bishop of Antioch, *c.* 260–70, in the long catalogue of statesman-bishops, as his namesake of Caesarea stands first among the literary bishops of Christendom. Eusebius owed his place of Court-prelate to the influence of Constantia, sister of Constantine and wife of Licinius, whose government, even when hostile to Christianity, Eusebius had done much to support.[1] To him, then, as to 'a fellow-Lucianist' in high place, Arius wrote[2] for protection before he left Palestine. The reply of Eusebius is lost; but the letter of Arius served its purpose, and the bishop invited him to Nicomedia. Whilst here, Arius wrote to his bishop, Alexander,[3] obviously under the direction of Eusebius, for his language is more 'temperate'[4] than usual, though even so he denies the coeternity of the Son.[5] He also wrote the *Thalia*, or Convivial Songs, and these three documents[6]—the two letters and the popular songs—are all that have come down to us, in the way of sources, for what Arius himself taught. Only fragments of the *Thalia*[7] remain. But we know that the work provoked the indignation of Catholics, partly because of the low associations of its metre,[8] partly because of its contents, and no doubt too because it bore marks of the pride[9] of Arius. Meanwhile, Eusebius obtained recognition for Arius from the bishops of Bithynia[10]; and he wrote to Paulinus of Tyre to put further pressure upon Alexander.[11] Others declared themselves, more or less in his favour, as they pleased; for all was confusion at this juncture, during the war between Licinius and Constantine, 323, and no one hesitated to take sides as he chose. Thus George, a presbyter of Alexandria now living at Antioch, afterwards bishop of Laodicea in Syria, 335–43, and one of the learned[12] men of the Arian party, tried to

[1] Constantine to the Nicomedians, *ap.* Theod. *H. E.* I. xx, § 1.

[2] *Ap.* Theod. *H. E.* I. v, §§ 1–4, and Document No. 6.

[3] *Ap.* Ath. *De Synodis*, § 16 (*Op.* ii. 583; *P. G.* xxvi. 707–12), and Document No. 7.

[4] J. H. Newman, *Arians*[5], 213.

[5] Ath. *De Synodis*, § 16 (*Op.* ii. 583; *P. G.* xxvi. c). The denial is lest it should involve 'two ingenerate beginnings', i. e. from the point of view of strict monotheism.

[6] Tr. in Newman, *Arians*[5], 211–16.

[7] Its fragments are preserved in Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* i, §§ 5, 6, and *De Synodis* § 15 (*Op.* ii. 322, 323, 582; *P. G.* xxvi. 19–24, 705–8), Document No. 14.

[8] Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* i, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 321; *P. G.* xxvi. 16 A).

[9] Ibid. i, § 5 (*Op.* ii. 322; *P. G.* xxvi. 21 A).

[10] Sozomen, *H. E.* I. xv, § 10.

[11] *Ap.* Theodoret, *H. E.* I. vi, §§ 1–8; tr. Newman, *Arians*[5], 216 sq.

[12] For his learning, see Philostorgius, *H. E.* viii, § 17 (*P. G.* lxv. 568 A). He was an Eunomian bishop in Cappadocia, who wrote, in twelve books, a history of *c.* 319–423, to show that Arianism was the original form of Christianity.

mediate. If 'all things are of God',[1] he argued, in a letter to the Arians, 'why may not Alexander say that the Son is "of God"?'[2] Athanasius, bishop of Anazarbus in Cilicia, and a fellow-Lucianist,[3] was more outspoken in defence of Arius. 'Why complain of Arius', he wrote to Alexander, 'for saying that the Son of God is a creature, and one among others. All that are made being represented in parable by the hundred sheep, the Son is one of them.'[4] Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea 315–†39, hesitated: or else his exact position is difficult to estimate. To call him 'conservative'[5] is misleading. It is only true if we mean conservative of terms and not of ideas; for of ideas the Nicenes were the true conservatives.[6] Probably Eusebius was very much afraid of Sabellianism; and, as a strong subordinationist,[7] sympathized with Arius. He allowed Arius to hold services for his followers, though on condition that he would be reconciled to Alexander.[8] Afterwards, he 'connected' himself 'with the Arian party', and 'his acts are his confession'.[9] But all the while, it may be, he meant to be orthodox,[10] if only he had been clear-headed enough for the part. The truth is that his sphere was literature, not theology.[11]

At Alexandria, while parties were thus forming further afield, neither the populace nor the archbishop were inactive.

The people joined in the fray for sport. They took advantage of the divisions among Christians,[12] and of the irreverent questions put by the Arians to boys and women,[13] to ridicule Christianity on the stage; while the Arians did their best to make butts of Alexander and his clergy by getting up accusations against them in court[14] and by jeering at them as mere tiros in theology.[15] This alliance of the Arians with Jewish and heathen elements of the population at Alexandria was natural enough, for Arianism

[1] 1 Cor. xi. 12.
[2] Ath. *De Synodis*, § 17 (*Op.* ii. 584; *P. G.* xxvi. 712 sq.).
[3] Philostorgius, *H. E.* iii, § 15 (*P. G.* lxv. 505 B).
[4] Ibid. (*Op.* ii. 584; *P. G.* xxvi. 711 B).
[5] H. M. Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 41. [6] Cf. Robertson, *Ath.* xxxv.
[7] His assertion 'that Christ was not true God', quoted by Ath. *De Synodis*, § 17 (*Op.* ii. 584; *P. G.* xxvi. 712 B), perhaps means no more than that he was an Origenist of the extreme left, Robertson, *Ath.* xxvii, n. 5.
[8] Sozomen, *H. E.* I. xv, §§ 11, 12. [9] Newman, *Arians*[5], 262.
[10] Eus. *H. E.* I. ii, §§ 14, 23, and the defence of him by Socrates, *H. E.* II. xxi. [11] R. W. Dale, *The living Christ and the four Gospels*[11], 107.
[12] Theodoret, *H. E.* I. vi, §§ 9, 10.
[13] Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* i, § 22, *ut supra*.
[14] Alexander *ap.* Theod. *H. E.* I. iv, § 5. [15] Ibid. §§ 41, 44.

combined a strictly monotheistic doctrine of God with a conception of Christ as demigod. While Egypt still depended upon Licinius, the common antipathies of Arian and heathen towards Alexander and his people would, no doubt, make the position difficult.

Alexander, however, stood firm. He stated and restated his case in numerous letters,[1] of which three deserve mention. The first is the Encyclical preserved by Socrates[2] and signed by thirty-four priests and forty-four deacons, some of whom had supported their bishop's written remonstrance with Arius two years before. After, §§ 1–7, a fine exordium on the unity of the Church, it states the circumstances which called it forth; recites, §§ 8–12, the tenets propounded by Arius; records, §§ 13–21, his deposition at the Synod of 321, and points out some of the texts which are fatal to them. The Arians are then, §§ 22–6, compared with other heretics; and, §§ 27–30, the bishops are warned against the intrigues of Eusebius of Nicomedia. The document concludes with the signatures. It is 'a concise and carefully worded memorandum'. And as it not only 'bears the clear stamp of the mind and character of Athanasius', but 'contains the germ of which his whole series of anti-Arian writings are the expansion',[3] the encyclical is rightly reckoned as the first among them. But it appears to have 'made matters worse'.[4] Alexander therefore followed it up by a second Encyclical, now lost; but referred to as a Tome, or doctrinal formulary. It was signed by bishops of Egypt, Syria, and Asia.[5] A third, in which the reference occurs, is the Encyclical preserved by Theodoret[6] in the copy addressed to Alexander, bishop of Byzantium. It is long, pompous, and turgid; being, in all probability, Alexander's own and not the work of his deacon. He complains of the distress caused by the Arians,[7] and of their want of frankness, in concealing what they mean[8]; then of the hasty credence given them by 'three bishops in Syria',[9] Eusebius of Caesarea, Theodotus of Laodicea, and

[1] Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxix, § 4 (*Op.* ii. 730; *P. G.* xlii. 209 A). He says seventy.
[2] Socr. *H. E.* I. vi, §§ 4–30; tr. Robertson, *Ath.* 69–72, and Document No. 8.
[3] Robertson, *Ath.* xvi.
[4] Socrates, *H. E.* I. vi, § 31; Sozomen, *H. E.* I. xv, § 10.
[5] Alexander *ap.* Theod. *H. E.* I. iv, § 59.
[6] Theod. *H. E.* I. iv, §§ 1–61.
[7] Ibid., §§ 5, 59.
[8] Ibid., §§ 8, 9.
[9] Ibid., § 37.

Paulinus of Tyre. There follows, next,[1] a lengthy argument against the Arian opinions; but, in the course of it, points of theological interest occur. Alexander enters the well-known patristic *caveat* against treating human language as adequate to Deity[2]; he uses both φύσις and ὑπόστασις in the sense of 'person'[3]; he accepts as sufficient the phrase 'peerless Image of the Father,'[4] whereas, in a later stage of the controversy, it came to denote Semi-Arianism; and he employs Θεοτόκος,[5] or Mother of God, as a title already traditional[6] of the Virgin Mother.

At this point ensued the intervention of the Emperor.

Not a little annoyed to find fresh dissensions disturbing his Empire, and this time, as he would say, over so trivial a matter, Constantine sent his ecclesiastical adviser, Hosius,[7] bishop of Corduba (now Cordova) 296–†357, to Alexandria. He took with him an imperial letter 'to Alexander and Arius',[8] the latter having probably availed himself of the confusion caused by the war with Licinius to get back to Alexandria and maintain himself there. The Emperor puts himself in the wrong, to start with, by treating Arius as on a level with his bishop.[9] He insists on the insignificance of the question in dispute between them.[10] He begs them to fall back on their common Christianity,[11] and agree to differ about details. Eusebius[12] and Socrates[13] characterize the letter as statesmanlike: that is just what it is, one of many attempts, such as statesmen have made since, to settle religious questions *ab extra* with only 'an imperfect knowledge of the facts of the case, and with somewhat of the prejudices of eclectic liberalism'.[14] 'Liberal' writers, too, from Gibbon on-

[1] Theod. *H. E.* I. iv, §§ 10 sqq.

[2] Ibid., §§ 19–21. For other examples, see the note on 'the ineffableness of God' in W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*[2], 210–12.

[3] Ibid., § 38.

[4] Ibid., §§ 38, 47. On its inadequacy, see Newman, *Select Treatises of St. Ath.*[2] ii. 370.

[5] Ibid., § 54. 'The theological importance of the title consists in this, that it is a condensed expression of the personal Divinity of the Redeemer': for this, and its history, see W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*[2], 126–8; Newman, *op. cit.* ii. 210 sqq.

[6] e. g. Constantine uses the less accurate Θεοῦ μήτηρ, *Oratio ad sanctorum coetum*, cxi (*P. L.* viii. 430 B); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* i. 569.

[7] Socr. *H. E.* I. vii, § 1. For Hosius, see Tillemont, *Mém.* vii. 300–21.

[8] Text in Eus. *V. C.* ii. 64–72, and (part of it) in Socr. *H. E.* I. vii, §§ 3–20.

[9] Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 228. [10] Socr. *H. E.* I. vii, §§ 3, 5, 8, 13.

[11] Ibid. § 7. [12] Eus. *V. C.* i. 63. [13] Socr. *H. E.* I. viii, § 1.

[14] Newman, *Arians*[5], 249; so, too, J. Wordsworth, in *D. C. B.* i. 641.

wards,[1] have eulogized the Emperor's letter as superior to dogmatic interests. Perhaps; but to deal successfully with religion you must not be superior to questions of dogma, you must try to understand them. It was no fault of Constantine's that he was not in a position to understand the question at issue; and we may trace in his letter the hand of another ecclesiastical adviser, Eusebius of Nicomedia, who was anxious that he should not.

Hosius also took with him a commission to look into other questions[2] in dispute at Alexandria, besides Arianism: the schism of Meletius[3] and the Paschal question.[4] At a Synod of Alexandria,[5] 324, nothing could be done to appease the Arian strife; but a case which raised the point of the validity of Orders not bestowed by a bishop was decided in favour of their nullity. Colluthus was one of the city presbyters[6] of Alexandria who had supported Alexander in his dealings with Arius.[7] He came to think, however, that his bishop had been too forbearing; and he broke away first into schism,[8] and afterwards into heresy.[9] Though never more than a presbyter himself, he took upon himself to ordain: and, at this Synod, one Ischyras, 'a presbyter of Colluthus . . . was deposed in the presence of our Father Hosius, and was admitted to communion as a layman . . . having fallen from his falsely reputed rank of presbyter'.[10] Hosius returned to Nicomedia, and reported the failure of his mission. On his report, and, perhaps, by his advice,[11] the Emperor proceeded to summon an Oecumenical Council to meet at Nicaea in Bithynia,[12] 325.

[1] Gibbon, c. xxi, n. 77 (ii. 355, ed. Bury); H. H. Milman, *Hist. Chr.* ii. 363 (ed. 1883); A. P. Stanley, *Eastern Church*, 82 (ed. 1883).

[2] Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 230.

[3] Eus. *V. C.* ii. 62, iii. 4.

[4] Ibid. iii. 5; Socr. *H. E.* I. viii, § 2.

[5] Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 230.

[6] Epiph. *Haer.* lxix, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 728; *P. G.* xlii. 205 A, B).

[7] His name stands first among the signatories of Alexander's Encyclical, *Depositio Arii*, § 7, *ap.* Robertson, *Ath.* 71.

[8] Alexander *ap.* Theod. *H. E.* I. iv, § 3; Epiph. *Haer.* lxix, § 2, *ut sup.*

[9] Augustine, *De Haeresibus*, § 65 (*Op.* viii. 21 A; *P. L.* xlii. 42).

[10] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 74 (*Op.* i. 150; *P. G.* xxv. 381 C), quoting a letter of the Mareotic clergy, 335. In 339 a synod of Egyptian bishops wrote 'that Colluthus died a presbyter, and that every ordination of his was invalid', ibid. § 12 (*Op.* i. 106; *P. G.* xxv. 269 A), and Document No. 15.

[11] Sulpicius Severus, *Hist. Sacr.* ii, § 40 (*P. L.* xx. 152).

[12] Eus. *V. C.* iii. 6; Socr. *H. E.* I. viii, § 4.

CHAPTER II

THE COUNCIL OF NICAEA, 325

THE Council of Nicaea[1] began to assemble 20 May[2] 325. There appears to have been a formal opening in the Cathedral[3] on 19 June.[4] Constantine did not arrive till after, 3 July, the anniversary of his final victory at Adrianople. Then the Council met in solemn session and continued till 25 August. Of its decisions we have sufficient information in its Synodal Letter to the Church of Alexandria,[5] Constantine's Letter to the Churches,[6] and its Canons.[7] But of its proceedings there are no minutes, and we are dependent upon the Letter of Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, to his flock,[8] and some brief but important allusions to its debates by two others who took part in them, Eustathius,[9] bishop of Antioch 325–31, and Athanasius.[10] Eustathius was one of the leading bishops of the Council; but Athanasius, being only a deacon, was present not as a constituent member of the Council, but in attendance upon his bishop. To judge, however, by a comparison of the course of the debate as Athanasius describes it with the general line of argument afterwards taken by himself in controversy with the Arians,[11] the debate was managed by Alexander's deacon. 'Athanasius', says Sozomen, 'with his bishop Alexander, took the most prominent part in the discussion.'[12]

§ 1. The convening of the Council must be put down to Constantine. It was a great innovation. 'Local councils had long

[1] Mansi, ii. 635 sqq.; Hefele, *Conciles*, i. 386–632; Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 634–87; A. P. Stanley, *Eastern Church*, c. ii.

[2] Socr. *H. E.* i. xiii, § 13. [3] Eus. *V. C.* iii. 7.

[4] Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 804.

[5] Socr. *H. E.* i. ix, §§ 1–14, and Document No. 9.

[6] Ibid., §§ 32–49, and Document No. 10.

[7] W. Bright, *Canons*,[2] &c., ix–xv. 1–89, and Document No. 11.

[8] Eus. *Ep. ad Caesarienses* (*Op.* ii; *P. G.* xx. 1535–44); and tr. Robertson, *Ath.* 73–6, where it is given in full, as Athanasius appended it to his *De Decretis*. It is also given in Socr. *H. E.* i. viii, §§ 35–54, but not in full. For in §§ 9 and 10 of the letter Eusebius becomes heretical, and these sections Socrates, always anxious to defend Eusebius, carefully omits. Document No. 12. [9] *Ap.* Theodoret, *H. E.* i. viii, §§ 1–5.

[10] Ath. *De Decretis*, §§ 19, 20 (*Op.* i. 176–8; *P. G.* xxv. 448–52); *Ad Afros*, § 5 (*Op.* ii. 715; *P. G.* xxvi. 1037–40), and Document No. 54.

[11] e. g. in the *Orat. c. Arianos*, i–iii (*Op.* ii. 318–489; *P. G.* xxvi. 9–468).

[12] Sozomen, *H. E.* i. xvii, § 7.

since grown to be a recognized organ of the Church both for legislation and for judicial proceedings.'[1] Groups of churches had also been represented together in Council; as *Oriens* or 'The East' at the Council of Antioch, 269, which deposed Paul of Samosata, or Egypt in the early dealings with Arius. But no two such groups had combined in Council as yet: the conception was new, and the thing hitherto impossible. Constantine it was who summoned the first 'Oecumenical[2] Council', and it was a new departure. The idea, whether his own or not, was, at any rate, one that would appeal to him. He is rightly called 'the Great' because he was capable of great conceptions and of carrying them out. Moreover, he liked to be a patron, though not a son, of the Church[3]; he reverenced it and thought his office a call upon him to take cognizance of its relations to society. 'You', he said to the bishops, probably at the banquet which he gave them at his *Vicennalia* 25 July, 'are in charge of the internal affairs of the Church: I am appointed by God to be bishop of her relations to the world at large.'[4] Thus deeply concerned, as at the effect which Christian divisions might have upon the stability of his Empire, Constantine sent letters to 'the bishops from all quarters',[5] commanding their attendance at Nicaea, now Isnik,[6] in Bithynia; and placing the public postal service at their disposal.[7]

§ 2. The numbers, character, and composition of the Council are matters on which we have sufficient but not absolute information.

As to numbers, several lists[8] exist; but they do not agree, and they are probably not exhaustive. They point to about two hundred and twenty. The two eyewitnesses, Eusebius[9] and Athanasius,[10] say respectively, 'more than 250' and 'about 300'. Constantine[11] speaks of 'more than 300'. And, later on, Athanasius fixes the figure at 318.[12] This became the traditional number, influenced, no doubt, by the number of Abraham's servants[13] and the mystical significance attached to its notation in Greek,

[1] Robertson, *Ath.* xvii.
[2] So it is called by Eus. *V. C.* iii. 6, and Socr. *H. E.* i. viii, § 4.
[3] Newman, *Arians*[5], 243. [4] Eus. *V. C.* iv. 24. [5] Ibid. iii. 6.
[6] For a description of it, Stanley, *Eastern Church* (1883), 77.
[7] Eus. *V. C.* iii. 6.
[8] C. H. Turner, *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima*, i. i. 35 sqq. (Oxonii, 1899). [9] Eus. *V. C.* iii. 8.
[10] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 66 (*Op.* i. 303; *P. G.* xxv. 772 B).
[11] Socr. *H. E.* i. ix, § 21.
[12] Ath. *Ad Afros*, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 712; *P. G.* xxvi. 1032 B).
[13] Gen. xiv. 14.

TIH, which combines T, the Cross, with IH, the first two letters of the Sacred Name.[1] The bishops were attended by others—clerics, laymen, and accomplished logicians.[2] There was a large liberty to be present, and, if invited, to speak; but none save bishops were constituent members of the Synod.

In regard to its representative character, two things have to be borne in mind: first, that the Council was geographically an Eastern assembly,[3] but, secondly, that this did not interfere with its really representative character.

The Greek and non-Greek world of the East was well represented: Egypt by Alexander of Alexandria and eighteen suffragans; the 'East' by Eustathius of Antioch, Eusebius of Caesarea, Paulinus of Tyre, Patrophilus of Scythopolis (Beth-shan), Macarius of Aelia (Jerusalem), and others, with a band of five representing places on or beyond the eastern frontier—Paul of 'Neocaesarea, an outpost on the Euphrates',[4] Ethilaus of Edessa, James of Nisibis, Aristaces,[5] proxy for his father, Gregory the Illuminator, ?255–?326, and the King of Armenia and John of Persia; Asia Minor as a whole by Menophantus of Ephesus in 'Asia', Eusebius of Nicomedia, Maris of Chalcedon, and Theognis of Nicaea, all of Bithynia, Marcellus of Ancyra in Galatia, Hypatius of Gangra in Paphlagonia, Leontius of Caesarea in Cappadocia, with many others; the provinces across the Bosporus, in lesser numbers, by Alexander of Byzantium, Poederus of Heraclea, Protogenes of Sardica, Alexander of Thessalonica, Pistus of Athens, and one who was to the frontier of the Danube what John of Persia was to that of the Euphrates, Theophilus, bishop of the Goths. To these must be added the Novatianist, Acesius,[6] specially summoned by the Emperor out of respect for his high character, and the old shepherd, Spyridon of Cyprus. But the Latin-speaking countries were very thinly represented. There was a Pannonian bishop,

[1] So *The Epistle of Barnabas*, ix, § 8 (J. B. Lightfoot, *Ap. F.* 253); Ambrose, *De Fide*, I. xviii, § 121 (*Op.* II. i. 467 sq.; *P. L.* xvi. 556 B).

[2] Socr. *H. E.* I. viii, § 13; Soz. *H. E.* I. xvii, § 3.

[3] Cf. *Cambr. Med. Hist.*, vol. i, Map 5; and A. P. Stanley, *Eastern Church*, 55.

[4] Theod. *H. E.* I. vii, § 5.

[5] Faustus Byzantinus, iii, § 2, *ap.* V. Langlois, *Collection des Historiens de l'Arménie*, i. 210 sq.

[6] Socr. *H. E.* I. x, § 1. He was attended by a lad named Auxanon, who lived to a great age as presbyter in the same sect, and was one of the informants (ibid. I. xiii, § 3) of Socrates, who was born c. 379, finished his history up to 439 (ibid. VII. xlviii, § 8), and died after 440. For Socrates and his sources, see Bury's Gibbon, ii. 539; Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 378.

Domnus; one from Gaul, Nicasius of Divio, possibly Die in Dauphiny[1]; from Italy, Marcus of Calabria, and from Rome itself not Pope Silvester in person (for he was too old), but two presbyters, as his legates, Vito and Vincent; while from the furthest West came Hosius of Cordova, who may be considered as representing the Spanish episcopate. Hosius probably presided: in all the lists he signs first, and the papal legates second.

The preponderatingly Eastern *personnel* of the Council did not, however, impair its representative character. It came to carry great weight—greater than that of any subsequent Council, geographically or numerically more representative—because it was so largely a Council of Confessors.[2] Among these, Hosius, the president, stood pre-eminent: he had suffered under Maximian.[3] Potammon[4] and Paphnutius,[5] two Egyptian prelates, had each lost an eye, and the latter had also been hamstrung[6] in the persecution by Maximin; Eustathius of Antioch is spoken of as a Confessor[7]; and Paul of Neocaesarea had hands paralyzed with red-hot iron in the persecution of Licinius.[8] There were others, too, of great saintliness and simplicity of character, the ascetic James of Nisibis, the missionaries John and Theophilus, and the true shepherd, Spyridon.[9] Apart, however, from this exceptional distinction, which only the Council of Nicaea could have enjoyed, its representative character is assured; for neither a general summons nor a general assembly, nor both taken together, are sufficient test of the oecumenicity of a Council, but only the subsequent consent of the whole Church.[10] 'To that Council', wrote St. Athanasius in 369, 'the whole world has long ago agreed. . . . The Word of the Lord which came through the Œcumenical Council of Nicaea abides for ever.'[11]

[1] So L. Duchesne, *Early Hist. Ch.* ii. 112.

[2] Chrysostom, *Orat. c. Iudaeos*, iii, § 3 (*Op.* I. ii. 609 C, D; *P. G.* xlviii. 865).

[3] So his letter to Constantius, 355, *ap.* Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 44 (*Op.* i. 292; *P. G.* xxv. 744 D); probably in some local persecution between 286 and 292, *D. C. B.* iii. 166.

[4] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 12 (*Op.* i. 278; *P. G.* xxv. 708 A). Note the Coptic name.

[5] Socrates, *H. E.* I. xi; a Copt also.

[6] Rufinus, *H. E.* i, § 4 (*Op.* 221; *P. L.* xxi. 470 C).

[7] Ath. *De Fuga*, § 3 (*Op.* i. 254; *P. G.* xxv. 648 B).

[8] Theod. *H. E.* I. vii, § 5.

[9] Socrates, *H. E.* I. xii.

[10] So Melchior Canus, bp. of the Canary Islands, 1552–3, in his *De locis theologicis*, v, § 3 (Lovanii, 1569), p. 296: see, too, R. L. Ottley, *The Incarnation*[2], 675 sq., and W. E. Collins, *The authority of General Councils*, 182 sq. (Ch. Hist. Soc., No. xii).

[11] Ath. *Ad Afros*, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 712; *P. G.* xxvi. 1029 A).

Coming, next, to the composition of the Council, it makes the reaction that followed far more intelligible if we distinguish four groups, or parties, at Nicaea. There was, first, the Centre, or middle party. It is better to call them by this non-committal name than to call them 'Conservatives'.[1] 'Conservative' of what? The Nicenes were the true conservatives of the traditional faith of Christendom, and the term, if applied to others, is misleading.[2] But the recognition of a Centre or middle party—apart from that name he bestowed upon them—is Dr. Gwatkin's 'great contribution to the history of the Arian controversy'.[3] They formed the majority at the Council, of '200 or more'[4]; nearly all from Syria or Asia Minor. They had a good deal to learn about the merits of the controversy, for there were 'simple-minded and ignorant' bishops[5] at Nicaea as there were unlearned prelates at Trent.[6] Yet the leader of this section was the most learned prelate of his day, the historian Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea. His learning, however, was in literature, not in theology. Secondly, the Catholics or Nicenes, perhaps 'over thirty'[7] in number, but quite a minority. They saw deeper into the question; and insisted on the need for drawing out, testing, and sealing the faith of old time by a new formula to preserve it. At their head stood Alexander and his suffragans: Eustathius of Antioch; Macarius of Jerusalem; Marcellus of Ancyra—the anti-Origenists of the East; and with them, the West, represented by Hosius. It was he who was really responsible for the *ὁμοούσιον*.[8] He had prepared Alexander, the Origenist, for it.[9] He also prompted Con-

[1] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 41, 56 sq.

[2] For other criticisms of the term as applied to the Centre see Robertson *Ath.* xviii, n. 3, xxxv; J. F. Bethune-Baker, *Hist. Chr. Doctr.* 165, n. 1.

[3] *C. Q. R.* lxiv. 464.

[4] Robertson, *Ath.* xviii.

[5] So Sabinus *ap.* Socr. *H. E.* I. viii, § 24, and W. Bright, *Age of the Fathers*, i. 82; *contra*, Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 39, n. 4.

[6] A. Theiner, *Acta genuina Conc. Trid.* i. 63 note **.

[7] Robertson, *Ath.* xviii.

[8] This would seem to be the meaning of Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 42 (*Op.* i. 291; *P. G.* xxv. 744 A). 'The term is only the Greek equivalent of the Latin "unius substantiae", with which all Latin Christians were familiar from the days of Tertullian' (*Adv. Prax.*, §§ 2, 13; *C. S. E. L.* xlvii. 229, l. 27, and 250, l. 1), 'and Novatian' (*De Trinitate*, § 31, p. 122, ed. W. Y. Fausset). So B.-Baker, 166, n. 1. Hosius would bring the term with him; and, in the Nicene definitions, it is used in the Western sense to 'emphasise the unity of the Godhead in three Persons against the Arian division of the Son from the Father' (Robertson, *Ath.* xxxii), rather than to assert though it does involve, the co-equality.

[9] Socr. *H. E.* III. vii, § 12.

stantine, who intervened on its behalf at the critical moment.[1] The minority then, which, by this expedient, both preserved the ancient faith, held but not understood by the majority, and carried the Council with them in so preserving it, may fairly be distinguished as Catholics or Nicenes. Third, the Arianizers, or Eusebians, so called by their contemporaries after their leader Eusebius of Nicomedia. He was by association a Lucianist,[2] and at heart a convinced Arian; but he aimed at minimizing open differences. He would have the sympathy of fellow-Lucianists; though how many went with him in action is uncertain, and his following may have varied from time to time. But his policy was clear: to dissemble, and to carry away, by the dissimulation, as many of the Centre as possible. He was foiled in the Council, but he succeeded afterwards. Fourth and last, there were Arians pure and simple: a handful only, but of determined men. Of these, Theonas of Marmarica and Secundus of Ptolemais, both Egyptians, scorned all compromise. Then there were four Lucianists: Theognis of Nicaea, Maris of Chalcedon, Menophantus of Ephesus,[3] and Athanasius of Anazarbus,[4] in Cilicia; another Cilician, Narcissus of Neronias; and, of Syria and Palestine, Patrophilus of Scythopolis, Aetius of Lydda, Paulinus of Tyre, Theodotus of Laodicea, and Gregory of Berytus. These completed the original strength of the Arian party proper.[5]

§ 3. And now for the proceedings of the Council, so far as concerns Arianism.

We may pass lightly over the picturesque stories,[6] so well retold by Dean Stanley,[7] and the informal discussions between Catholics, Arians, and philosophers[8] which took place while the bishops were assembling. Few Councils but were disgraced by violence and party spirit. At the Council of Jerusalem there was 'much questioning' before 'the multitude kept silence' and 'came to one accord'[9]: while at the Council of Trent, on one occasion,

[1] Eusebius of Caesarea *ap.* Socr. *H. E.* I. viii, § 41.
[2] Philostorgius, *H. E.* ii, § 14 (*P. G.* lxv. 477 A).
[3] Ibid. He adds Eusebius of Nicomedia; and it is interesting to note that the bishops of the four sees which are connected with Oecumenical Councils were, at this time or a little later when Eus. became bp. of CP., in the hands of Arians; cf. A. P. Stanley, *Eastern Church*, 99.
[4] Philostorgius, *H. E.* iii, § 15 (*P. G.* lxv. 505 B).
[5] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 34, n. 4.
[6] Socr. *H. E.* I. x–xii; Soz. *H. E.* I. xviii; Rufinus, *H. E.* i, §§ 3–5 (*Op.* 219–23; *P. L.* xxi. 469–72). [7] Stanley, *Eastern Church*, c. iii.
[8] Socr. *H. E.* I. viii, §§ 14, 15; Soz. I. xvii, § 3. [9] Acts xv. 7, 12, 25.

the Lutheranizing San Felice, bishop of Cava, plucked out the beard of the papalist bishop of Chiron,[1] and, on another, such heat was generated over the *ius divinum* of bishops between Spaniards and Italians,[2] that they anathematized each other in the debate,[3] and blood was shed by their respective factions outside the church as they swept the streets and shouted, 'Italia, Italia', and 'Espagna, Espagna'.[4] Much has been made of such disgraceful scenes to the detriment of the authority of Councils, but only by persons who misconceive it. The bishops in Council are witnesses to the Faith, not sources of it. They have often displayed an unjudicial temper; but if, on that ground, 'they are entitled to the less respect as judges, they are all the better witnesses'.[5]

Early in July the Emperor arrived in Nicaea, and the first solemn session took place in the large hall of the imperial palace. When the bishops were assembled, Constantine entered, a tall figure, wearing the diadem and the purple adorned with gold and precious stones. He blushed as he entered.[6] Taking his seat on a golden throne,[7] he delivered an oration, in Latin,[8] on peace and unity[9]; and then, producing from the folds of his mantle the packet of recriminations with which he had been greeted on his arrival,[10] he reminded the bishops of the Christian duty of forgiveness, and burnt it in the sight of all.[11] After that, he 'gave permission to those who presided in the Council to deliver their opinions'.[12]

The debates on Arianism now began in earnest. We have only fragmentary records of the course which they took; but the order may be supposed to have been as follows.

First of all, Arius, who was present by the Emperor's command,[13] was put on his defence,[14] and avowed his opinions so frankly that 'the bishops stopped their ears'.[15] Eusebius of Nicomedia, em

[1] On 17 July 1546; A. Theiner, *Acta genuina*, i. 192; J. Mendham, *Memoirs*, 83.
[2] A. Theiner, ii. 185.
[3] On 3 December 1562; G. Paleotto, *Acta* 343, ed. J. Mendham; Mendham, *Memoirs*, 251.
[4] On 8 March 1563; A. Theiner, ii. 256; M. Philippson, *La contre-révolution religieuse*, 537 sq.
[5] G. Salmon, *The Infallibility of the Church*[2], 286.
[6] On 'the blush of Constantine', see C. T. Turner, *Collected Sonnets*, 93 (ed. 1898).
[7] Eus. *V. C.* iii. 10.
[8] Ibid. iii. 13.
[9] Ibid. iii. 12.
[10] Socr. *H. E.* i. viii, § 18; Soz. *H. E.* i. xvii, § 3.
[11] Rufinus, *H. E.* i, § 2 (*Op.* 219; *P. L.* xxi. 468 B).
[12] Eus. *V. C.* iii. 13.
[13] Rufinus, *H. E.* i, § 1 (*Op.* 218; *P. L.* xxi. 218 C).
[14] Soz. *H. E.* i. xix, § 1.
[15] Ath. *Ad episc. Aegypti*, § 13 (*Op.* i. 223; *P. G.* xxv. 568 A).

barrassed by this frankness, then induced the Council to have recourse to an examination of the Scriptures: it was a proposal willingly accepted by the majority. All, indeed, would have gladly kept to simple and Scriptural terms, and made every effort to do so. But as one term after another was proposed, the Eusebians skilfully turned the edge of its meaning. 'The Word', said a speaker on behalf of the majority, 'is of God.'[1] 'Agreed!' cried the followers of Eusebius, 'we also are of God: for "all things are of God".'[2] 'Again, upon the bishops asking the dissembling minority if they agreed that the Son was not a creature but the "Power" and only "Wisdom",[3] Eternal "Image"[4] ... of the Father ... Eusebius and his fellows were observed exchanging nods with one another, as much as to say: This applies to us men also, for we too are called "the image and glory of God"[5] ... and there are many Powers: and "all the power of the Lord went out of Egypt"[6] while the caterpillar and the locust are called His "great power"'.[7] At length, the majority were forced, by the Arian evasiveness, to have recourse to a formula other than Scripture: a bold expedient, and one adopted against their will, but they had no choice and were quite right to adopt it. 'New forms of error require to be met by new forms of doctrinal expression.'[8]

Third, followed a discussion as to what formula; and two proposals seem to have been placed before the assembly before a conclusion was reached. Eusebius of Nicomedia put forward a formulary, written by himself; but, according to Eustathius of Antioch, an eyewitness of the scene, it was torn to shreds in the sight of all,[9] and rejected as heretical. Eusebius of Caesarea then proposed a second, 'not of his own devising but consisting of the Creed of his own church, with an addition intended to guard against Sabellianism'.[10] This was an improvement, for it

[1] Ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, John viii. 47. [2] Τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, 1 Cor. xi. 12.
[3] Δύναμιν καὶ σοφίαν, 1 Cor. i. 24. [4] Εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ, 2 Cor. iv. 4.
[5] Εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα Θεοῦ, 1 Cor. xi. 7. [6] Πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις, Exod. xii. 41.
[7] Ἡ δύναμίς μου ἡ μεγάλη, Joel ii. 25. For this scene, see Ath. *Ad Afros*, § 5 (*Op.* ii. 715; *P. G.* xxvi. 1037–40), and Document No. 54.
[8] A. Neander, *Church History*, iv. 21 (Bohn).
[9] Eustathius *ap.* Theodoret, *H. E.* i. viii, § 3.
[10] Robertson, *Ath.* xix: from the letter of Eusebius to his flock, *ap.* Socrates, *H. E.* i. viii, §§ 37–9. For this Creed of Caesarea, see A. Hahn, *Symbole*[3], § 123; C. H. Turner, *History and use of Creeds*, app., No. 6; T. H. Bindley, *The Oecumenical Documents of the Faith*, 57; H. Lietzmann, *Symbols of the Ancient Church*, 14, and Document No. 12.

was 'unassailable on the basis of Scripture and of tradition'.[1] But it was felt to be inadequate, until, at last, Constantine, prompted by Hosius, proposed its acceptance 'with the addition of the one word ὁμοούσιον'.[2] The proposal was adopted; and on the basis of the Creed of Caesarea, with additions from those of Antioch and Jerusalem, due, no doubt, to the presence of Eustathius and Macarius in the Council,[3] the bishops framed the Creed of Nicaea,[4] or, more properly, the Nicene Faith.[5]

On a comparison of this Nicene Faith with its basis, the Creed of Caesarea, it will be observed that the main alterations, introduced by the Council, were as follows:

(1) The elimination of Λόγον and the substitution of Υἱόν. This move was, in part, anti-Sabellian,[6] and would afterwards have served as a bulwark against the teaching of Marcellus; but at the time it tended to correct the subordinationism of Eusebius of Caesarea. The Sonship now occupies the principal place in the Creed, and its subsequent clauses are referred to 'the Son', and not to 'the Word, of God'.

(2) The insertion, immediately after this clause, of γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρός as well as of ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί. The words thus inserted to qualify γεννηθέντα were directed against a phrase which Eusebius of Nicomedia had used in a letter to Paulinus of Tyre denying the co-essentiality, τὸ . . . οὐκ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ γεγονός.[7] It is possible that this was the letter to which St. Ambrose alludes as having been read before the Council.[8]

(3) The addition to γεννηθέντα of οὐ ποιηθέντα 'carefully contrasting the two participles which the Arians so industriously confused'.[9]

[1] Robertson, *Ath.* xix. [2] Eus. *ap.* Socr. *H. E.* I. viii, § 41.

[3] F. J. A. Hort, *Two Dissertations*, 59; Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 44, and n. 2.

[4] Text in Eus. *ap.* Socr. *H. E.* I. viii, §§ 44, 45; Hort, 139 sq.; Hahn[3], § 142; Turner, app., No. 7a; Bindley, 17 sqq. (with notes); H. B. Swete, *The Apostles' Creed*[3], 110; Lietzmann, 22, and Document No. 12.

[5] Πίστις, as in Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 42 (*Op.* i. 291; *P. G.* xxv. 744 A), or Μάθημα, as in Eus. *ap.* Socr. *H. E.* I. viii, § 44: 'never σύμβολον (except in *Can. Laod.* 7) till its conversion into a baptismal profession in the next century', Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 40, n. 1.

[6] 'The Sabellianisers', says Athanasius, 'must be confuted from the notion of a Son, and the Arians from that of a Father,' Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* iv, § 4 (*Op.* ii. 491; *P. G.* xxvi. 472 C).

[7] *Ap.* Theodoret, *H. E.* I. vi, § 3.

[8] Ambrose, *De Fide*, III. xv, § 125 (*Op.* II. i. 518; *P. L.* xvi. 614 A, B).

[9] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 45. Alexander reports the Arians as saying that He was εἷς τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ γενητῶν (Socr. *H. E.* I. vi, § 10), and, at this time,

(4) The introduction of *ἐνανθρωπήσαντα* to explain *σαρκωθέντα*,[1] by excluding the Christology which Arius inherited from his teacher Lucian.

(5) The appending of anathematisms[2] to shut out the leading Arian tenets. Their presence is indicative of the character and purpose of the Nicene Faith. It was not intended 'to be a baptismal symbol nor to supersede the local creeds'. It was not complete, and they were. But it was intended to be 'simply "a dogmatic standard, constructed for a particular emergency", and proposed for signature' by bishops 'as a test of orthodoxy'.[3]

The Nicene Faith thus took shape under the deliberations of the Council. It was then written out and read aloud, in full assembly and in the presence of the Emperor, by the secretary of the Synod, Hermogenes,[4] a deacon in attendance upon Leontius, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and afterwards, 325–†41, his successor in that see.[5] It was at once received and signed by the great body of the Nicene Fathers; but not without demur from minorities. Thus, Eusebius of Nicomedia and a handful of Arianizers objected to the materializing associations of *ὁμοούσιος*.[6] Eusebius of Caesarea also hesitated at first, probably through dread of Sabellianism, to which he thought a door would be opened by *ὁμοούσιος*.[7] He held out for one day; but then deferred to the

γενητόν and *γενητῶν* seem to be one word, whatever distinction was made at a later date. So they were considered by . . . the Arians, who availed themselves of the *équivoque* of the meaning in order to pronounce our Lord a creature: *γέννημα ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἓν τῶν γεννημάτων* (Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* ii, § 19 [*Op.* ii. 384; *P. G.* xxvi. 185 c]), Newman, *Select Treatises*[7], ii. 398. But 'the Arian controversy cleared up any uncertainty there was, and the Son was declared to be *γεννητός*, but not *γενητός* ('begotten', but not 'having come into being'), B.-Baker, 122, n. 1.

[1] The Arian Christology began with Paul of Samosata (vol. i, c. xvii), and was passed on to Arius through Lucian, who taught that 'Deus Sapientiam suam misit in hunc mundum carne vestitam', Routh, *Rell. Sacr.*[2] iv. 6, the Word (or Wisdom) thus taking the place of the soul, and our Lord being simply *θεὸς ἐν σαρκί*, as in the Creed of Eudoxius, bishop of CP., 360–†70. Cf. A. Hahn[3], *Symbole*, § 191; Bright, *Later Treatises of St. Ath.* 106, n.; Robertson, *Ath.* xxviii, and n. 2; Bindley, *Oec. Doc.* 39.

[2] Socr. *H. E.* I. viii, § 30.

[3] Bindley, *Oec. Doc.* 47 sq.

[4] Basil, *Epp.* lxxxi, ccxliv, § 9 (*Op.* iii. 174 B, 381 E; *P. G.* xxxii. 457 A, 924 A).

[5] Ibid. *Ep.* cclxiii, § 3 (*Op.* iii. 406 A; *P. G.* xxxii. 977 C).

[6] Socr. *H. E.* I. viii, § 32.

[7] His fears were groundless. Ὁμοούσιον, formed from *ὁμοῦ*, implies difference as well as unity. It was *ταὐτοούσιον*, or *συνούσιον*, that implied identity or confusion.

Emperor and the majority, and justified his acquiescence by the letter to his flock preserved in Athanasius.[1] Only Secundus and Theonas, in the end, stood out. They were anathematized, along with Arius, by the Council.[2]

Then, by a fatal precedent, the State stepped in. The Emperor banished the two recalcitrant bishops, with Arius and his friends,[3] to Illyricum: whence, no doubt, the influence of Arianism, later on, along the line of the Danube,[4] and the bitterness imported into the reaction against the Council because of these sentences of exile. Secundus, on receiving his sentence, turned to Eusebius of Nicomedia and said, with scorn: 'You signed to escape exile: but you will be sent into exile too'. And soon afterwards, Eusebius and Theognis were banished as well.[5] But by 329 we find Eusebius once more in high favour with Constantine[6]; and the Eusebian reaction had begun. As the Council broke up, its members were entertained by the Emperor at a sumptuous banquet in honour of his *Vicennalia*, 25 July 325; and it is comforting to human frailty to have it on record that all the bishops were present at the dinner,[7] though they had not all been present at the debates.

§ 4. Objections have been taken to the proceedings of the Council by its contemporaries and by our own.

The objections of its own age were mainly to the use of the term ὁμοούσιος,[8] and these were based on grounds of Scripture, of ecclesiastical precedent, and of philosophical usage.

Ὁμοούσιος, it was repeatedly urged, was one of the ἄγραφα, i. e. a term not found in Scripture; and probably this was the argument that weighed most with the majority, whether at, or after, the Council. Athanasius deals with the objection in his *De Decretis* of 351–5. The Arians, he said, have set the example.[9] But this was a mere *argumentum ad hominem*, and not a very good

[1] At the end of the *De Decretis*; cf. *supra*, p. 22, n. 8.

[2] Socr. *H. E.* I. viii, § 33. [3] Ibid.

[4] Ursacius, bishop of Singidunum (Belgrade), and Valens, bishop of Mursa (Essek), 'were instructed by Arius as young men', Ath. *Ad episc. Aegypti*, § 7 (*Op.* i. 218; *P. G.* xxv. 554 A).

[5] Philostorgius, *H. E.* i. §§ 9, 10 (*P. G.* lxv. 465).

[6] Socr. *H. E.* I. xiv, § 1. [7] Eus. *V. C.* iii. 15.

[8] Newman, *Arians*[5], 184 sqq.; *Select Treatises*[2], ii. 438. 454; H. P. Liddon, *Divinity of our Lord*, 438 sq.; W. Bright, *Lessons*, &c., 14, n. 4; Robertson, *Ath.* xxx sqq.; Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 46–7; T. B. Strong in *J. T. S.* ii. 224 sqq., and iii. 22 sqq.

[9] Ath. *De Decretis*, § 18 (*Op.* 175 sq.; *P. G.* xxv. 456 A); cf. *De Synodis*, § 36 (*Op.* ii. 600; *P. G.* xxvi. 757 A).

one, for the Arians had not put their phrases ' out of nothing ', ' He was not before His generation ', and ' once He was not ' into the Creed. Athanasius would have done better to observe that already there was precedent for the use of non-Scriptural terms in Creeds and formularies—' the resurrection of the flesh ', for instance, in the Old Roman Creed,[1] the Creed of Justin,[2] and the African Creed[3]; or τριὰς τελεία[4] in the *Expositio Fidei* of Gregory, bishop of Neocaesarea. But examples of this kind, afterwards freely multiplied,[5] were beyond his reach, and he fell back on two pleas which cannot be gainsaid: first, the necessity of the case, owing to the evasiveness of the Arians,[6] and next, that the only question was as to the sense of Scripture.[7] ' The sense of Scripture is Scripture,'[8] as it was afterwards put, not its ' wording '.[9]

The ecclesiastical objection to ὁμοούσιος was based on its rejection by the Synod of Antioch, 269.[10] In reply, Athanasius urged first that, in Alexandria, at any rate, there was tradition in its favour, for it had been used by such great Church teachers as Origen,[11] and Theognostus,[12] while Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, under pressure from Dionysius, bishop of Rome, had repudiated the charge of ' denying that Christ was one in essence with God '[13]; and, secondly, that while the Synod of Antioch took ὁμοούσιος in a materializing sense, and so abandoned it, the Nicene Fathers, protesting that ' the term has not this sense when used of things immaterial ',[14] restored it. They restored it in order to protect the very truth which, to their predecessors, it had obscured, viz. the true relation of the Son to the Father.

[1] H. B. Swete, *The Apostles Creed*[3], 16, 92.
[2] T. H. Bindley, *Oec. Doc.* 60. [3] A. Hahn, *Symbole*[3], § 44.
[4] Greg. Thaum. *Exp. Fidei* (*P. G.* x. 985 A); A. Hahn[3], § 185.
[5] e. g. 'ecclesiam catholicam' (Creed of Niceta, A. E. Burn, *Apostles Creed*, 41, and *Fides Hieronymi*, ib. 43); Θεοτόκος, Δύο φύσεις, T. H. Bindley, *Oec. Doc.* 107, 233.
[6] Ath. *De Decretis*, §§ 19, 20 (*Op.* i. 176–8; *P. G.* xxv. 449–53).
[7] Ath. *De Decretis*, § 21 (*Op.* i. 178; *P. G.* xxv. 453 B).
[8] D. Waterland [1683–†1740], *Works*[3], iii. 652 (Oxford, 1856).
[9] Ath., *ut supra*.
[10] This was the objection raised by the semi-Arians at the Synod of Ancyra, in 358: see Ath. *De Synodis*, § 43 (*Op.* ii. 604; *P. G.* xxvi. 768 C), and Hilary, *De Synodis*, § 81 (*Op.* ii. 509; *P. L.* x. 534 B).
[11] Ath. *De Decretis*, § 27 (*Op.* i. 183; *P. G.* xxv. 465 B).
[12] Ibid., § 25 (*Op.* i. 181; *P. G.* xxv. 460 C); on which see L. B. Radford, *Three Teachers of Alexandria*, 14–16.
[13] Ibid., § 25 (*Op.* i. 181; *P. G.* xxv. 461 B).
[14] Ath. *De Synodis*, § 45 (*Op.* ii. 606; *P. G.* xxvi. 772 D).

The philosophical objection was based on the identification of *οὐσία*, in current terminology, with varying equivalents. According to the Aristotelians, *οὐσία* meant *τόδε τι*,[1] *individu-u-m*, this or that concrete thing: in that case, to say that Father, Son, and Spirit are *ὁμοούσιοι* with each other would spell Sabellianism. According to the Platonists,[2] it meant *εἶδος*, *species*, or 'kind'—the essence common to individuals of the same class. To say, then, that Father, Son, and Spirit are *ὁμοούσιοι* with each other, or *ὁμοειδεῖς*, 'of the same *species*', would be tritheism: to treat them, in fact, as three individuals of the same class. Finally, according to the Stoics, *οὐσία* stood for *ὕλη*[3] or matter, our English 'substance'. In that case, to speak of Father, Son, and Spirit as *ὁμοούσιοι* with each other would be to suggest a materialistic notion of the Godhead, as of a quasi-physical mass divided into three portions, each of the same material as the rest. And this, in fact, was the sense that Arius tried to attach to the term *ὁμοούσιον*, decrying it as 'Manichaean'.[4] It was probably not immediately clear to the Nicene Fathers that their terminology lay so open to misconception; but in process of time they became alive to the danger. Athanasius, in his *Orationes contra Arianos* [356–60], only makes use of the term *ὁμοούσιος* once,[5] and he avoids it where the context would naturally require it.[6] In his *De Synodis* [359–61] he sets himself to unite men on the idea.[7] But, as a whole, the Catholic writers of the time simply disclaim the philosophical associations of the term. 'What the Greeks say,' says Athanasius, 'is nothing to us.'[8] The Fathers assert their liberty to make the best of it. They insist that every term has its limitations, for human language is necessarily inadequate to things divine.[9] And then they fall back on simple necessity.

[1] Aristotle, *Sophist. Elench.* vii, § 2; Newman, *Select Treatises*[7], ii. 454; *J. T. S.* ii. 231; H. Ritter and L. Preller, *Historia Philosophiae*, § 316.

[2] Thus Plotinus, 205–†70, spoke of the soul as having *ξυγγενείαν καὶ τὸ ὁμοούσιον* in regard to God, *J. T. S.* iii. 35, n. 2, referring to *Enneades*, IV. vii. 10 (ed. R. Volkmann, ii. 138, ll. 1, 2: Teubner, 1884).

[3] Ritter and Preller, § 397; *J. T. S.* ii. 234.

[4] We do not, says Arius, in his letter to Alexander, conceive of the Son *ὡς ὁ Μανιχαῖος μέρος ὁμοούσιον τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸ γέννημα εἰσηγήσατο*, *ap.* Ath. *De Synodis*, § 16 (*Op.* ii. 583; *P. G.* xxvi. 709 A); and Document No. 7.

[5] Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* i, § 9 (*Op.* ii. 325; *P. G.* xxvi. 29 A).

[6] Ibid. i, §§ 20, 21, 58 (*Op.* ii. 334–6, 365; *P. G.* xxvi. 53–6, 133 B).

[7] Ath. *De Synodis*, § 54 (*Op.* ii. 612; *P. G.* xxvi. 789 B).

[8] Ibid., § 51 (*Op.* ii. 610; *P. G.* xxvi. 784 C); or Hilary, *Fragm.* xi, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 698; *P. L.* x. 711 A).

[9] For well-known patristic passages on the ineffableness of God, see

'They could not leave it open for Christian bishops (the creed was not for others) to dispute whether our Lord is truly God or not';[1] and they simply used the word as the only available bulwark for a certain fact in which they believed, viz. that in whatever sense the Father is God, in the same sense the Son is God: ὅλος Θεός ἐστιν ὁ Υἱός,[2] as St. Athanasius put it.[3]

Modern opinions of the Council appear, now as misconceptions, and now as objections.

Two misconceptions, though representing opposite points of view, unite in this that they tend to ignore the ecclesiastical or conservative tone of the assembly. Thus it is claimed that 'the eager discussions of Nicaea present the first grand precedent for the duty of private judgment, and the free unrestrained exercise of Biblical and historical criticism'.[4] But this is to ascribe too large a share in the Council to the deacon Athanasius[5] and the debates he may have conducted, as well as to overlook the fact that the bishops thought of themselves not as critics but as witnesses. They came together to preserve tradition.[6] On the other hand, the Council is quoted as precedent for the addition of new ideas to the original Faith.[7] But this is to ignore the distinction between explanatory and accretive developments; those which simply make explicit that which once was only implicit and those which add to the substance of the Faith,[8] developments by way of growth and developments by way of corruption.[9] There is nothing in the Nicene formulary that goes beyond 'My Lord and my God'[10]; and the decisions of this, as of other Councils, are 'primarily not the Church saying "Yes" to fresh truths, or developments, or forms of consciousness; but

W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*[2], 210–12; e. g. Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* ii, § 32 (*Op.* ii. 395; *P. G.* xxvi. 216 B).

[1] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 44. [2] *J. T. S.* iii. 35.

[3] Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* iii, § 6 (*Op.* ii. 439; *P. G.* xxvi. 352 B).

[4] Stanley, *Eastern Church*, 110 (ed. 1883). [5] Ibid.

[6] e. g. Eusebius of Caesarea, in adducing the traditional Creed of his church, *ap.* Socr. *H. E.* I. viii, § 37; Letter of Alexander, *ap.* Socr. *H. E.* I. vi, § 15; or Ath. *Ad episc. Aeg.*, § 13 (*Op.* i. 223; *P. G.* xxv. 568 A).

[7] J. H. Newman, in the *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*: see J. B. Mozley, *The Theory of Development*, 143 sq. (ed. 1878); on the supposed parallel between the Arian Christ and the Blessed Virgin, see ibid. 56–62; and between the Ὁμοούσιον and the Immaculate Conception, H. P. Liddon, *The Divinity of our Lord*, 435 sqq.

[8] Mozley, *op. cit.* 144–6.

[9] Mozley, *op. cit.* 5 sqq.; and on developments true and false, see C. Gore, *The Incarnation* (ed. 1891), 82, and note 25, and *The Roman Catholic Claims*, 203 sqq. (ed. 1905). [10] John xx. 28.

rather saying " No " to untrue and misleading modes of shaping and stating her truth '.[1]

Coming to positive objections, the first is that which sees in the proceedings at Nicaea a mere stereotyping of tradition, and thinks of the Council as an assembly of dogmatists and hierarchs, bent on crushing down discussion and forcing on Christendom a term chosen without debate. On the contrary, there was a real debate ; a readiness for, nay, a reluctance for anything but, Scriptural terms, and plenty of scope for free discussion.

A second objection fastens upon ὁμοούσιος, and charges the Council with having exalted metaphysics over ethics[2] and put theology in place of religion. But the taste for technical subtleties was Arian, not Catholic[3] : we cannot have religion without theology, unless we are prepared to ' acquiesce in a dumb faith '[4] : Greek metaphysical language was part of the preparation for the Gospel,[5] and ' Christianity became metaphysical . . . only because man is rational '.[6]

A third objection sweepingly affirms ' the impossibility of a theology in terms of substance ',[7] and looks forward to a better in terms of Will. But this attempt to build upon psychology rather than upon metaphysic was tried long ago by the semi-Arians, who thought it enough to affirm a unity of will, and not of essence, between the Son and the Father.[8] So from Nicaea onwards ' essence ' or ' substance ' has held the field as the only effective safeguard for the Divinity of our Lord. We do not think now in the language of substance ; but it is still intelligible, nor is there any sign of its being superseded by a better.[9]

Finally, it is objected to the Council of Nicaea, as to all Councils, that the character of its proceedings deprives it of all authority. It is true that the minority at the Council of Sardica, 343, likened

[1] R. C. Moberly, in *Lux Mundi*[12], 175 ; cf. A. J. Balfour, *The Foundations of Belief*[8], 377 sq. ; and C. Gore, *The Incarnation*, 106.

[2] On this charge see R. L. Ottley, *The Doctrine of the Incarnation*[2], 318.

[3] Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* i, § 22 (*Op.* ii. 336 sq. ; *P. G.* xxvi. 57 c).

[4] Robertson, *Ath.* xxxiii.

[5] Ottley, *op. cit.* 319 ; C. T. Cruttwell, *Lit. Hist. Early Chr.* i. 11.

[6] Gore, *Incarnation*, 21.

[7] W. Temple in *Foundations*, 232.

[8] In the Dedication Creed of 341 the three Persons of the Trinity are said to be τῇ μὲν ὑποστάσει τρία, τῇ δὲ συμφωνίᾳ ἕν, Ath. *De Syn.*, § 23 (*Op.* ii. 588 ; *P. G.* xxvi. 724 B). Ath. takes exception to it, as recalling the Arian evasion of ' I and my Father are one ', *sc.* in will, ibid., § 48 (*Op.* ii. 608 ; *P. G.* xxvi. 780 A).

[9] Gore, *Incarnation*, 104 sq.

the assembling of a Synod to a 'storm of evils',[1] that St. Gregory of Nazianzus, after presiding at the Council of Constantinople, 381, wrote that he had never seen any good come of Synods,[2] and that St. Martin, after a visit to the Court of Maximus, took care never to attend an assembly of bishops again.[3] But the minority were Arianizers; Gregory was old and ill, and says, in the same letter, that he considers not only synodical action but any action of little value; and Martin's experience was of a handful of persecutors; while there is much testimony, of an opposite kind, to the value of Synods.[4] But the real answer to this objection is, as we have said, that bishops came to Nicaea as witnesses to the Faith; and that the very qualities which discredit some of them as judges make them all the better witnesses.

§ 5. But be the objections what they may, the Council saved the Christian Faith when, by its inexorable test, it banished Arianism from the Church, for Arianism was no less attractive than dangerous.

The attractions of Arianism were many: they appealed to quite different types of mind.

(1) Arianism was essentially rationalistic. 'Throughout their discussions the Arians assumed that there could be no mystery in the Scripture doctrine respecting the nature of God.'[5] This is apparent in the tone of the original Arian syllogism.[6] And hence the appeal of Arianism, like that of Zwinglianism,[7] or Socinianism,[8] to the plain man as the religion of 'common sense'. Catholics insisted, in reply, on 'the inability of human nature to comprehend God'.[9]

(2) Arianism professed to be logical: to get over the difficulty of a Father who was never without His Son.[10] So it appealed to the philosopher, and, specially to the eristic, dialectical, and

[1] Hilary, *Fragm.* iii, § 25 (*Op.* ii. 661; *P. L.* x. 673 A).
[2] Greg. Naz. *Ep.* cxxx (*Op.* iii. 110; *P. G.* xxxvii. 225 A), and Document No. 35.
[3] Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.* iii, § 13 (*P. L.* xx. 219 C).
[4] e. g. Eus. *V. C.* i. 51, and Document 1.
[5] Newman, *Arians*[5], 221. [6] Socr. *H. E.* I. v, § 2.
[7] C. Beard, *The Reformation*, 241 (ed. 1883).
[8] Ibid. 138, of 'that Catholic doctrine of the Sacraments which I can only call the magical'. This is the way in which 'any critic of the present day who has quite passed beyond the influence of sacramental ideas' (ibid. 139) is apt to speak of them.
[9] Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* ii, § 32, *ut sup.*
[10] So the *Thalia* as quoted in Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* i, § 5 (*Op.* ii. 322; *P. G.* xxvi. 21 A).

logic-chopping temper of the times.[1] Catholics would reply that 'Be logical' is a temptation, for all heresies are one-sided, and end by mistaking consistency for truth[2]; that human dialectic has but a limited scope in things divine; and that Arianism itself was supremely illogical.[3] Starting from sonship, it came to deny the Sonship; starting with monotheism, it became guilty of polytheism; starting from the incomprehensibility of the Father to the Son,[4] it ended by asserting that in the Godhead there is no mystery at all, even to us.[5]

(3) Arians would claim that they alone did justice to monotheism.[6] This explains the popularity of Arianism with the Jews.[7] It was, at the core, Monarchian[8] in the heretical sense; insisting, as it did, upon the absence of distinctions within the Godhead, and labelling Catholics as ditheists.[9] The Catholic answer was to supplement the Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ[10] by the Θεὸς ἐν Θεῷ[11]; the Divine *Monarchia* by the Divine Co-inherence. They did not believe with Arius in an external, nor with Sabellius in an 'economic', but in an 'essential', Trinity.

(4) Arians maintained degrees of Godhead,[12] and so attracted the half-converted heathen of the Empire and afterwards its heathen invaders. Catholics flung back the charge of polytheism, and called upon the Arians either to give up their

[1] Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* i, § 22 (*Op.* ii. 336 sq.; *P. G.* xxvi. 57 C), and the illustrations in Newman's note, *ad loc* (*Select Treatises*[7], ii. 22 sq.); Gibbon, c. xxvii (iii. 143, and app. ix, ed. Bury); and Document No. 48.

[2] See the now 'classical' passage in J. B. Mozley, *Development*, 42.

[3] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 26; Robertson, *Ath.* xxx.

[4] So the *Thalia*, *ap.* Ath. *De Synodis*, § 15 (*Op.* ii. 582; *P. G.* xxvi. 708 B): and Document No. 14.

[5] So the ultra-Arian Eunomius, †393, *ap.* Socr. *H. E.* iv. vii, §§ 13, 14, and Newman, *Select Treatises*[7], ii. 44.

[6] So Arius to Alexander, *ap.* Ath. *De Synodis*, § 16 (*Op.* ii. 583; *P. G.* xxvi. 709 C); and Document No. 7.

[7] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 20 and 61 sqq. [8] Robertson, *Ath.* xxvii.

[9] Ath. repudiates the charge: Catholics do not speak of δύο τινας ἀρχας ἢ δύο θεούς, *De Synodis*, § 52 (*Op.* ii. 611; *P. G.* xxvi. 785 B).

[10] The Arians put their own sense on this phrase, Ath. *Ad Afros*, § 5, *ut sup.* Like the Sonship, it might be used to suggest Arianism, if pressed, though it was intended to secure the Divine Unity; Newman, *Arians*[5], 175 sqq.; W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*[2], 212 sq.

[11] John i. 18 and xiv. 11, and 1 Cor. ii. 11, where the Spirit of God is compared to 'the spirit of a man which is *in* him'. This = the περιχώρησις, *Circumincessio* or Co-inherence, Newman, *Arians*[5], 173 sq.; *Select Treatises*[7], ii. 72–9; W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*[2], 134, 190, where note its bearing on the *Atonement*. Arius expressly denied the Co-inherence, Ath. *De Synodis*, § 15 (*Op.* ii. 582; *P. G.* xxvi. 708 A); and Document No. 7.

[12] 'Polytheism,' cries Basil, 'has won the day! The Arians have a big God and a little one,' *Ep.* cclxiii, § 4 (*Op.* iii. 375 C; *P. G.* xxxii. 909 A).

worship of the Son or else to clear themselves of the charge of idolatry.[1]

(5) Arianism was attractive to theologians as providing an escape from Sabellianism.[2] It could, and did, appeal to those great Alexandrian teachers, Origen and Dionysius,[3] who, in order to resist Sabellianism and secure the distinction of the Son from the Father, has laid undue stress on the Filial Subordination. Catholics replied that, if the language of these writers was taken in its entirety,[4] the Subordination[5] of the Son would be seen to mean not the inferiority of the Son to the Father, but to be consistent with His coequality and coeternity, and to assert no more than the *Principatus Patris*[6] or the derivation of the Son from the Father.[7]

(6) Arianism appealed to pious people who, from a mistaken reverence,[8] were afraid of the materializing notions of the Godhead implied, as they thought, in such terms as 'generation' and ὁμοούσιος.[9] To this charge Catholics replied simply by disclaiming all such notions.[10]

(7) Arianism made much of 'proof-texts'. It would pose as the only Scriptural form of the Christian religion. They were such texts as spoke of our Lord as 'Son', 'made', and then 'exalted',[11] and so seemed to connote His inferiority. Catholics replied that the Arians were content with 'disputing instead of investigating'[12]; and Athanasius devoted the main argument of his *Orations against the Arians*[13] to examining the stock-texts of Arianism in detail, with a view to showing that the Scriptures were emphatic upon our Lord's Godhead.

[1] So Athanasius puts the dilemma, Two Gods or Creature-worship, *Orat. c. Ar.* iii, § 16 (*Op.* ii. 447; *P. G.* xxvi. 353 C). Cf. Newman, *Select Treatises*[7], ii. 159 sq.; W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*[2], 153 sq.; and Document No. 43.

[2] So Arius to Alexander, *ap.* Ath. *De Synodis*, § 16 (*Op.* ii. 583; *P. G.* xxvi. 719 A).

[3] See vol. i, c. xvii, § 2.

[4] Ath. *De sententia Dionysii*, esp. § 6 (*Op.* i. 195; *P. G.* xxv. 488 B).

[5] On the Filial Subordination see W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*[2], 212 sq.

[6] Newman prefers this phrase, *Tracts Theol. and Eccl.* 174 (ed. 1899).

[7] Its basis is John v. 26: see Newman, *Select Treatises*[7], ii. 110 sq.

[8] On mistaken reverence as a common cause of heresy, see Newman, *Select Treatises*[7], ii. 147 sq.

[9] Arius to Alexander, *ap.* Ath. *De Synodis*, § 16 (*Op.* ii. 583; *P. G.* xxvi. 709 A); and Document No. 7.

[10] e. g. Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* i, §§ 16, 28 (*Op.* ii. 331, 341; *P. G.* xxvi. 44 D, 70 A).

[11] For the stock-texts of Arianism, classified, see Robertson, *Ath.* xxix, n. 5.

[12] Newman, *Arians*[5], 221.

[13] Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* i, § 37 to iii, § 58.

But apart from this many-sided attractiveness, the dangers of Arianism were real.

It was the first great heresy to spring from a Christian root, viz. 'I believe in one God'. Gnosticism had been as dangerous, but it was heathen in origin and oriental in temper.[1] But Arianism drew strength from laying exclusive stress on the Divine Unity, the first of Christian, and even of theistic, truths.[2]

It has had immense vitality. Its zeal for monotheism, coupled with the, at first sight, contradictory quality that it provided 'the last refuge of dying polytheism',[3] will account for its long career. The fact that it was a retrograde movement towards polytheism will explain how it became the faith of all the Christian barbarians, save the Franks, who invaded the Empire: Goths, Vandals, Burgundians, Lombards.[4] The Huns, of course, were heathen. On the other hand, its monotheism commended it to the followers of Zwingli and Calvin, and to some of the anabaptists. It was a revival of Arianism [5] in England that led to the need for Articles i–iv restating the fundamentals of the Creed. Arianism revived in Poland,[6] about 1570, among the followers of Socinus. Milton became an Arian. 'No one could have read the *Paradise Lost* without suspecting Milton of Arianism,'[7] and it came out frankly in his *De doctrina Christiana*. Then Dr. Clarke was an Arian whom Dr. Hawarden reduced to silence, 1719, before Caroline, Queen of George II, with the question, 'Can God the Father annihilate the Son?' for Clarke was obliged to confess 'That is a question which I have never considered'.[8] Arianism became the grave of English Presbyterianism, and that an Arianism sinking into Socinianism.[9] They thought that Arianism was a platform between 'Orthodoxy' and 'Unitarianism', and it turned out to be no 'platform' but a 'slope'.[10] So age-long has been the influence of this dangerous error.

[1] See vol. i, c. viii. [2] Newman, *Select Treatises*[7], ii. 109.
[3] C. Kingsley, *The Roman and the Teuton*, 68 (ed. 1875).
[4] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 273; for their conversion, Gibbon, c. xxxvii (iv. 75 sqq., ed. Bury).
[5] Cf. a letter of Ridley, 155, in C. Hardwick, *History of the Articles*, 84 (ed. 1884).
[6] Ibid. 86; and C. Hardwick, *Reformation*, 84, n. 4 (ed. 1886).
[7] T. B. Macaulay, *Essays*, 2 (ed. 1874).
[8] H. P. Liddon, *Divinity of our Lord*[11], 17, note t.
[9] Whence The Dissenters' Chapels Act of 1844, 7 & 8 Vict., c. 45 (*Statutes at Large*, xvii. 125 sq.).
[10] Liddon, *Div.* 18; W. Bright, *Waymarks*, 71, and app. c.

What then have been its dangers? They are, in the main, three.

It compromised the divine dignity of Jesus Christ, for it raised a doubt whether Christians might worship Him.[1] Christianity itself was at stake, for, as Thomas Carlyle rightly saw, 'if the Arians had won, it would have dwindled away to a legend'.[2]

It imperilled the strict conception of God, and thus was a menace not only to Christianity but to Theism.

It rendered God inaccessible, as did Gnosticism, for it interposed between God and His creatures a secondary being whose godhead and manhood were both titular,[3] so that he could neither reveal God nor redeem mankind.[4]

It is not too much then to claim for the Nicene Council that it saved not only Christianity but Theism as well. We have now to consider how it dealt with minor questions.

§ 6. The Meletian schism[5] was, as the bishops wrote, 'indulgently'[6] treated. According to their Synodal Letter to the Church of Alexandria,[7] the offence of Meletius was 'rashness'[8] and 'breach of' Church 'order',[9] not apostasy, as Athanasius reports[10]; else the Synod could scarcely have been so lenient. He was received into communion, and treated as a bishop under suspension: with the rank and the powers of the episcopate, but without liberty to exercise its powers.[11] 'Those whom he had appointed' to Holy Orders were to be 'confirmed by a more sacred χειροτονίᾳ'. Some would take this to mean a supplementary, or legitimating, benediction[12]; but this is to ante-date the distinction between 'valid' and 'regular' which was unknown at this time, and was only worked out later by St. Augustine in controversy with the Donatists.[13] The Nicenes treated as invalid

[1] W. Bright, *Waymarks*, 73 sqq.

[2] J. A. Froude, *Carlyle's life in London*[2], ii. 494.

[3] 'The Lord's deity had been denied often enough before, and so had His humanity; but it was reserved for Arianism at once to affirm and to nullify them both,' Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 26.

[4] Robertson, *Ath.* xxx.

[5] See vol. i, c. xviii, § 3.

[6] *Ap.* Socr. *H. E.* I. ix, § 6.

[7] *Ap.* Socr. *H. E.* I. ix, §§ 1–14; Theod. *H. E.* I. ix, §§ 2–13, and Document No. 9.

[8] Ibid., § 5.

[9] Ibid., § 10.

[10] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 59 (*Op.* i. 140; *P. G.* xxv. 356).

[11] Ibid., § 6.

[12] Tillemont, *Mémoires*, vi. 814; J. M. Neale, *Hist. Patriarchate of Alexandria*, i. 146; Hefele, *Conciles*, i. 500, n. 3.

[13] A typical statement of the principle, as applying both to baptism and ordination, is to be found in Aug. *Contra Epist. Parmeniani*, ii, § 28 (*Op.* ix. 44 c; *P. L.* xliii. 70). Cf. C. Gore, *The Church and the Ministry* (1919), 176, n. 1; *Essays on the early history of the Church and the Ministry*, ed. H B. Swete, 95, 146, 191; and vol. i, c. xvi, § 7.

the sacraments bestowed whether in heresy[1] or in schism.[2] So what the Council here directed was that the Meletians were to be reordained.[3] When so reinstated, their bishops were to retain their rank, but to yield precedence to those ordained by Alexander, and not themselves to ordain or do any episcopal act without the consent of the Catholic bishop of the place.[4] An ex-Meletian bishop might succeed a Catholic bishop, if duly elected by the people and confirmed by the archbishop of Alexandria; but this privilege was denied to Meletius himself, because of his breaches of Church order.[5] These decisions were more generous than prudent. Alexander must have felt it so, for, on his return, he made Meletius give in a list of his clergy at once,[6] lest the number claiming communion should go on indefinitely. Athanasius also had cause to regret them, for the Meletians leagued themselves with the Arians,[7] and became prominent among his opponents.

§ 7. The Paschal Question[8] had also claims upon the attention of the Council.

It is important, as showing the pre-eminence which belonged to Easter and the Resurrection in the early Church. All the churches agreed that Easter must be celebrated, that it must be preceded by a fast, and that the Pasch must have some relation to the Jewish date, 14 Nisan. During the second century the question was, What relation? With, or without, further reference to the Lord's Day as well? Some said, Without; for Christianity is the heir of Judaism,[9] and the Apostles observed the Sabbath, went to the Temple, and so forth. So Polycarp 'kept'[10] the 14th Nisan, regardless of the First Day of the Week. He was a Quartodeciman. Others answered, With that reference; for the Resurrection and the Lord's Day are the vital things, and the observance of the Pasch, though it begin on (what we call) Good Friday, is not complete till Easter morning. This was the view

[1] Nicaea. c. 19 (W. Bright, *Canons* [2], xliv. 76 sq.); Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* ii, § 43 (*Op.* ii. 404; *P. G.* xxvi. 237 B).
[2] Nicaea. c. 8 (W. Bright, *Canons* [2], xi. 29 sqq.).
[3] Swete, *Essays*, &c., 176, and Index II, s.v. *χειροτονία*, p. 427.
[4] Synodal Letter, *ap.* Socr. *H. E.* I. ix, § 9.
[5] Ibid., § 10.
[6] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 71 (*Op.* i. 148; *P. G.* xxv. 376 sq.).
[7] Ibid., § 59 (*Op.* i. 140; *P. G.* xxv. 357 A).
[8] See vol. i, c. vii, § 3, c. xiv, §§ 1, 6.
[9] 'Iudaizante adhuc in multis ecclesia,' Bede, *H. E.* iii, § 25, and the note in ii. 190, ed. C. Plummer.
[10] Ἀεὶ τετηρηκότα, Eus. *H. E.* V. xxiv, § 16.

of Pope Anicetus, who 'refused to keep'[1] the 14th Nisan only. During the third century the Paschal question entered upon a further stage. It was not now, 'Should we calculate Easter by reference to the day of the week as well as to (14th Nisan) the day of the month?' but, 'Must we not also take care to relate this lunar date to the solar year, i. e. take into account the equinox?'[2] Thus, at the opening of the fourth century, Christendom contained three varieties of practice as to the Paschal observance.

There were some who, with the later[3] Jews, kept the 14th Nisan, regardless of the equinox, and so may be distinguished as (1) Judaizing Quartodecimans, chiefly to be found in 'Syria, Cilicia, and Mesopotamia'.[4]

There were also equinoctialists, of whom a minority were (2) Quartodecimans. 'They kept Easter after the equinox, refusing to celebrate it with the [later] Jews'[5]; and simply on the 14th Nisan, whether a Sunday or not. (3) The majority, on the other hand, including all the West and the greater part of Eastern Christendom, kept Easter on the Sunday after the full moon which followed the vernal equinox.[6]

Such was the diversity of practice with which the Council had to deal. The bishops, in their decisions[7] about the Paschal question, ruled with the majority (1) that Easter Day should always be a Sunday[8]: this was fatal to Quartodecimans, whether equinoctialists or not; (2) that Easter Day should never be celebrated at the same time as the feast of the Jews,[9] i. e. that, if the 14th Nisan fell on a Sunday, Easter Day should be deferred to the Sunday following: not so to defer it was the characteristic offence of the Celtic party, though not Quartodeciman, in the eyes of their continental opponents at the Synod of Whitby[10]

[1] Μὴ τηρεῖν, Eus. *H. E.* v. xxiv, § 16.

[2] Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria 247–†65, raised this question, Eus. *H. E.* VII. xx.

[3] Socrates contrasts these with 'the Jews of old time', and says that the latter, according to Josephus [*Ant.* III. x, § 5], kept the equinox, Socr. *H. E.* v. xxii, § 20.

[4] Socrates says they belonged to 'the Eastern districts', ibid., § 18; but Ath. is more precise, *De Synodis*, § 5, and *Ad Afros*, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 574, 713; *P. G.* xxvi. 688 B, 1032 C).

[5] Socr. *H. E.* v. xxii, § 19.

[6] Socr. *H. E.* I. ix, §§ 41, 42, and v. xxii, § 21, and Document No. 10.

[7] Constantine's letter to the churches, *ap.* Socr. *H. E.* I. ix, §§ 32–46, and Document No. 10.

[8] Ibid., §§ 34, 43.

[9] Ibid., §§ 35, 36, 41, 42.

[10] Bede, *H. E.* iii, § 25.

in 664; (3) that Easter should never be celebrated twice in the year,[1] as it might easily be by those who refused to take account of the equinox. Whether the Council did more, and, as St. Cyril[2] and St. Leo[3] affirm, authorized the Church of Alexandria to ascertain, year by year, the date of Easter, and thus gave its indirect sanction to the Anatolian cycle[4] in use at Alexandria, may be open to doubt: the affirmation is not quite borne out by the subsequent history of the Paschal controversy.[5]

§ 8. The Nicene Canons[6] are the last, and, next to the decisions against Arianism, the most important monument of the Council. Its legislation, like that of later Synods, was merely occasional, not systematic. It dealt with questions of the moment: with a legacy of difficulties from the third century and the persecutions, with questions of clerical discipline, with the hierarchy, and with worship.

(1) Canons 8, 19, and 11–14 deal with difficulties, bequeathed from the previous century, about schism and heresy, and with others arising out of the recent persecution. Thus, according to c. 8, Novatianist clerics may be admitted on condition of re-ordination, and a written promise to communicate with digamists and with repentant lapsed. Such clerics, where there are no Catholic clergy, may hold their former rank; but, if there be a Catholic bishop of the place, the ex-Novatianist bishop may either have the rank of bishop accorded to him or else a place as *chorepiscopus* or presbyter, out of regard to the fundamental principle, 'there may not be two bishops in one city'.[7] The

[1] Constantine *ap.* Socr. *H. E.* I. ix, §§ 37, 38.

[2] Cyril of Alexandria, *Ep.* lxxxvii [A. D. 437], § 2 (*Op.* x. 383; *P. G.* lxxvii. 385 B).

[3] Leo, *Ep.* cxxi [A. D. 453], § 2 (*Op.* i. 1228; *P. L.* liv. 1056). His assertion is doubtful because, after Nicaea, Rome continued to place the equinox on March 18th, and Alexandria, more correctly and as we do, on March 21; so that, 387, the Alexandrian Easter fell on April 25, and was five weeks later than the Roman, which fell on March 21, Hefele, *Conciles*, i. 464, n. 1.

[4] Eus. *H. E.* VII. xxxii, §§ 14–19. As Rome used a cycle of eighty-four years, attributed to, but older than, Sulpicius Severus, †425, and invariably treated the Nicene decisions with profound veneration, it is hardly likely that the Council sanctioned the Anatolian cycle, in use at Alexandria, of nineteen years.

[5] For this, see W. Bright, *Chapters in Early English Church History*,[3] 88 sqq.

[6] W. Bright, *Canons*[2], ix–xv for text, 1–89 for notes; and for transl. W. A. Hammond, *The Definitions of Faith of the Six Oecumenical Councils* (Oxford, 1843), or H. R. Percival, *The Seven Oec. Councils*, 8–42 (*N. and P.-N. F.*, vol. xiv), and Document No. 11.

[7] Cornelius, bishop of Rome 251–†3, is emphatic upon this principle, *ap.*

treatment thus meted out to Novatianist bishops, when reconsecrated, was the same as that given to Meletius, who was allowed the episcopal character without the episcopal jurisdiction. By c. 19 the Paulianists, or followers of Paul of Samosata, chiefly near Antioch, where he had been bishop, *c.* 260–70, were to be baptized *de novo*, and Paulianist clergy to be reordained. The Council required right faith, as well as right 'form' and 'matter' for the validity of the sacraments. Canons 11–14 deal with questions arising out of the persecutions, especially, cc. 11, 12, the Licinian. In c. 11 'the tyranny of Licinius' is mentioned; while c. 12 deals with officers who had resigned their commission and then sought to get it back, by bribery, instead of standing firm against the Emperor's order to sacrifice or be dismissed the army. We may note that the four stages of penance (of which the last three are mentioned in c. 11), viz. Mourners, Hearers, Kneelers, and Co-standers, were never all in use in the West, nor even universal in the East.[1]

(2) Canons 1, 2, 9, 10, and 3, 15–18 are concerned with clerical discipline. Thus, admission to Orders was denied by c. 1 to the voluntarily mutilated, by c. 2 to neophytes, by c. 9 to the untested, and by c. 10 to the lapsed. The Council also rebukes, and thus testifies to, clerical laxity by forbidding *subintroductae* in c. 3; clerical secularity by forbidding, in c. 15, translation to bishops, and, in c. 16, vagabondage to inferior clergy; clerical rapacity, in c. 17, by denouncing clerical usurers[2]; clerical presumption, in c. 18, by curbing the forwardness of deacons.

(3) Canons 4, 5, 6, and 7 have respect to the hierarchy.

The fourth canon assumes the adoption by the Church of the civil divisions of the Empire,[3] and the respective rights of clergy

Eus. *H. E.* VI. xliii, § 11, and so is Cyprian, bishop of Carthage 248–†58, in *Ep.* lix, § 5 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 672); and Documents, i, No. 145.

[1] L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship* [5], 436, n. 1.

[2] The biblical and ecclesiastical condemnation of usury, or interest, rests upon the supposition that the lender takes advantage of the needs of the borrower. When at last commerce became titanic, and interest came to be looked upon simply as payment for the use of capital, the old objections began to give way. The change, in England, is marked by H. Bullinger's *Decades*, in 1577. 'Damnatur enim usura in Scripturis quatenus coniungitur cum iniquitate et pernicie proximi. Quis enim prohibeat elocari usum agri, domus, pecuniae, et inde aequum aliquem fructum percipere?' Decas III, Sermo i, 'de praecepto decalogi viii' in *Sermonum Decades Quinque* i. 94 (Tiguri, 1577).

[3] For these divisions see Gibbon, c. xvii (ii. 165 sqq., ed. Bury), and app. xi (548 sq.); and for the gradual accommodation of the hierarchy of the Church to that of the State, Duchesne, *Chr. Worship* [5], 13–23.

and laity in an episcopal election. Then, dealing only with the final stage of appointment, it provides against furtive consecrations, such as had given rise to the Meletian schism, by requiring three consecrators, the assent of the comprovincials, and confirmation by the metropolitan.

The fifth canon applies the principle of the unity of the episcopate to secure recognition by all bishops, of discipline inflicted by any one, subject to rectification, where equity demands it, by synodical action.

The sixth canon, beginning, 'Let the ancient customs prevail', is the most important of the series.

Its occasion is clear. Like c. 4 it was prompted by a desire to prevent the repetition of the Meletian disorders. The bishop of Alexandria, by ancient custom, ruled over a district (not a civil 'diocese' till soon after 376) including five 'provinces', in none of which, however, was there a metropolitan.[1] The bishop of Alexandria was sole metropolitan in Egypt; and, as such, consecrated each and all of the hundred bishops there. Egypt was, with one exception, the only region in which the Patriarch, as he ultimately came to be called, came into immediate contact with, what we should call, the diocesan bishops. They were his suffragans; and Meletius had been guilty, by invading the rights of the see of Alexandria, of disturbing these old relations between the archbishop of Alexandria and his suffragans, which were now once more to prevail.

In support of these prerogatives of the see of Alexandria, the one exception is quoted. In the district over which the bishop of Rome presided there were no metropolitans, or, at least, none such as elsewhere.[2] Such rights, then, of direct authority over diocesans, as the Roman see exercises within its own sphere, these the see of Alexandria is to enjoy, as hitherto, in its sphere. This is the plain meaning of the Greek; but, unfortunately, the canon does not mention what the Roman sphere was. Two questions, then, arise: What, if any, is the further evidence of the Latin Versions? and, What was the Roman sphere?

[1] Egypt became the thirteenth 'Diocese', under an Augustal Prefect, soon after 376. At the time of the Co. of Nicaea the five 'provinces' were (1) Aegyptus, (2) Augustamnica, (3) Thebais, (4) Libya Superior=Cyrenaica and the Pentapolis, (5) Libya Inferior [E. of (4) and W. of (1)]. Afterwards there was a sixth, Arcadia, cut out of (1) and lying S. of (1) and N. of (3).

[2] Possibly Capua for Campania, and Caliaris for Sardinia.

As to the Latin Versions,[1] the two oldest support the Greek. The *Vetus* or *Caeciliani*[2] was that which Caecilian, bishop of Carthage 311–25, brought back with him from Nicaea: while *Attici*[3] was made at Constantinople by comparison of *Vetus* with the authenticated original. Both are connected with the Council of Carthage in 419 and the case of Apiarius. The Council produced *Caeciliani*, and had it checked at Alexandria[4]; and they wrote to Atticus, archbishop of Constantinople 406–†26, for the version called *Attici* after him.[5] But at the Council of Chalcedon,[6] 451, the Roman legate, Paschasinus, bishop of Lilibaeum 449–51, produced a variation, according to which the sixth canon began, 'Ecclesia Romana semper habuit primatum'.[7] It was instantly confronted with the Greek original and repudiated.[8] We may sympathize with the dismay of the legate, though we need not question his good faith, for he could not read Greek. The addition turns out to be 'an incorrect fifth-century clause'[9] resting on two Latin versions, *Antiquissima* or *Codex Ingilrami*,[10] an Italian version of the fourth century, and *Prisca*,[11] made up, in the fifth or sixth century, of *Attici* and *Ingilrami*. It is purely an Italian reading; and, moreover, is ignored by the Isidorian version[12] and by the version in the *Canones ecclesiastici*,[13] *c.* 510,

[1] C. H. Turner, *Eccl. Occ. Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima*, Fasc. I, Pars ii (Oxonii, 1894).

[2] 'Caeciliani': 'De primatibus qui ad quasdam pertinent civitates.—Antiqua per Aegyptum atque Pentapolim consuetudo servetur ut Alexandrinus episcopus horum habeat sollicitudinem, quoniam et urbis Romae episcopo similis mos est ut in suburbicaria loca sollicitudinem gerat,' ibid. I. ii. 120, col. i.

[3] 'Attici': 'De primatibus qui ad quasdam pertinent civitates.—Antiqui mores obtineant qui apud Aegyptum sunt et Libiam et Penthapolim ut Alexandriae episcopus omnium habeat sollicitudinem, quia et urbis Romae episcopo similis mos est,' ibid. II. i. 220, col. ii.

[4] Ibid. I. ii. 103. [5] Ibid. [6] Sessio xvi, 1 November 451.

[7] 'Secundum Rustici syllogen anno 550 evulgatum' (ibid. I. ii. 148, app. vii). 'Pascasinus reverentissimus episcopus, vicarius sedis apostolicae, dixit: Trecentorum decem et octo sanctorum patrum, canon sextus; Ecclesia Romana semper habuit primatum. . . .'

[8] Mansi, vii. 443–4 C, D. [9] W. Bright, *Roman See*, 483.

[10] Ingilram was bishop of Teate (Chieti).—'De primatu ecclesiae Romanae. Ecclesia Romana semper habuit primatum. Teneat autem et Aegyptus ut episcopus Alexandriae omnium habeat potestatem, quoniam et Romano episcopo haec est consuetudo . . .,' Turner, I. ii. 121, col. ii.

[11] 'Prisca.'—'De primatu ecclesiae Romanae vel aliarum civitatum episcopi. Antiqui moris est ut urbis Romae episcopus habeat principatum ut suburbicaria loca et omnem provinciam sua sollicitudine gubernet; qui vero apud Aegyptum sunt, Alexandriae episcopus omnium habeat sollicitudinem . . .,' ibid. I. ii. 121, col. i. [12] Ibid. I. ii. 197.

[13] Ibid. I. ii. 260. Text of these canons in *P. L.* lxvii. 135–230.

of Dionysius Exiguus. This last agrees with the Greek, and, as sanctioned by the Roman church, involves an official withdrawal of the clause.

What, then, was the Roman sphere? The paraphrase of Rufinus[1] has 'suburbicariarum ecclesiarum'; and *Vetus*, with *Prisca*, reads 'suburbicaria loca'. This, as a legal term, would, in the fourth century, mean the ten provinces of central and southern Italy, with the three islands, Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily, which were administered, in civil affairs, by the Vicar of the City.[2] Within this region the bishop of Rome was sole metropolitan. The sixth canon of Nicaea requires, therefore, that the bishop of Alexandria is to have like powers in Egypt.

The natural conclusion is that 'the first Oecumenical Council knew nothing of the doctrine of papal supremacy'.[3] *Primatus*, in the context in the Latin versions, merely means patriarchal or primatial, not papal, authority.[4] It would have been irrelevant, as it was a case of jurisdiction, to mention the *primatus honoris*[5]; but, as they were considering authority, they could not have drawn a conclusion in favour of the patriarchal rights of Alexandria from similar rights of Rome without a saving clause in reservation of the universal sovereignty of the Roman see, had they known such sovereignty to exist. To say, therefore, as Roman Catholic scholars do, that only the patriarchal rights of Rome were in question, and that its papal authority might therefore be tacitly assumed as there in the background,[6] is impossible. The language of the canon is exactly what would be natural on the part of a Council which knew nothing of the papal claims, and was merely drawing an analogy from the position of one great see to that of

[1] Rufinus, *H. E.* I, § 6 (*Op.* 225; *P. L.* xxi. 473 c).—'Et ut apud Alexandriam vel in urbe Roma vetusta consuetudo servetur, ut vel ille Aegypti vel hic suburbicariarum ecclesiarum sollicitudinem gerat,' Turner, I. ii. 197, col. i, and note.

[2] There were ultimately, *c.* 378, six praefectures—Oriens, Illyricum, Italia, Gallia [and the two City praefectures], Roma, CP. The Praefectus Urbis exercised civil authority within a hundred miles of Rome; but he is not in question here. The Praefectus Italiae had two lieutenants: (i) the Vicarius Italiae, ruling over 'Italy' proper, i. e. what we call northern Italy, with eastern Switzerland and the Tyrol, and (ii) the Vicarius Urbis, ruling over the 'suburbicarian provinces' of (1) Tuscia Umbria, (2) Picenum suburbicarium, (3) Campania, (4) Samnium, (5) Valeria, (6) Lucania Bruttii, (7) Apulia Calabria, (8) Sicilia, (9) Sardinia, (10) Corsica: see R. L. Poole, *Atlas of Modern History*, Map I, by J. B. Bury, and, for the sees in this region, K. Heussi und H. Mulert, *Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte*, Map II.

[3] W. Bright, *Canons*[2], 26. [4] Ibid., *Roman See*, 76, n. 1.

[5] Const., c. 3. [6] Hefele, *Conciles*, i. 560, 562; *Engl. Tr.* i. 394, 397.

another. 'It is not what would be natural on the part of any assembly of Christian bishops who believed that Christ had given to the Roman see a plenitude of jurisdiction, which differed not only in degree but in kind from that of any other see whatsoever.'[1]

The seventh canon, giving honorary precedence, next after his metropolitan at Caesarea, to the bishop of Aelia or Jerusalem, is merely a special case of the conformity of the ecclesiastical to the civil arrangements; the more remarkable in view of the spiritual claims of Jerusalem to be the mother-church of Christendom.

(4) Canon 20 regulates Worship. It requires standing at the Eucharist on the Lord's Day from Easter to Whitsuntide; and is interesting as bearing on the importance attached to the Resurrection, and on the symbolic purpose of some, though by no means all, ceremonial[2]: not to stand would be a constructive denial of the Resurrection. Standing to receive Communion was once the rule, and has left many 'traces', such as the habit of the priest to stand at his own Communion.[3] Standing was the position proper to sacrifice,[4] and therefore to Communion, which is the consummation of the sacrifice. But the habit of standing at the Eucharist has now been largely dropped; and thus 'a laudable practice of the whole Catholick Church'[5]—a Catholic usage, if ever there was one—is ignored. This is worth noting: the disciplinary regulations, even of an Oecumenical Council, are not binding except when and where received. They contrast in this with its dogmatic decisions.[6]

[1] W. Bright, *Roman See*, 80, q. v. on the whole question, and E. Denny, *Papalism*, §§ 311–22.

[2] W. H. Frere, *The Principles of Religious Ceremonial*, c. x.

[3] F. E. Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica* [2], 727.

[4] Ibid. 210.

[5] Preface to *The Book of Common Prayer*.

[6] W. Palmer, *A Treatise on the Church* [2], ii. 292 sq.; M. Philippson, *La contre-révolution*, 588 sq.

CHAPTER III

THE ARIAN REACTION, TO THE DEATH OF CONSTANTINE, 325–337

'THE victory of Nicaea was a surprise rather than a solid conquest.'[1] A few clear-headed men had carried with them an assembly which wanted to put down Arianism, but was not quite at ease about the weapons with which it had done so. A reaction was inevitable with the majority, as soon as they got home. But the struggle, as at first renewed, centred upon persons: the new archbishop of Alexandria, and the restored bishop of the capital. Not till after the death of Constantine did it become 'overtly doctrinal',[2] nor the Arianizers venture an alternative creed.

§ 1. At Alexandria bishop Alexander was succeeded by his deacon.

On his return from the Council Alexander took his time, but at length carried out its instructions respecting the Meletians. He required their chief to send in a schedule of his bishops and clergy.[3] Meletius did so, and presented them in person.[4] But not till November 327. Neither side was in love with the compromise. 'Five months'[5] had scarcely gone by when, on the death of Alexander, his church was thrown into confusion over the choice of a successor. Perhaps to avoid the responsibilities that awaited him, Athanasius was absent at Alexander's death.[6]

On 8 June 328[7] Athanasius was elected Archbishop; and with his accession his *Expositio Fidei*[8] may probably be connected.

[1] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 54. [2] Robertson, *Ath.* xxxiv.

[3] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 71 (*Op.* i. 148; *P. G.* xxv. 376 sq.). One of them, John Arcaph, is noted as having been 'ordered by the Emperor to be with the archbishop'. This appears to be the earliest instance of the title 'archbishop'. [4] Ibid., § 72 (*Op.* i. 148; *P. G.* xxv. 377 A).

[5] For the questions about this date, see Robertson, *Ath.* xxi, lxxxi. 131, n. 4. The 'five months' appear in Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 59 (*Op.* i. 140; *P. G.* xxv. 357 A), and in Theodoret, *H. E.* I. xxvi, § 1, where they are reckoned from the Council; but this is doubtful.

[6] Apollinaris the elder, himself an Alexandrian, *ap.* Sozomen. *H. E.* II. xvii, § 3. [7] *Festal Index*, § 1, *ap.* Robertson, *Ath.* 503.

[8] Ath. *Op.* i. 79–81 (*P. G.* xxv. 199–208); tr. Robertson, *Ath.* 83–5, who assigns as reasons for this date (1) the absence of express controversy with Arians, and (2) the free use of ὅμοιος, which would have been impossible later. He also notes the use of ὁ Κυριακὸς ἄνθρωπος for our Lord's

It consists of, § 1, a statement of the Faith with an explanation which, § 2, repudiates Sabellianism and Tritheism and, §§ 3–4, excludes, though without naming, Arianism.

Two questions arise in connexion with this election: as to its regularity, and as to the alleged change in the mode of appointing a bishop of Alexandria.

In regard to its regularity, the authorities are eight,[1] and confused. They point possibly to two rivals: Theonas elected by the Meletians,[2] and Achillas by the Arians[3]; probably to one, Theonas.[4] At any rate, there was opposition from Meletians and Arians. Further, about 339, the Eusebians put about a story that 'after the death of Alexander, some few persons mentioned Athanasius, and six or seven bishops clandestinely consecrated him'[5]; and the story appears with embellishments, both in Sozomen[6] and in the Arian Philostorgius.[7] According to the former, the election was irregular; according to the latter, it was scandalous. But the Encyclical of the Egyptian Bishops, in 339, in reply to the calumny, makes it clear that the election contained all the elements of a regular appointment, though they admit that it was not unanimous. There were the shouts of the people—'Give us Athanasius, the good, the pious, one of the ascetics'; and there was the consent of the majority of the bishops in synod.[8] Gregory of Nazianzus is satisfied that the election was 'by the vote of the whole people'[9]; and even Gibbon allows that the bishops would not 'solemnly attest a *public* falsehood'.[10]

In regard to the change said to have taken place, on this occasion, in the mode of appointing a bishop at Alexandria, the allegation is made by Sa'id Ibn Batrik, Melkite Patriarch of Alexandria, 933–†40, who took the name of Eutychius. He says that, according to the ordinance of St. Mark, the patriarch was chosen by a college of twelve presbyters, and was always one of

Humanity. On this use of the phrase [= *Homo Dominicus*], as of ἄνθρωπος and *homo* = manhood, see Newman, *Select Tr.*[7] ii. 366, and W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*[2], 165 sq.

[1] Enumerated in Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 70, n. 2.
[2] Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxviii, § 7 (*Op.* ii. 722; *P. G.* xlii. 196 A).
[3] Ibid. lxix, § 11 (*Op.* ii. 735 sq.; *P. G.* xlii. 220 B).
[4] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 70, n. 2.
[5] *Letter of the Egyptian Bishops*, 339, *ap.* Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 6 (*Op.* i. 101; *P. G.* xxv. 257 B).
[6] Sozomen, *H. E.* II. xvii, § 4.
[7] Philostorgius, *H. E.* ii, § 11 (*P. G.* lxv. 473 A).
[8] *Ap.* Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 6 (*Op.* i. 102; *P. G.* xxv. 260 A).
[9] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxi, § 8 (*Op.* i. 390; *P. G.* xxxv. 1089 B).
[10] Gibbon, c. xxi, n. 101 (ii. 363, ed. Bury).

their number, 'the rest of them laying their hands on his head, and thus blessing him and making him patriarch'; but that Alexander 'forbade the presbyters to appoint the patriarch', and 'ordered the bishops' to do so instead.[1] Here it should be noted that Eutychius wrote six hundred years after the event, and that his history is grotesque: he says that there were two thousand and forty-eight bishops at Nicaea,[2] and he speaks of Origen as a bishop in the time of Justinian.[3] Eutychius, it would seem, is repeating and amplifying an older story; for Poemen, a hermit, of *c.* 350–400, is said to have entertained 'some heretics who came to him and began to abuse the archbishop of Alexandria as having received ordination from presbyters'. Poemen 'made no answer', but gave them some dinner, and 'sent them away in peace'.[4] The 'heretics' here can scarcely be other than Arians; nor can the 'archbishop' be any one but Athanasius. The story of a change in the mode of ordination at Alexandria occurs also in a celebrated letter of Jerome, who assigns the change to *c.* 250.[5] So far as it bears upon the early history of the ministry, specially in Alexandria, it has received full discussion in an earlier chapter.[6] Suffice it, for our present purpose, to accept the local tradition of Alexandria as to the date of the change alleged, and to set the story down as an Arian slander against Athanasius.[7]

Athanasius was thus regularly consecrated to the second see in Christendom. The 'pope'[8] of Alexandria, like the bishop of Rome, had direct jurisdiction over all the bishops of what we may call, for convenience, though by anticipation, his patriarchate. Hence the solidarity of Egypt, and the speedy disappearance of Arianism from its borders. He had wealth[9] too; and even at this date, the position of a great secular potentate. So great a personality as Athanasius, occupying a place of such importance, would certainly be marked down for attack. His chief opponent, equal in ability but not in character, was soon in a position to set the attack afoot.

[1] Eutychius, *Annales* (*P. G.* cxi. 982 B, C); and Documents, i, No. 225.
[2] Eutychius, *Annales* (*P. G.* cxi. 1006 B). [3] Ibid. 1073 B.
[4] *Apophthegmata Patrum*, 78 (*P. G.* lxv. 341 B); Documents, i. No. 221.
[5] Jerome, *Ep.* cxlvi, § 1 (*Op.* i. 1082; *P. L.* xxii. 1194), and Documents, i, No. 211.
[6] Vol. i, c. xv, § 1.
[7] Cf. C. H. Turner, in *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, i. 160.
[8] So called by Arius in his letter to Eus. Nic. *ap.* Theodoret, *H. E.* I. v, § 1, and Document No. 6.
[9] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 9 (*Op.* i. 104; *P. G.* xxv. 265 A).

§ 2. At the Court Eusebius was established as bishop, first of Nicomedia, 329–39, and afterwards of Constantinople, 339–†42. In earlier life he had been, with Arius, a fellow-pupil of Lucian[1]; and at one time about the court of Licinius.[2] It may have been through Constantia, wife of Licinius and half-sister of Constantine, that he received his first appointment to Berytus, now Beyrout. This he left for Nicomedia[3] where, 'as a man of considerable learning', he was held in high repute at the 'palace'.[4] At Nicaea he stood loyally by his friend Arius; but neither learning nor influence at Court could save him from having to sign the Nicene Creed, anathemas and all[5]; nor, 'three months after the Council', from banishment, November 325, as well—apparently for having sheltered some Arians.[6] But this exile did not last long. He had influence enough to procure his recall, without retracting or concealing anything. For about 329 we find him once more in high favour with the Emperor[7], and Arianism steadily regaining power till his death, as bishop of Constantinople, early in 342.

§ 3. The policy of the Eusebians, initiated by Eusebius on his recall, was not to attack, but to undermine, the Nicene decisions. They carried it out by procuring the recall of Arius; the deposition, in turn, of the Nicene leaders; and then new Creeds, devised to oust the Nicene Creed by putting Arianism into attractive form. Eusebius was a master of intrigue,[8] and won his way where Arians, with their coarse profanity, would have failed. The first two objects he had secured before the death of Constantine, the third in the early days of his son Constantius.

(1) The recall of Arius may, for convenience, be assigned to 330, though the date is uncertain.[9] It was managed, so the story goes, through an Arian presbyter whom Constantia recommended

[1] Arius to Eus. Nic. *ap.* Theod. *H. E.* I. v, § 4.

[2] Constantine *ap.* Theod. *H. E.* I. xx, § 1.

[3] *Letter of Egyptian Bishops, ap.* Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 6 (*Op.* i. 102; *P. G.* xxv. 260 B). [4] Sozomen, *H. E.* I. xv, § 9.

[5] So say (1) Ath. *De Decretis*, §§ 3, 18 (*Op.* i. 165, 175; *P. G.* xxv. 428 C, 453 D); and (2) Philostorgius, *H. E.* i, § 9 (*P. G.* lxv. 464 sq.), with a mental reservation and on the advice of Constantia; and (3) Epiph. *Haer.* lxix, § 11 (*Op.* ii. 735; *P. G.* xlii. 220 A). If so, the statement in the Recantation of Eusebius and Theognis, *ap.* Socr. *H. E.* I. xiv, § 3, and Soz. *H. E.* II. xvi, § 4, that they signed the Creed but not the anathemas, cannot be sustained. The 'Recantation' is probably spurious: see Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 269, 744, 810; Gwatkin, *Arianism* [2], 53, n. 1.

[6] Constantine *ap.* Theod. *H. E.* I. xx, § 9.

[7] Socr. *H. E.* I. xxiii, § 1. [8] Gwatkin, *Arianism* [2], 75.

[9] Discussed in Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 272, 744 sq.; Gwatkin, *Arianism* [2], 90, n. 2.

on her death-bed to her brother. He persuaded Constantine that Arius had been misrepresented; whence, on receipt of a letter of recall, dated 27 November, Arius and his friend Euzoius hastened to Constantinople.[1] Here, in obedience to the Emperor's orders, they presented the 'second' Arian Creed,[2] the statement of Arius to his bishop, Alexander, being commonly reckoned as the 'first'.[3] The confession now presented was evasive, though not unorthodox. 'We believe', say its authors, '. . . in the Lord Jesus Christ, His Son, who was begotten of Him before all ages, God [and] Word . . . Who came down and was incarnate and suffered.' Perhaps for this reason, because it was 'ambiguous',[4] it satisfied the Emperor, the more so as it ended with desires for peace,[5] which echoed his own language 'to Alexander and Arius' some six years earlier.[6] On the strength of it Arius returned to Alexandria. But Athanasius refused to receive him, and so gave a handle to the Eusebians to embroil him with the Emperor.[7] 'The time', he wrote in his *Festal Letter* for 331, 'is one of tribulation which the heretics excite against us'[8]; and it is probable that he here refers to the renewal of strife consequent upon the return of Arius.

(2) The deposition of the Nicene leaders began with an attack on Eustathius,[9] bishop of Antioch, 324–30.

Eustathius was a native of Side[10] in Pamphylia, and a 'confessor' in the last persecution.[11] As bishop of Beroea,[12] now Aleppo, in Syria, he was of sufficient consideration to receive from Alexander a copy of the circular that has reached us in the form of his letter to Alexander of Byzantium in the matter of Arius; and was presently translated, against the ancient rule of the Church,[13] to Antioch. Sozomen calls him 'eloquent',[14] and Theodoret, who preserves a fragment from one of his sermons on *Prov.* viii. 22,[15]

[1] Socr. *H. E.* I. xxiii. [2] Ibid. I. xxvi; Soz. *H. E.* II. xxvii, §§ 6–10.
[3] *Ap.* Ath. *De Synodis*, § 16 (*Op.* ii. 583; *P. G.* xxvi. 703 sq.).
[4] Soz. *H. E.* II. xxvii, § 11. [5] Socr. *H. E.* I. xxvi, § 6.
[6] Socr. *H. E.* I. vii, §§ 3–20. [7] Socr. *H. E.* I. xxvii, §§ 1, 2.
[8] *Festal Ep.* iii, § 5 (Robertson, *Ath.* 514).
[9] For the authorities see Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 77, n. 2.
[10] Jerome, *De vir. illustr.*, § 85 (*Op.* 923; *P. L.* xxiii. 691 B).
[11] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 4 (*Op.* i. 274; *P. G.* xxv. 697); *Apol. de Fuga*, § 3 (*Op.* i. 254; *P. G.* xxv. 648 B). [12] Theod. *H. E.* I. iv, § 62.
[13] The chief Ante-Nicene precedent was that of Alexander, a bishop in Cappadocia, to Jerusalem, Eus. *H. E.* VI. xi, § 2; on translations see Nic. 15 and W. Bright, *Canons*[2], *ad loc.*; and J. Bingham, *Ant.* VI. iv. § 6.
[14] Sozomen, *H. E.* II. xix, § 7. [15] Theod. *H. E.* I. viii, §§ 1–5.

the favourite Arian text, speaks of him as ' the great Eustathius '.[1] He enjoyed great and lasting popularity in Antioch; and at Nicaea the weight that he carried[2] was in proportion to his high station, ability, and zeal.[3] Returning thence, he refused to receive among his clergy some Arianizers who afterwards became leaders of their faction[4]; and, being a strong opponent of Origen,[5] he even denounced his neighbour, Eusebius of Caesarea. Eusebius retorted with the charge of Sabellianism[6]; and so the quarrel stood when occasion offered for the other Eusebius to intervene.

This was at the Synod of Antioch,[7] 330. Making an occasion of their visit to the Emperor's new foundations at Jerusalem, the Eusebians passed through Antioch on their way. They met with a friendly reception from Eustathius. At Jerusalem they concerted measures with Eusebius of Caesarea and the Arianizing clique in Syria; and returned to Antioch to hold a Council against Eustathius. They put up three charges: disrespect to St. Helena, the Emperor's mother[8]; Sabellianism[9]; and seduction.[10] They then deposed him, and procured his banishment to Thrace[11] (or, further afield, to Illyricum[12].) Eustathius never returned to Antioch, though his death seems not to have taken place till *c.* 356–60.

The Antiochene Schism, 330–414, was the outcome of his deposition. To prevent a riot Eustathius was removed by force of arms, and the see was offered to Eusebius of Caesarea. He declined translation, according to Constantine, on the ground of ' the apostolic canon of the Church '[13]; but probably also because he shrank from the party feuds of Antioch. For a year or two the Cappadocian, Euphronius,[14] 331, succeeded, and then Flacillus,

[1] Theod. *H. E.* I. viii, § 6, and I. xxi, § 3.
[2] F. J. A. Hort, *Two Dissertations*, 59.
[3] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 4 (*Op.* i. 274; *P. G.* xxv. 697 D). [4] Ibid. 700 A.
[5] Socrates mentions Methodius, Eustathius, Apollinaris, and Theophilus as a ' quaternion of calumniators ' against Origen, *H. E.* VI. xiii, §§ 3, 4.
[6] Socr. *H. E.* I. xxiii, § 8; Soz. *H. E.* II. xviii, § 4.
[7] Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 641–7. The story is given at length only by Theod. I. xxi. It is open to suspicion, as he speaks of Eusebius as bishop of CP. But Theodoret *is* an authority about the affairs of Antioch. Cf. Gwatkin, *Arianism* [2], 77, n. 2.
[8] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 4 (*Op.* i. 274; *P. G.* xxv. 700 A); and cf. ' Stabulariam hanc [*sc.* Helenam] primo fuisse ferunt, sic cognitam Constantio ', Ambrose, *De obitu Theodosii*, § 42 (*Op.* II. i. 1209; *P. L.* xvi. 1399 B), and Gibbon, c. xiv, n. 11 (i. 397, ed. Bury).
[9] Socr. *H. E.* I. xxiv, §§ 1–4. [10] Theod. *H. E.* I. xxi, §§ 5–8.
[11] Chrysostom, *Hom. in S. Eustath. Ant.*, § 2 (*Op.* II. ii. 605 A; *P. G.* l. 605).
[12] Jerome, *De viris illustr.*, § 85, *ut sup.* [13] Eus. *V. C.* iii. 61.
[14] Ibid. 62.

332–†42. But, says Theodoret, 'these were secretly tainted with Arianism'.[1] Some Catholics thought that they were best obeying the parting words of Eustathius, 'not to betray the flock to the wolves but to remain within'[2] by not breaking unity. Others began to worship apart. The latter came to be known as the Eustathians.

Athanasius was next attacked; and 'the long tragedy'[3] now begins whose first act ends with his first exile in 336.

The first two or three years of his episcopate, 328–30, passed calmly enough. The earliest of his *Festal Letters*,[4] 329, makes no mention of troubles; though it is worth looking at as illustrating the practical tone of his teaching, *sc.* on the true way of keeping fast[5] and feast, and the combination of excellences to be found in him.[6] The second, for 330, refers to heretics[7]; and by the time that the third, for 331, was in circulation, Arius had returned to Alexandria and, with him, 'tribulation'.[8]

The 'tribulation' may be connected with the alliance between Meletians and Arians; for it was, at this point, according to Athanasius in the *Apologia contra Arianos*,[9] which comes in here and is our 'most authentic source of the history of the Church in the first half of the fourth century',[10] that 'Eusebius bought the Meletians with large promises, and arranged with them for their assistance on any occasion when he might wish for it'.[11] He then wrote to Athanasius, urging him to receive Arius into communion. Athanasius refused: and Eusebius was thus in a position to ask the Emperor whether he meant to be set at nought by a subject. Of course not. 'Grant free admission', wrote Constantine, in a peremptory letter, 'to all who wish to enter the Church.'[12] Again Athanasius refused: and Eusebius,

[1] Theod. *H. E.* I. xxii, § 2.
[2] Chrysostom, *Hom. in Eust. Ant.*, § 4 (*Op.* II. ii. 609 B; *P. G.* l. 609 B).
[3] R. Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* v. xlii, § 5.
[4] Ath. *Op.* ii (*P. G.* xxvi. 1360–6); Robertson, *Ath.* 506–10.
[5] e. g., §§ 5, 11.
[6] Cf. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxi, §§ 9, 10, 36 (*Op.* i. 391 sq., 410 sq.; *P. G.* xxxv. 1092 sq., 1126); Newman, *Arians*[5], 357; Gibbon, cxxi (ii. 362, ed. Bury).
[7] *Festal Ep.* ii, § 6 (*Op.* ii; *P. G.* xxvi. 1370 A).
[8] *Festal Ep.* iii, § 5 (*Op.* ii; *P. G.* xxvi. 1375 B).
[9] In its second part, §§ 59–90, which deals with the years 331–7, while the first part, §§ 1–58, deals with 339–47. For the reason of this 'praeposterus ordo' see Robertson, *Ath.* 97.
[10] So the Benedictine editor, dom B. de Montfaucon, 1655–†1741, in his preface, § 14, Ath. *Op.* i. 96 (*P. G.* xxv. 246).
[11] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 59 (*Op.* i. 140; *P. G.* xxv. 357 A).
[12] Ibid., § 59 (*Op.* i. 141; *P. G.* xxv. 357 B).

having thus succeeded in embroiling him with his Sovereign, concocted with the Meletians a series of four charges to effect his ruin.

The linen vestments.[1] Instructed by Eusebius, three Meletian bishops appeared before the Emperor at Nicomedia, and charged Athanasius with having taxed Egypt to provide linen vestments, apparently for use in church. It is testimony to the power of the see of Alexandria that such a charge should be worth making: though the albs, if such they were, could only have been, at this early date, those of common use and not part of a distinctively liturgical dress.[2] The charge was at once refuted. Two of the presbyters of Athanasius happened to be at Court, and disproved it. The Emperor wrote to him condemning his accusers, but summoning him to Nicomedia.

The purse of gold. It was next alleged that the archbishop 'had sent a purse of gold to a rebel named Philumenus'. But the Emperor went into this in Psammathia, a suburb of Nicomedia, found it untrue, and drove the calumniators from his presence.[3]

The broken chalice.[4] A certain Ischyras, one of the pretended presbyters of Colluthus, persisted in officiating at a hamlet in the Mareotis called Secontarurus,[5] with a congregation of a few near relatives,[6] in the house of one Ision.[7] Hearing of this, while on a visitation, Athanasius sent his presbyter Macarius to summon Ischyras before him. Macarius went, with the presbyter of the place, and they found Ischyras ill in bed. Ischyras's father promised that it should not happen again; and thereupon Ischyras joined the Meletians. Out of this the Eusebians concocted the story of the broken chalice. They made Ischyras declare that Macarius had found him in church in the act of

[1] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 60 (*Op.* i. 141; *P. G.* xxv. 357 sqq.). The three bishops were Ision, Eudaemon, and Callinicus, whose names all appear in the list of *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 71 (*Op.* i. 148; *P. G.* xxv. 376 sq.).

[2] στιχάρια, the ordinary under-garment or tunic: of linen, in Egypt and Syria, though of woollen in Rome till the beginning of the third century, when linen came in for men: see *Report of Convocation of Canterbury*, No. 416, p. 9. There was a distinctive liturgical dress in the time of Chrysostom, 403, in the East (ibid. 6); but in the West it came in about 412 (ibid. 6), was not general, 428, though it had become so, 600 (C. Bigg, *Wayside Sketches*, 228, n. 1).

[3] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 60 (*Op.* i. 141; *P. G.* xxv. 360 A).

[4] Ibid., § 63 (*Op.* i. 143; *P. G.* xxv. 364 A, B).

[5] Ibid., § 85 (*Op.* i. 158; *P. G.* xxv. 401 B).

[6] Ibid., § 74 (*Op.* i. 150; *P. G.* xxv. 381 B).

[7] Ibid., § 76 (*Op.* i. 152; *P. G.* xxv. 385 B).

offering the oblation ; had thrown down the altar ; smashed the chalice ; and burnt the church-books.[1] Athanasius, therefore, was implicated in the sacrilege. The Emperor inquired into this also at Psammathia, and ' detected the falsehood '[2] of the whole story. He wrote to the Catholics of Alexandria, denouncing the ' cabals ' against their archbishop, and protesting that he was ' a man of God '.[3] Constantine, in all this, was right ; for, if we may assume that he knew something of the details which afterwards came out at Tyre, 335, and again in 339, the defence of Athanasius had been crushing. He showed that there was no church in the village[4] ; that, on the day in question, there could have been no Eucharist, for it was not the Lord's Day[5] ; that there was no chalice there[6] ; that Ischyras was no priest[7] ; that Ischyras was ill in bed at the time[8] ; and that Ischyras, both in person[9] and by letter,[10] had shown up the whole affair to Athanasius and had confessed to having been compelled by force to play the part. He was not, however, received into communion, and he permanently joined the Meletians.[11] But the story reappeared in exaggerated form, and Athanasius himself was made the perpetrator of the outrage.[12]

The dead man's hand. ' Athanasius ', they said, ' has murdered Arsenius, a Meletian bishop ; and cut off his hand for purposes of magic ' : and, in proof, they exhibited a dead man's hand[13] in a wooden box ![14] The plot was developed by John Archaph,[15] the head of the Meletians ; and, for the moment, it was successful. For, hearing of the charge, and ' excited ',[16] perhaps, at the

[1] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 83 (*Op.* i. 156 sq. ; *P. G.* xxv. 396 sq.).
[2] Ibid., § 65 (*Op.* i. 144 ; *P. G.* xxv. 365 A).
[3] Ibid., §§ 61, 62 (*Op.* i. 141 sq. ; *P. G.* xxv. 360 sq.).
[4] Ibid., §§ 74, 76, 85 (*Op.* i. 150, 152, 158 ; *P. G.* xxv. 381 B, 385 B, 460 C).
[5] Ibid., § 11 (*Op.* i. 105 ; *P. G.* xxv. 268 C) ; cf. J. Bingham, *Ant.* xv. ix, §§ 1–4, and xx. iii, § 2.
[6] Ibid., §§ 11, 12 (*Op.* i. 105 sq. ; *P. G.* xxv. 268 sq.).
[7] Ibid., § 12 (*Op.* i. 106 ; *P. G.* xxv. 269 A).
[8] Ibid., § 63 (*Op.* i. 143 ; *P. G.* xxv. 364 A).
[9] Ibid., § 63 (*Op.* i. 143 ; *P. G.* xxv. 364 C).
[10] Ibid., § 64 (*Op.* i. 143 ; *P. G.* xxv. 364 sq.).
[11] Ibid., §§ 63, 74 (*Op.* i. 144, 151 ; *P. G.* xxv. 364 B, 384 A).
[12] Ibid., § 74, and, for the Arian account, Hilary, *Fragm.* iii, § 6 (*Op.* ii. 651 sq. ; *P. L.* x. 663 B).
[13] Ibid., § 63 (*Op.* i. 143 ; *P. G.* xxv. 364 B) ; Socr. *H. E.* i. xxvii, § 18.
[14] Theodoret, *H. E.* i. xxx, § 1.
[15] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 65 (*Op.* i. 144 ; *P. G.* xxv. 365 D).
[16] Ibid.

imputation of magic,[1] the Emperor summoned Athanasius to appear for trial before Dalmatius, a prince of the imperial house, at Antioch. On receiving the summons Athanasius wrote to the Egyptian bishops to keep a sharp look-out for Arsenius, and sent a deacon to find him. The deacon managed to arrest Pinnes, the superior of a monastery where Arsenius lay hid ; and Pinnes, on being brought before one of the Dukes,[2] or three military commanders, of Egypt, had to confess that Arsenius was alive, as he informed Archaph in a letter[3] that fell into the hands of Athanasius. But Arsenius had made good his escape to Tyre. There, by good chance, some servants heard, as they sat in a tavern,[4] that Arsenius was once more concealed. A search was made. He was identified by Paul, the bishop of Tyre,[5] who knew him of old ; and so, as Tillemont has it, ' he was convicted of being himself '.[6] Constantine, on hearing of this exposure, stopped the proceedings at Antioch[7] ; and, in a letter to Athanasius, ' to be read frequently by your Wisdom in public ', gave notice that any further plots of the Meletians would be dealt with ' not according to the ecclesiastical, but according to the civil, laws '.[8] Archaph confessed his crime to the Emperor, and received a gracious reply[9] ; while Arsenius wrote an apology to Athanasius[10] and, along with his clergy, was taken into communion[11] where he remained for good.[12] Thus there was peace again, about the end of 332.

But in a series of Councils, 334–6, at Caesarea, Tyre, Jerusalem, and Constantinople in succession, the Eusebians returned to the charge.

The Council of Caesarea[13] was held 334 ; and here the Eusebians, and with them the Meletians, in spite of their disgrace, were once more in pursuit of their quarry. They managed to convince the

[1] For belief in magic, and the alarm it created, see J. Bingham, *Ant.* XVI. v, § 5 ; Gibbon, c. xxv (iii. 16, ed. Bury).

[2] The title of the thirty-five military commanders under the *Magistri militum*, Gibbon, c. xvii (ii. 174, ed. Bury), and app. xii.

[3] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 67 (*Op.* i. 145 ; *P. G.* xxv. 368 sq.).

[4] Socr. *H. E.* I. xxix, § 2.

[5] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 65 (*Op.* i. 144 ; *P. G.* xxv. 365 B).

[6] Tillemont, *Mém.* viii. 27.

[7] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 65 (*Op.* i. 144 ; *P. G.* xxv. 365 C).

[8] Ibid., § 68 (*Op.* i. 146 ; *P. G.* xxv. 372 A).

[9] Ibid., § 70 (*Op.* i. 147 ; *P. G.* xxv. 373).

[10] Ibid., § 69 (*Op.* i. 146 sq. ; *P. G.* xxv. 372).

[11] Ibid., § 8 (*Op.* i. 103 ; *P. G.* xxv. 264 A).

[12] Ibid., §§ 8, 27, 50 (*Op.* i. 104, 115, 133 ; *P. G.* xxv. 264 C, 293 B, 340 A) ; and *Fest. Ep.* xix, § 10 (*Op.* ii ; *P. G.* xxvi. 1430 B).

[13] Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 654 sq. ; *E. Tr.* ii. 15.

Emperor that the allegations against Athanasius had not been fully examined, and that a synod was necessary.[1] It met at Caesarea in Palestine.[2] But the accused expected no justice, and 'for thirty months'[3] refused to attend. This had the air of contumacy; and, at length, the Emperor forced him to face an ecclesiastical assembly at Tyre.

The Council of Tyre[4] met in August 335.

Its numbers were considerable; for the Council was really an incident on the way to Jerusalem, where Constantine's *Tricennalia*[5] were to be celebrated by the consecration of his great Church of the Resurrection, where, too, was the Holy Sepulchre, on Calvary. The instructions of the bishops were to quiet the Egyptian business, as they went[6]; and anything for unity seems to have been the Emperor's mind.[7] Some hundred and fifty[8] bishops were present; and three sections can be distinguished among them. There was, first, a strong Arian element: Eusebius of Nicomedia, Narcissus of Neronias in Cilicia II, Maris of Chalcedon, Theognis of Nicaea, Patrophilus of Scythopolis, George, now bishop of Laodicea in Syria, and 'two others, young both in years and mind',[9] to be thus trained in intrigue, Ursacius of Singidunum (Belgrade), and Valens of Mursa (Essek). They became, in the next reign, the leaders of Arianism in the West. Secondly, there was a large number of malcontents of 'the centre', headed by Eusebius of Caesarea who, perhaps, presided, though Athanasius seems to imply that the president was Flacillus,[10] bishop of Antioch. Finally, there was Athanasius with friends such as Marcellus of Ancyra, well-wishers or not unfriendly onlookers such as Maximus of Jerusalem and Alexander of Thessalonica, and forty-eight of his own suffragans. But he and his friends were outnumbered by nearly two to one, nor did the Count Dionysius, whom Constantine sent as protector to the Council,[11] do much to secure fair play.

The proceedings were disorderly. Two Egyptian bishops, Potammon and Paphnutius, challenged the tribunal; the former, according to Epiphanus,[12] attacking the president, and the latter,

[1] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 71 (*Op.* i. 147; *P. G.* xxv. 373 C).
[2] *Festal Index*, § 6 (*Op.* ii; *P. G.* xxvi. 1353 A).
[3] He feared the influence of Eus. Caes., Soz. *H. E.* II. xxv, § 1.
[4] Mansi, ii. 1123–54; Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 656–66; *E. Tr.* ii. 17–26; Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, §§ 71–83. [5] Eus. *V. C.* iv. 40.
[6] Ibid. 41. [7] Ibid. 42; Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 94. [8] Ibid. 89, n. 2.
[9] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 13 (*Op.* i. 106; *P. G.* xxv. 269 C).
[10] Ibid., § 81 (*Op.* i. 156; *P. G.* xxv. 393 D). [11] Eus. *V. C.* iv. 42.
[12] Epiph. *Haer.* lxviii, § 8 (*Op.* ii. 723 sq.; *P. G.* xlii. 197 A, B).

if Rufinus [1] is to be believed, remonstrating with Maximus at lending himself to such company. Athanasius, however, reports nothing of all this ; but tells us how, even with the Eusebians as judges and the Meletians as accusers, his opponents could yet effect nothing. New charges were trumped up. One of shame,[2] which is ridiculous : Athanasius says nothing about it, nor do later Councils, nor Socrates, who had it before him in the account of Rufinus and left it out.[3] Another, of episcopal tyranny, may have more in it, though it comes from an Arian version of the events preserved in Hilary,[4] and, perhaps, underlying the narrative of Sozomen.[5] It is possible that Athanasius, in his early days and as a young bishop was a bit hard, specially on the Meletians ; and this would account not only for their bitterness but for the conduct of Constantine towards him. He treated him as an impracticable person. But to return to the Council. The Eusebians revived the old charges, also. They had ' brought Macarius under guard ' [6] ; but ' they were unable to convict him in the matter of the Chalice '.[7] They did not know, it seems, that Athanasius had in safe-keeping the man he was supposed to have murdered and deprived of a hand ; so they ventured to bring up again the charge of the dead man's hand. There was a scene when Athanasius, with a lively sense of humour at the situation, produced Arsenius, alive and with two hands.[8] Archaph fled [9] ; but the rest were equal to the occasion, and said ' Magic again ! ' [10] That charge, however, had broken down ; and they returned to make what they could of the broken Chalice, by inducing Dionysius, who, at this point, went over to them, to ' send to the Mareotis in order to see whether they could not find out something there against the presbyter '.

It was thus that in September 335 was appointed the Mareotic Commission, in spite of the protests of Athanasius against it as ' superfluous ' [11] and as partisan.[12] It consisted of six Arians—

[1] Rufinus, *H. E.* i, § 17 (*Op.* 244 ; *P. L.* xxi. 489 B, C).
[2] Ibid. ; Soz. *H. E.* II. xxv, §§ 8, 9 ; Theod. *H. E.* I. xxx, § 3.
[3] Gwatkin, *Arianism* [2], 89, n. 3.
[4] Hilary, *Fragm.* iii, §§ 6, 7 (*Op.* ii. 651 sq. ; *P. L.* x. 665).
[5] Soz. *H. E.* II. xxv, §§ 1–7.
[6] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 71 (*Op.* i. 147 ; *P. G.* xxv. 373 C).
[7] Ibid., § 72 (*Op.* i. 149 ; *P. G.* xxv. 377 B).
[8] Socr. *H. E.* I. xxix ; Theod. *H. E.* I. xxx, §§ 7, 8, and Document No. 200.
[9] Socr. *H. E.* I. xxx. [10] Theod. *H. E.* I. xxx, § 9.
[11] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 72 (*Op.* i. 149 ; *P. G.* xxv. 377 B).
[12] Ibid., §§ 77, 80 (*Op.* i. 153, 155 ; *P. G.* xxv. 388 D, 393 C).

Theognis, Maris, Ursacius, Valens, Macedonius, bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia II, and Theodore of Heraclea in Thrace. They left Macarius in chains, but took with them Ischyras ; and they were given a military escort and a letter to the Prefect of Egypt,[1] Philagrius, once a Christian but now a renegade to heathenism.[2] The proceedings of the Commission were monstrous. The Governor's bodyguard pricked the witnesses with their swords [3] if they failed to answer as desired ; the testimony of Alexandrian and Mareotic presbyters was rejected, even when they had been eyewitnesses ; while that of Jews and heathen, and even of catechumens, who could not have been present at the celebration of the Mysteries,[4] was as readily accepted.[5] But even so, nothing was proved but the falsity of the story. The day was a week-day, when there would be no celebration of the Eucharist.[6] When Macarius came in, Ischyras was ill in bed.[7] And witnesses for the prosecution, whom Athanasius had been accused of concealing, came forward with evidence in his favour.[8] These results, however, the Commissioners ignored, as also the protests which the clergy of Alexandria and the Mareotis lodged with the Commission, the Council, and the Prefect of Egypt, against their proceedings.[9] The Prefect let loose the mob of Alexandria upon the virgins of the church there,[10] and the Commission returned to Tyre. They ' concealed their minutes '. But the Eusebians afterwards sent them to Pope Julius, when they wanted his support ; and Julius gave them to Athanasius.[11] In this roundabout way we come to know the monstrosity of their proceedings.

The Council, though it knew this also, gave sentence accordingly. The Egyptian bishops memorialized both the Council and the Count against the unfairness of the proceedings [12] : so too did Alexander, bishop of Thessalonica.[13] The Count, indeed, admonished the Commissioners that they should act justly [14] ; but he

[1] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.* § 72 (*Op.* i. 149 ; *P. G.* xxv. 377 C).
[2] Ath. *Epist. Encycl.*, § 3 (*Op.* i. 89 ; *P. G.* xxv. 228 B).
[3] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 83 (*Op.* i. 157 ; *P. G.* xxv. 397 B).
[4] Ibid., §§ 31, 72 (*Op.* i. 118, 149 ; *P. G.* xxv. 300 sq., 380 A).
[5] Ibid., §§ 46, 83 (*Op.* i. 130, 156 ; *P. G.* xxv. 329 C, 396 D).
[6] Ibid., § 11 (*Op.* i. 105 ; *P. G.* xxv. 268 C).
[7] Ibid., §§ 46, 83 (*Op.* i. 130, 157 ; *P. G.* xxv. 332 A, 397 A).
[8] Ibid., §§ 14, 83 (*Op.* i. 107, 157 ; *P. G.* xxv. 272 B, C, 397 A).
[9] Ibid., §§ 73–6 (*Op.* i. 149–52 ; *P. G.* xxv. 379–86).
[10] Ibid., § 15 (*Op.* i. 107 sq. ; *P. G.* xxv. 273).
[11] Ibid., § 83 (*Op.* i. 157 ; *P. G.* xxv. 397 B).
[12] Ibid., §§ 77–9 (*Op.* i. 152–5 ; *P. G.* xxv. 385–94).
[13] Ibid., § 80 (*Op.* i. 155–6 ; *P. G.* xxv. 393).
[14] Ibid., § 81 (*Op.* i. 156 ; *P. G.* xxv. 393).

failed to follow up his admonitions by deeds, and they reported as arranged. Thereupon the Synod deposed Athanasius.[1] They also made Ischyras a bishop, and had a church built for him, by Imperial decree, at his village of Secontarurus.[2]

The sentence, of course, was absurd; but it became of great importance because of the use that was made of it in the after-history of the struggle. Athanasius was constantly embarrassed by having returned to his see without first procuring the reversal of an ecclesiastical verdict of deposition; and he ignored it—perhaps unwisely—from the first. For, escaping from Tyre, before the sentence was pronounced, he intercepted the Emperor when out riding in Constantinople, 30 October 335, and asked that he would summon the bishops from Tyre and hear him in person.[3] It was a bold step, and only just successful. The Emperor wrote to all who had been at Tyre 'to hasten without delay to the Court of my Clemency'.[4] But before they received his summons they were already assembled for the dedication of his great Church on Calvary, 13 September 335.

The Council of Jerusalem,[5] 335, was held after the solemnities. They received Arius into communion on the strength of the formulary which he had exhibited to Constantine some five years before; and they notified his reception to the bishops of Egypt in a letter in which they treat Arius as much misrepresented and Athanasius as deposed.[6] At this juncture they were surprised by the Emperor's missive; but only the leaders returned.

They met, in Council, at Constantinople,[7] 5 February 336; and were clever enough not to allow all who had been present at Tyre to obey the summons, for there were many of them convinced of the injustice of its proceedings.[8] Trusting, therefore, to Constan-

[1] Socr. *H. E.* I. xxxii, §§ 1, 2; Soz. *H. E.* II. xxv, § 15.

[2] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 85 (*Op.* i. 158; *P. G.* xxv. 401 B).

[3] Ibid., §§ 9, 86 (*Op.* i. 104, 159; *P. G.* xxv. 264 C, 401 C). For a description of the scene, see Gibbon, c. xxi (ii. 366, ed. Bury), or Stanley, *Eastern Church*, 232, based on that of Constantine himself in § 86.

[4] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 86 (*Op.* i. 159; *P. G.* xxv. 404 B).

[5] Eus. *V. C.* iv. 43–7; Socr. *H. E.* I. xxxiii; Soz. *H. E.* II. xxvi; Theod. *H. E.* I. xxxi; Mansi, ii. 1155–62; Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 666 sq.; *E. Tr.* ii. 26 sq.

[6] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 84 (*Op.* i. 157; *P. G.* xxv. 397). From this point the story is taken up by Ath. *Historia Arianorum* (*Op.* i. 272–312; *P. G.* xxv. 695, 796).

[7] Mansi, ii. 1167; Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 667–78; *E. Tr.* ii. 27–35.

[8] Soz. *H. E.* II. xxv, § 20.

tine's impressibility, the leaders went alone—Eusebius of Nicomedia, Eusebius of Caesarea, Theognis, Maris, Patrophilus, Ursacius, and Valens. With equal prudence they dropped the old charges, and invented another: that Athanasius had threatened to hinder the yearly importation of corn from Alexandria to Constantinople.[1] 'How could I,' he asked: 'a poor man, and in a private station?' 'You poor!' retorted Eusebius of Nicomedia, 'you are bishop of Alexandria, a rich man and powerful, and able to do anything.'[2] The Emperor cut short the altercation by banishing the accused, unheard,[3] to Trêves. He may have suspected some truth in the charge. He may have been weary of the business. He may have looked upon Athanasius as the one obstacle to peace.[4] He may have wished to shield him from the malice of his foes.[5] Anyway, there was no help for it; and, 8 February 336, Athanasius started on his first exile, to 'Treveri in Gaul'. It was a northern Rome; already venerable and imperial,[6] for Constantius Chlorus, 305–†6, had held his Court there. As Athanasius passed under the *Porta Nigra*, then new, and now an imposing monument at the entrance to the city, he would look, with good hope, for a welcome from its bishop, Maximin, 322–†49, who was a Nicene.[7] Constantine II, then Caesar, 324–37, proved equally friendly: he 'supplied him with all necessaries'.[8] For an exile Athanasius was well off; and for nearly two years, till his return to Alexandria, 23 November 337, he enjoyed an interval of repose.

Marcellus,[9] bishop of Ancyra, 314–36, still remained to be got rid of.

He was the most zealous of the Easterns against the Arians. Indignant at the treatment which Athanasius had received at Tyre, and at the reception of Arius by the Council of Jerusalem, he refused all share in the proceedings; and for this the Eusebians

[1] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 87 (*Op.* i. 160; *P. G.* xxv. 405 A); of Maris we hear from Socr. *H. E.* I. xxxv, § 2.
[2] Ibid., § 9 (*Op.* i. 104; *P. G.* xxv. 265 A).
[3] Ibid., § 87 (*Op.* i. 160; *P. G.* xxv. 405 A).
[4] Soz. *H. E.* II. xxv, § 14.
[5] So Constantine II, *ap.* Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 87 (*Op.* i. 160; *P. G.* xxv. 405 C).
[6] 'Domicilium principum clarum.' Amm. Marc. *Res Gestae*, xv. ii. § 9. For a description see C. Kingsley, *Hermits*, 26 sq. (ed. 1890).
[7] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 50; *Ad episc. Aegypt.*, § 8 (*Op.* i. 133, 219; *P. G.* xxv. 337 B, 556 C).
[8] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 87, *ut sup.*
[9] Tillemont, *Mém.* vii. 503–14. Marcellus died 373, Gwatkin, *Arianism* [2], 79–87.

accused him of disrespect to the Emperor.[1] But they also managed to find a more formidable handle against him. An Arian sophist, Asterius of Cappadocia, who had sacrificed in the persecution of Maximian and was restored to the faith by his master, Lucian of Antioch,[2] wrote a treatise maintaining that the Son was made by the will of the Father and by His attribute, the impersonal Wisdom. The Son, therefore, was neither *the* Word nor *the* Wisdom nor *the* Power of God ; but only called so, as the locust and the palmer-worm are called the 'power'[3] of God. Asterius carried his treatise with him ; and, 'intruding himself into . . . the place of the clergy', *sc.* the *Bema* or Sanctuary,[4] he would recite it, publicly, in church.[5] Marcellus attacked these views in a treatise which was professedly an explanation of 'then shall the Son also himself be subjected to him that did subject all things unto him',[6] and is known as his *Liber de subiectione Domini*.[7] It is, however, only extant in the quotations of his adversary, Eusebius of Caesarea, whom the Arian Council of Constantinople put up to refute it. Eusebius wrote the *Contra Marcellum*[8] and the *De ecclesiastica theologia*[9] ; and these are our principal sources[10] for the doctrinal system of Marcellus. 'It is difficult', therefore, 'to pass a decided judgment upon him.'[11]

The doctrine of Marcellus[12] begins with affirming the unity of God.[13]

God is a Monad, indivisible, one only πρόσωπον, not τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις[14] as the Arians, following Origen, say. Indeed, the notions of a plurality within the Godhead and of the inferiority of the Λόγος are vestiges of paganism and errors of Origen.[15] We must go back from philosophy and from Origen to the sim-

[1] Sozomen, *H. E.* II. xxxiii, §§ 2, 3.
[2] Philostorgius, *H. E.* ii, § 14 (*P. G.* lxv. 477 A).
[3] Joel ii. 25.
[4] J. Bingham, *Ant.* VIII. vi, § 7.
[5] Ath. *De Synodis*, §§ 18, 19, and *Orat. c. Ar.* i, §§ 30, 32 (*Op.* ii. 584 sq., 343 sq. ; *P. G.* xxvi. 713–16, 76 A, 77).
[6] 1 Cor. xv. 28.
[7] Hilary, *Fragm.* i, § 22 (*Op.* ii. 640) ; *P. L.* x. 651 B).
[8] q.v. in Eusebius, *Werke*, iv. 1–58 (ed. E. Klostermann, 1906).
[9] Ibid. 59–182.
[10] To these must be added Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* iv., esp. §§ 8–24 (*Op.* ii. 493–504 ; *P. G.* xxvi. 477–506) ; and Epiph. *Haer.* lxxii (*Op.* ii. 833–44 ; *P. G.* xlii. 381–400).
[11] Hefele, *Councils*, ii. 30.
[12] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 79 sqq. ; Robertson, *Ath.* xxxv. sq. ; and J. Tixeront, *History of Dogmas*, ii. 38–41. The fragments of Marcellus are collected in Eus. *Werke*, iv. 185–215.
[13] Fr. 66.
[14] Fr. 76, 77.
[15] Fr. 85, 37, 88.

plicity of Scripture [1]; and whither, better, on this subject, than to the Gospel of St. John.

In God there ever exists His Λόγος. The Arians argue from the word 'Son' that He is not coaeval with the Father; and from the word 'Image' that He is inferior to the Original. But these terms—just as 'Christ', 'Jesus', 'Life', 'Way', &c.—are applied only to the Λόγος Incarnate.[2] The pre-incarnate Word—Λόγος ἄσαρκος—is not Son; and that puts an end to Arianism. He is simply Word: eternal, ἐν ἀρχῇ; active, πρὸς τὸν Θεόν; divine, Θεός[3]; or, in one word, ὁμοούσιος with God, even αὐτοούσιος.[4] Thus far Marcellus seems to have asserted two main principles: the impersonality, but eternity, of the Λόγος, and the humanity of the Sonship.

A third is that process of 'expansion', πλατυσμός,[5] by which the Λόγος, immanent in God, 'came forth'[6] and became operative, as an ἐνέργεια δραστική,[7] first for Creation, and then again, at the Incarnation, in Jesus Christ. The Word thus became Son. When His appointed work is done, this 'expansion' will be brought to a close by a corresponding συστολή[8] or 'contraction'; and 'God will be all in all'.[9] If we ask what will then become of His human nature, we cannot tell. Scripture is silent.[10]

As to the Holy Ghost His operation is but a third 'economy', after Creation and Incarnation; and He Himself, since the insufflation on the first Easter-night,[11] a 'further extension of the extension'[12] by which the Monad manifested itself expanding into a Triad[13]—the Holy Trinity.

Marcellus was naturally accused of reverting to the doctrine of Paul of Samosata[14] by making of Jesus Christ a man who was acted upon by a divine ἐνέργεια. He repudiated the charge,

[1] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 81. [2] Fr. 4–7, 42, 48, 91, 109.
[3] John i. 1; Fr. 52.
[4] Fr. 97. Ὁμοούσιος implies (ὁμοῦ), a measure of difference, and thus is not Sabellian; αὐτοούσιος implies (αὐτός) identity.
[5] Fr. 71. [6] προελθών, Fr. 121; ἐκπορεύεται, Fr. 67.
[7] Fr. 121, 67, 60. [8] Eus. *De eccl. Theol.* II. vi, § 3.
[9] 1 Cor. xv. 28. [10] Fr. 117–121. [11] John xx. 22.
[12] Παρέκτασις τῆς ἐκτάσεως, Theodoret, *Compendium*, ii, § 10 (*Op.* iv. 336; *P. G.* lxxxiii. 397).
[13] Ἡ μόνας φαίνεται πλατυνομένη εἰς τριάδα, Fr. 67.
[14] Paul combined a Sabellianizing doctrine of God with a psilanthropic view of Christ. Marcellus seems to do the same. Cerinthus is a third example of the union of opposite tendencies in theology: see W. Bright, *Waymarks*, 62; and, for the way in which heresies run into each other, Newman, *Select Treatises*[7], ii. 143 sqq., and W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*[2], 158 sq.

and affirmed that the Godhead, in its entirety, dwelt in Mary 'after a bodily sort'[1]; and that, so far from the Word operating on the humanity, from time to time and *ab extra*, as upon the prophets, the *σύνωσις* between them was intimate and permanent.[2] As to his tenet of the cessation of the reign of Christ at the second Advent, this was admittedly speculation: while his doctrine of the Trinity, that once there was quiescence and some day there will be quiescence again,[3] was perhaps no more than a survival of the doctrine of the Godhead current in Asia Minor[4] before the time of St. Irenaeus.[5] In any case there was, and is still, felt to be room for two opinions about him. The Nicenes defended him—Athanasius,[6] Julius, bishop of Rome,[7] 341, and the Council of Sardica,[8] 343. But the Eusebians condemned him. He had certainly given them a handle. We can picture Eusebius of Caesarea saying: 'I always said that this *ὁμοούσιον* would lead to Sabellianism: here it is.'

Accordingly, the Council of Constantinople, 5 February 336, deposed him,[9] and put into his place Basil,[10] as bishop of Ancyra, 336–†60, 'who united in his person the most varied learning with the most blameless life of all the Semi-Arians'.[11]

The reinstatement of Arius was the natural sequel of these proceedings against Eustathius, Athanasius, and Marcellus. He had been received at the Council of Jerusalem,[12] and thence travelled to Alexandria to gain readmission there. But he failed; and the Emperor summoned him to Constantinople. There the Eusebians tried to admit him to communion; but before they could do so, Arius was removed by a dreadful death.[13]

[1] *σωματικῶς*, Fr. 16. [2] Eus. *Contra Marcellum*, II. iv, §§ 25, 27.
[3] *ἡσυχία*, Fr. 103.
[4] Cf. *Ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ σινῆς προελθών*, Ignatius, *ad Magn.* viii, § 2.
[5] F. Loofs, *Leitfaden der Dogmengeschichte*[4], 245. Irenaeus had identified the Son and the Word, as does St. John.
[6] Till about A. D. 360, Newman, *Select Treatises*[7], ii. 197.
[7] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 32 (*Op.* i. 118; *P. G.* xxv. 301 A).
[8] Ibid., § 47 (*Op.* i. 130; *P. G.* xxv. 332 B). Among modern writers, Tillemont wrote: 'Pour nous, nous ne sommes pas assez hardis pour condamner un homme sur des extraits faits par un ennemi', *Mém.* vii. 514; so E. Loofs, *Leitfaden*, 245. Newman, on the other hand, relying upon these extracts, takes an adverse view, *Select Treatises*[7], ii. 200. For others, see Hefele, *Councils*, ii. 30, and W. Bright, *Hist. Writings of St. Ath.* xxiv, n. 1.
[9] Sozomen, *H. E.* II. xxxiii, § 1.
[10] Socr. *H. E.* I. xxxvi, § 8. [11] Newman, *Arians*[5], 300.
[12] Socr. *H. E.* I. xxxiii, § 1.
[13] Ath. *Ep.* liv (*Op.* i. 269–71; *P. G.* xxv. 685–90); Socr. *H. E.* I. xxxvii, xxxviii; Soz. *H. E.* II. xxix. Newman says it was presumably a miracle, *Essay on Eccl. Miracles*, 327–30 (ed. 1911).

Paul, bishop of Constantinople 336–†52, was a supporter, in high place, of the Nicenes, and it was not politic to leave him there. On the death of Alexander, 320–†36, Paul had succeeded to the see, and was a prelate of orthodox opinions and pious life.[1] But the Arians wanted Macedonius,[2] and so far succeeded in setting the Emperor against Paul as that he banished him to Pontus.[3] It was the first of four such banishments[4] in Paul's career, and the see was not filled again in the days of Constantine.

§ 4. For the Emperor's reign was drawing to a close. He had put off his baptism; and, at last, received it on his death-bed from Eusebius of Nicomedia. It is unfair to blame the Church for its postponement; her mind was declared, distinctly enough, against the practice.[5] Constantine, towards the end of his days, had been spoilt by power, and not improved by association with courtly prelates. Eusebius of Caesarea, who describes the function, sees no harm in the delay.[6] A lower tone had already set in. 'By refraining from the sacrament of baptism till his last illness, Constantine acted in the spirit of men of the world in every age, who dislike to pledge themselves to engagements which they still intend to fulfil, and to descend from the position of judges to that of disciples of the Faith.'[7] Nevertheless, when people passed from under the sceptre of Constantine to the yoke of Constantius, they may well be pardoned for looking back to him as Ἰσαπόστολος; and the prince who was the first to see in Christianity the basis of a new social order[8] may, if greatness be to know a great thing when you see it, be justly allowed his name of Constantine the Great.[9] He died on 22 May 337.

[1] Socr. *H. E.* II. vi, § 3. [2] Ibid., § 6.

[3] Socr. *H. E.* II. vii, and Soz. *H. E.* III. iii, § 5, ascribe it to Constantius, thus confusing his first with his second exile.

[4] To Pontus, Singara, Emesa, and Cucusus in turn, Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 7 (*Op.* i. 275; *P. G.* xxv. 701 B).

[5] Neocaesarea, c. 12; Hefele, *Councils*, i. 228 sq.; *Conciles*, I. i. 333.

[6] Eus. *V. C.* iv. 61–3.

[7] Newman, *Arians*[5], 243.

[8] Ibid.; Gibbon, c. xx (ii. 311, ed. Bury).

[9] For his character, see Gibbon, c. xviii (ii. 202 sqq.); Stanley, *Eastern Church*, 179; W. Bright, *Age of the Fathers*, i. 162; *D. C. B.* i. 644.

CHAPTER IV

THE SONS OF CONSTANTINE, 337–50

Shortly before his death Constantine, in 335, had assigned administrative spheres[1] not only to his three sons by Fausta, †326, viz. Constantine II,[2] Constantius,[3] and Constans,[4] but also to his nephews Dalmatius[5] and Hannibalian.[6] The sons had the Empire, and the nephews the frontier posts, and Constantine's will perpetuated this arrangement. But it was quickly upset. The armies declared that they would have none but his sons to rule over them[7]; and Constantius who, being nearest, arrived at Constantinople first, lent himself to a military conspiracy to which, perhaps, he was obliged to yield,[8] and massacred all the princes of the house of Theodora, second wife of Constantius I, viz. Constantine's two half-brothers, seven of his nephews, his brother-in-law Optatus, and his favourite the Prefect Ablavius. Only Gallus[9] and Julian,[10] the sons of his half-brother Julius, and Nepotian, the son of his sister Eutropia, escaped. Constantius then met his two brothers, and on 9 September 337[11] the sons of Constantine each assumed the title Augustus; and a fresh partition of the Empire took place by which Constantine II, 337–†40, took the Gauls and Africa; Constantius II, 337–†61, Thrace and the East; while Constans 337–†50, received Italy and Illyricum. The arrangement was confirmed, July or August 338, by an imperial meeting at Sirmium.

Of the three brothers Constantine II was a Catholic; Constans, a Catholic already baptized[12]; whereas Constantius remained unbaptized till his death, and was in sympathy with Arianizers. Constantius had by far the greatest influence on the history of

[1] Cf. 'Divisions of the Empire, 293–378,' in Bury's Gibbon, ii, app 15.
[2] Born 316, Caesar 317, Aug. 337–†40.
[3] Born 317, Caesar 324, Aug. 337–†61.
[4] Born 323, Caesar 333, Aug. 337–†50.
[5] Caesar 335–†7.
[6] King of Pontus, †337.
[7] Eus. *V. C.* iv. 68.
[8] Gibbon, c. xviii, n. 54 (ii. 223, ed. Bury).
[9] Caesar, 351–†4.
[10] Caesar 355, Aug. 361–†3.
[11] For this date see Gwatkin, *Arianism* [2], 112, n. 4.
[12] Ath. *Apol. ad Const.*, § 7 (*Op.* i. 237; *P. G.* xxv. 604 D).

his time. He had his good points.[1] He was pure in life; sober in habits[2]; a good soldier, with some taste for learning[3]; by no means wanting in statecraft, for he kept peace in his own share of the Empire for four and twenty years; and in social charm and pleasantness of private life he was no unworthy son of Constantine. But he was essentially a little man. Small in stature, with short and crooked legs,[4] his mental capacity was small too. Vacillating as a reed,[5] he was so ridiculously conceited that he thought it dignified to sit motionless in public, and would not even clear his throat or blow his nose.[6] He swallowed flattery wholesale[7]; was timorous, and therefore cruel[8]; an adept at plotting, but himself the prey of scheming and unworthy favourites—Eusebius, with whom, says Ammianus Marcellinus, 'if the truth must be told, Constantius had much influence'[9]; Paul, nicknamed *Catena*, from his skill in stringing together calumnies[10]; and Mercurius, known as 'Count of the Dreams', because he was so clever at malignant suggestions.[11] It is one of the ironies of history that fortunes such as those of the Catholic Church should have passed into hands like his. Yet he was a pious Emperor in his way, and 'loved the ecclesiastical game'.[12] He played it, like James I, half tyrant and half pedant. At first he continued the later ecclesiastical policy of Constantine, under the guidance of the Arian presbyter,[13] of Eusebius, who became bishop of Constantinople, 339–†42, and of Theodore, bishop of Perinthus or Heraclea.[14] Then his wife Eusebia, 352–†60, 'a woman of beauty and merit',[15] confirmed him in sympathies with the Arianizers[16]; and, without ever becoming a genuine Arian, he began with a cordial dislike of the Nicene Council and ended in harmony with the Homoeans.

§ 1. The relations of Constantius and Athanasius, from the

[1] For his character, Amm. Marc. *Res Gestae*, XXI. xvi; Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs*, iv. 467–74; Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 113–15; W. Bright, *Hist. Writings of St. Ath.* lxiv; *Age of the Fathers*, i. 163.
[2] Amm. Marc. XXI. xvi, § 5. [3] Ibid., § 4.
[4] Ibid., § 19, and Document No. 90.
[5] Theod. *H. E.* II. iii, § 6; Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, §§ 69, 70 (*Op.* i. 304; *P. G.* xxv 776 sq.).
[6] Amm. Marc. XXI. xvi, § 7. [7] Ibid., § 16.
[8] Ibid., § 8. [9] Ibid. XVIII. iv, § 3.
[10] Ibid. XV. iii, § 4. [11] Ibid., § 5. [12] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 115.
[13] Eus. *V. C.* iv. 63; Socr. *H. E.* II. ii, § 3; Theodoret, *H. E.* II. iii, §§ 1–7.
[14] Ibid., § 8. [15] Gibbon, c. xix (ii. 254, ed. Bury).
[16] Socr. *H. E.* II. ii, § 6.

bishop's first return[1] to his second exile, 337–9, illustrate the Emperor's distrust of the Nicenes.

The news of Constantine's death had scarcely reached Trêves when Constantine II, still Caesar only, wrote,[2] 17 June 337, to the Catholics of Alexandria announcing his intention of sending Athanasius home. The archbishop accompanied Constantine II on his journey eastward, and had his first interview with Constantius at Viminacium,[3] now Widin in Bulgaria. At Constantinople he found Paul reinstated[4]; for the three brothers had, apparently by this time, caused all the exiled bishops to return to their sees.[5] Further on, at Caesarea in Cappadocia, he had a second interview with Constantius,[6] who was hurrying to the Persian frontier,[7] and a good understanding was established between them. On 23 November 337 he re-entered Alexandria, to the great joy of his people,[8] after an absence of nearly two years.

New charges, however, were soon stirred up against him by the Arians: that bloodshed and violence had marked his return,[9] and that he had misappropriated the allowance of corn granted by the late Emperor for charity in Egypt and Libya. Constantius wrote and reproved him[10]; but Athanasius was successful in repudiating both accusations.[11] But, technically, there was a flaw in his position. He had been deposed by a Council, and not restored by one.[12] Athanasius replied that *ex parte* decisions, such as that of Tyre, are canonically null and void.[13] The party, however, took up this point, headed, as usual, by Eusebius—not the historian, who died about this time, 30 May 339. Eusebius of Nicomedia had just got himself translated to Constantinople,[14] which had been forcibly vacated by the second expulsion of Paul and his banishment to Singara.[15] From this

[1] For the date, see Gwatkin, *Arianism* [2], 140–2.
[2] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 87 (*Op.* i. 160; *P. G.* xxv. 405).
[3] Ath. *Apol. ad Const.*, § 5 (*Op.* i. 236; *P. G.* xxv. 601 B).
[4] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 7 (*Op.* i. 275; *P. G.* xxv. 701 B).
[5] Ibid., § 8 (*Op.* i. 276; *P. G.* xxv. 704 B).
[6] Ath. *Apol. ad Const.*, § 5, *ut sup.*
[7] Gibbon, c. xviii (ii. 226, ed. Bury).
[8] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 7 (*Op.* i. 103; *P. G.* xxv. 261 B).
[9] Ibid., §§ 3, 7 (*Op.* i. 99, 103; *P. G.* xxv. 253 A, B, 261 B).
[10] Ibid., § 18 (*Op.* i. 109; *P. G.* xxv. 277 B).
[11] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 9 (*Op.* i. 276; *P. G.* xxv. 704 C).
[12] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 7 (*Op.* i. 102; *P. G.* xxv. 260 D).
[13] Ibid., §§ 7, 23, &c. (*Op.* i. 102, 113; *P. G.* 261 A, 288 A).
[14] Ibid., § 6 (*Op.* i. 102; *P. G.* xxv. 260 B, C).
[15] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 7, *ut sup.*

point of vantage the Eusebians resumed a project which had been impracticable as long as Constantine lived, viz. to deprive Athanasius permanently by putting in Pistus, one of the original Arians condemned by Alexander.[1] The ground they took was that canonically the return of Athanasius was irregular, and the see vacant.[2]

The Eusebians next approached the West, where Pope Julius,[3] 337–†52, a man of energy and force of character, had succeeded to the Apostolic See. Eusebius sent three envoys, Macarius, a priest, and two deacons, Martyrius and Hesychius, with a letter[4] stating the case against Athanasius and on behalf of Pistus, and declaring that, by the judgement of Tyre, the throne of Alexandria was vacant. Athanasius wrote to the contrary.[5] The three envoys had also taken to Rome a report of the notorious Mareotic Commission.[6] But, when they heard of envoys coming from Athanasius, Macarius decamped.[7] The two deacons, however, remained; but, being put to shame by the presbyters of Egypt, demanded a Synod. Julius agreed, and summoned both parties.[8] He also detained the report of the Mareotic Commission, and sent it to Athanasius.[9] He, in his turn, thought it advisable to summon a Council, and laid it before them. This Council of Alexandria,[10] 338, of nearly a hundred bishops,[11] adopted an *Encyclical*[12] to bear witness against their archbishop's accusers; and it stands first in his *Apology against the Arians*. So matters stood in the winter of 338.

But in December 338 the Eusebians, who were then at Antioch in attendance upon Constantius,[13] took another resolve. Finding themselves unable to sustain Pistus, they determined to replace him: at first, by Eusebius, bishop of Emesa, now Homs in Syria, but, when he refused,[14] by a Cappadocian, named Gregory,[15]

[1] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, §§ 19, 24 (*Op.* i. 110, 113; *P. G.* xxv. 280 A, 288 C).
[2] Ibid., § 25 (*Op.* i. 114; *P. G.* xxv. 289 B).
[3] Tillemont, *Mém.* vii. 269–84.
[4] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 22 (*Op.* i. 112; *P. G.* xxv. 285 A).
[5] Ath. *Epist. Encycl.*, § 6 (*Op.* i. 92; *P. G.* xxv. 236 A).
[6] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 231 (*Op.* i. 113; *P. G.* i. 288 A).
[7] Ibid., § 24 (*Op.* i. 114; *P. G.* xxv. 289 A).
[8] Ibid., §§ 20, 30 (*Op.* i. 110, 117; *P. G.* xxv. 280 D, 297 A).
[9] Ibid., § 83 (*Op.* i. 157; *P. G.* xxv. 397 B).
[10] Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 691–8; *E. Tr.* ii. 46–53.
[11] Ath., *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 1 (*Op.* i. 97; *P. G.* xxv. 248 B).
[12] Ibid., §§ 3–19 (*Op.* i. 99–110; *P. G.* xxv. 251–80).
[13] Constantius was then at Antioch, 'wintering there', Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], app. II.
[14] Socr. *H. E.* II. ix, §§ 1, 7.
[15] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 9 (*Op.* i. 276; *P. G.* xxv. 705 A).

January 339. Gregory was consecrated and dispatched to Egypt, in spite of the irregularity of the proceeding,[1] far in excess of the irregularities of Athanasius ; and, March 339, Philagrius, Prefect of Egypt, suddenly notified by edict that not Pistus but Gregory was to be installed as archbishop. The people protested, by assembling in the churches,[2] but in vain. Philagrius began to take the churches and transfer them to Gregory's friends. On the third Sunday in Lent, 18 March, he attacked the church of Quirinus, and blood was shed. On the 22nd Gregory made his entry,[3] under escort and to the cheers of heathen, Jews, and Arians. On Good Friday women were scourged in church,[4] and on Easter Day, 15 April, Catholics were arrested for refusing to acknowledge the intruder put in by the State.[5] Meanwhile, Athanasius, in hope of allaying these troubles, had retired from the precincts of the church—probably of Theonas—where he usually lived.[6] This was on Monday, 19 March, three days before the arrival of Gregory on Thursday the 22nd. He began to occupy himself with the *Epistola Encyclica ad Episcopos*,[7] in which he tells the story of the outrages, and appeals to the sympathy of the Catholic world. ' Vestra res agitur ' is, in brief, its drift. On Easter Monday, 16 April, he made good his escape to Rome. The proceedings against him were probably rendered easier by the war of Constantine II upon Constans, which ended in the death of the aggressor, April 340. It was an event that aided the vindication of Athanasius ; for Constans was a Catholic and, by his victory over his eldest brother, he entered upon ' the undisputed possession of more than two-thirds of the Roman empire '.[8]

§ 2. The vindication of Athanasius, 339–43, was begun at the Council of Rome, 340 ; checked at the Council of Antioch, 341 ; and completed at the Council of Sardica, 343.

[1] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 30 (*Op.* i. 117 ; *P. G.* xxv. 297 c).

[2] Ath. *Epist. Encycl.*, § 2 (*Op.* i. 89 ; *P. G.* xxv. 225 c); for this method of protest, cf. their behaviour at Milan during the Council of 355 (*Acta Sanctorum*, 25 May, §§ 15, 18 (Maii, vii. 540) ; and during Justina's attack upon Ambrose (Aug. *Conf.* ix, § 15 [*Op.* i. 162 F ; *P. L.* xxxii. 779], and Ambrose *Ep.* xx, §§ 4, 20 [*Op.* II. i. 853, 857 ; *P. L.* xvi. 995 A, 1000 A]).

[3] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 10 (*Op.* i. 276 ; *P. G.* xxv. 705 A) ; *Festal Index*, xi.

[4] Ath. *Epist. Encycl.*, § 4 (*Op.* i. 91 ; *P. G.* xxv. 232 A).

[5] Ibid., § 5 (*Op.* i. 91 ; *P. G.* xxv. 252 c).

[6] Ibid. That it was probably the church of Theonas, acc. to *Fest. Ind.* xi, see Robertson, *Ath.* xliii. 95, n. 1 ; W. Bright, *Hist. Wr.* xv, n. 5 ; and Gwatkin, *Arianism* [2], 116, n. 3.

[7] Ath. *Op.* i. 87–94 (*P. G.* xxv. 222–40) ; tr. Robertson, *Ath.* 92–6.

[8] Gibbon, c. xviii (ii. 232, ed. Bury).

On his arrival at Rome, in the spring of 339, Athanasius received a hearty welcome. Little attention was paid there to Carpones, one of the Alexandrian presbyters who had been deposed along with Arius,[1] and had now been sent with a letter from Gregory.[2] He landed about the same time as Athanasius. But they knew no Council in Rome save that of Nicaea, and the reception was for Athanasius. His first concern was to state his case to the Roman church; the rest of his time he 'spent in the public worship'.[3] With him had come two monks from Egypt, Ammonius, †403, one of the Tall Brothers whose reception by Chrysostom led to their host's downfall, and Isidore, †403. They made a great impression on the society of the Roman church, where asceticism was not appreciated: Ammonius, by his austere unworldliness (he would look at no building but the 'church of Peter and Paul')[4]; Isidore, by making himself at home with the ladies of patrician houses[5]; and Athanasius himself because of his association with Antony,[6] 250–†356, and by what he could tell of him and of 'the purpose of monks'[7] to a young girl named Marcella, who lived in a great palace on the Aventine and afterwards sat at the feet of Jerome. The three years' visit of Athanasius to Rome had two great and historic results. The Latin church became his scholar as well as his supporter, firm throughout in its adhesion to orthodoxy.[8] And he planted in the West the seeds of the monastic system,[9] and so became the spiritual ancestor of St. Benedict,[10] †543, and St. Bernard, †1153, and Western 'Religion'. Thus Athanasius employed his enforced leisure. Meanwhile, Julius sent two presbyters, Elpidius and Philoxenus,[11] to repeat his invitation to the Eusebians for a Council in Rome; and, about August 339, Marcellus[12] of Ancyra

[1] *Depositio Arii*, § 2.
[2] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 24 (*Op.* i. 113; *P. G.* xxv. 288 B).
[3] Ath. *Apol. ad Const.*, § 4 (*Op.* i. 236; *P. G.* xxv. 600 C).
[4] Socrates, *H. E.* IV. xxiii, § 73.
[5] *The Lausiac History of Palladius*, ii. 16, ed. C. Butler, and Document No. 135.
[6] Ath. *Vita Antonii*, Praef. and § 91 (*Op.* ii. 632, 691; *P. G.* xxvi. 840 A, 972 B).
[7] Jerome, *Ep.* cxxvii, § 5 (*Op.* i. 954; *P. L.* xxii. 1089 sq.), and Document No. 149.
[8] H. H. Milman, *Latin Chr.*[4] i. 78.
[9] Gibbon, c. xxxvii (iv. 60, ed. Bury); J. O. Hannay, *The Spirit and Origin of Christian Monasticism*, 205.
[10] Ibid. 220 sqq.
[11] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 20; *Hist. Ar.*, § 11 (*Op.* i. 110, 277; *P. G.* xxv. 280 D, 705 C).
[12] He had been there fifteen months when the Council of Rome met

arrived with Paul of Constantinople and others who had been restored at the end of 337 but once more ejected. The Eusebians, finding that the Council would be a free assembly, detained the envoys in Syria till January 340 on the plea that Constantius was busy with the Persian War.[1] At the same time, they roused Philagrius and Gregory to new severities in Alexandria. Clergy were imprisoned; the old confessor, Potammon, died under ill-usage; the aunt of Athanasius was refused burial; Antony himself was threatened.[2] In the early spring of 340, the envoys of Julius got back with an offensive letter from the Eusebian leaders at Antioch.[3] At first, the Pope kept it to himself in the hope that some of the Easterns would come: then, in despair of their coming,[4] he proceeded to act without them.

The Council of Rome,[5] in the autumn of 340, met eighteen months after the arrival of Athanasius.[6] Some fifty bishops attended, and it sat in the church of Vito,[7] or Victor, who had been one of the papal legates at the Council of Nicaea. Athanasius was there, and Marcellus and other Eastern exiles, both bishops and priests.[8] The letter of the Eusebians was read, and the case of Athanasius examined. The Council went into the doings of the Mareotic Commission, and heard the recent disorders in Egypt detailed. They pronounced Athanasius innocent[9]; and Marcellus, on his acceptance of the *Old Roman Creed*[10] or *Creed of Marcellus of Ancyra*,[11] they declared orthodox.[12] These decisions, at the Council's request, were notified to the Eusebians by Pope

about October–November 340; so Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxxii, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 835; *P. G.* xlii. 384 D).

[1] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 25; *Hist. Ar.*, § 11 (*Op.* i. 114, 277; *P. G.* xxv. 292 A, 705 C).

[2] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, §§ 12–14 (*Op.* i. 277 sq.; *P. G.* xxv. 705–9).

[3] Dianius, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and others, as we gather from the reply of Pope Julius in Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 20 (*Op.* i. 111; *P. G.* xxv. 281 A). The letter is not extant, but there is a summary of it in Sozomen, *H. E.* III. viii, §§ 5–8; and it is reconstructed from the Pope's reply by W. Bright, *Hist. Wr. St. Ath.* xxiv.

[4] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 21 (*Op.* i. 111; *P. G.* xxv. 284 A).

[5] Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 699–702; *E. Tr.* ii. 53–6.

[6] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 29 (*Op.* i. 117; *P. G.* xxv. 297 A).

[7] Ibid., § 20 (*Op.* i. 111; *P. G.* xxv. 281 A).

[8] Ibid., § 33 (*Op.* i. 119; *P. G.* xxv. 301 C); Tillemont, *Mém.* vii. 272.

[9] Ibid., § 20 (*Op.* i. 111; *P. G.* xxv. 281 A).

[10] q.v. in H. B. Swete, *The Apostles Creed*[3], 16.

[11] q.v. in Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxxii, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 836; *P. G.* xlii. 385 D); A. Hahn, *Symbole*[3], 22 sq.; Swete[3], 105; and Documents, i, No. 204.

[12] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 32 (*Op.* i. 118; *P. G.* xxv. 301 A).

Julius in a letter[1] which is 'one of the ablest and most important documents in the entire controversy'.[2] He was surprised, he says, to receive so discourteous an answer to his letter. He had kept their reply to himself in the hope that they might return to a better mind.[3] But what were their grievances? His invitation to a synod? If so, they could not have much confidence in their cause. The acts of one synod might be revised by another. They themselves had asked for it.[4] If they had revised the decisions of Nicaea, why should they claim finality for their own decisions at Tyre?[5] If the decisions of Councils against Novatian and Paul of Samosata are to be respected, much more those of the great Council against the Arians. Had he given them too short notice? Well enough, if only the appointed time found them on the road to Rome: 'but, beloved, this also is an excuse.' They had kept his envoys for months at Antioch. Plainly, they did not wish to come.[6] As for the reception of Athanasius, it was neither lightly nor unjustly done. The evidence against him was conflicting.[7] The Mareotic Commission was a travesty of justice.[8] He had waited for his accusers eighteen months. All they had done was to intrude a successor, uncanonically and with outrage.[9] With regard to Marcellus, he had denied the charge of heresy and had presented a sound confession of faith. Moreover, the Roman legates at Nicaea had borne witness to the honourable part he had played there.[10] The Pope concluded by reminding the Eusebians that they were the cause of the divisions of Christendom.[11] 'Supposing, as you assert, that some offence rested upon Athanasius and Marcellus, the case ought to have been conducted against them not after this manner, but according to the canon of the Church. Word should have been written of it to us all; that so a just sentence might proceed from all.' This because the defendants were bishops, and bishops too of Apostolic sees. Further, since one of them was the bishop of Alexandria, 'are

[1] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 20 (*Op.* i. 111; *P. G.* xxv. 281 A); the letter is in §§ 21–35 (*Op.* i. 111–21; *P. G.* xxv. 281–308).

[2] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 117 sq., to which I am indebted for the analysis above. [3] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 21. [4] Ibid., § 22. [5] Ibid., § 23. [6] Ibid., § 25. [7] Ibid., § 27. [8] Ibid., § 28. [9] Ibid., §§ 29, 30.

[10] Ibid., § 32. Cf. the letter of Marcellus given in Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxxii, §§ 2, 3 (*Op.* ii. 834–6; *P. G.* xlii. 383–8). He admits the eternity of the Word not only as Word but as Son; and he gives to the formula 'Whose kingdom shall have no end' the sense of Luke i. 33. This was enough for the Westerns; the Easterns were not so easily tricked as to the second statement. [11] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 34.

you ignorant that the custom has been for word to be written first to us, and then for a just decision to be passed from this place ?'[1]

It was a dignified and weighty remonstrance, but it reveals two weak points. The first is the support given to Marcellus; who afterwards proved himself so difficult for his best friends to defend that Athanasius could only do it with silence, and a smile.[2] The second is the claim of special authority for the Roman see over the church of Alexandria. Julius makes the most of the precedent created for him by the reference of the case of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria 247–†65, to his predecessor Dionysius, bishop of Rome.[3] But he is very far from claiming such an authority as Socrates and Sozomen ascribe to 'the Roman bishop'[4] apart from 'all of us', i.e. Julius and his synod or the collective episcopate[5]; and, further still, from arrogating to himself the Petrine prerogative which his successors from St. Leo[6] onwards have claimed—to judge all bishops whatsoever. Julius makes no claim to pass judgement as successor of St. Peter, although the Orientals had expressly asserted the equal authority of all bishops.[7] He merely claims that without his own participation, proceedings against bishops in general would lack the weight of universal consent: while, in regard to the special case of Alexandria, his possession of the 'traditions' of St. Paul and St. Peter—presumably as to their relation to St. Mark, its reputed founder—gives him a peculiar authority there.[8]

The Dedication Council at Antioch,[9] in the summer of 341, was the reply to Julius and his Council at Rome.

It was so called because the time had come for the dedication of Constantine's Golden Church[10] at Antioch; and, as six years previously at Jerusalem, advantage was taken of the assembly

[1] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 35 (*Op.* i. 121; *P. G.* xxv. 308), and Document No. 17.
[2] Epiph. *Haer.* lxxii, § 4 (*Op.* ii. 837; *P. G.* xlii. 388 D).
[3] See vol. i, c. xvii, § 2.
[4] Socr. *H. E.* II. xvii, § 7; Soz. *H. E.* III. x, § 1: an unwarrantable change, as is pointed out by Tillemont, *Mém.* vii. 280. Cf. Robertson, *Ath.* xliv and 118; E. Denny, *Papalism*, § 710. R. F. Littledale, *The Petrine Claims*, 159, falls into the error of treating the account of Socrates as authentic.
[5] W. Bright, *Roman See*, 83 sq.
[6] Leo, *Sermo*, iii, § 3 (*Op.* i. 12; *P. L.* liv. 146 C).
[7] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 25 (*Op.* i. 114; *P. G.* xxv. 289 C).
[8] W. Bright, *Roman See*, 84 sq.
[9] Mansi, ii. 1305–50; Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 702–33; *E. Tr.* ii. 56–82; Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 310–22; Ath. *De Synodis*, §§ 22–5 (*Op.* ii. 587–9; *P. G.* xxvi. 720–8); Socr. *H. E.* II. x; Soz. *H. E.* III. v.
[10] Eus. *V. C.* iii. 50.

to hold a Council,[1] and to consider the letter of Julius. The Emperor was present,[2] and ninety-seven bishops.[3] Flacillus, bishop of Antioch, probably presided. The Eusebians were well represented by leaders: among others, by Eusebius of Constantinople, Theodore of Heraclea, Eudoxius of Germanicia, 330–57, Acacius,[4] successor of the historian as bishop of Caesarea, 339–†65, and soon to be successor of his namesake as leader of the Arianizing party; but their numbers were not in proportion, for there were many there of the Centre, not Arianizers, but virtually orthodox, such as Dianius,[5] bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, 341–†62. These were, indeed, the dupes once more of Eusebius to the extent of being made to believe that Athanasius, though not in doctrinal error, was a criminal. But the tone of the assembly as a whole, both leaders and dupes, was one of chastened alarm. The majority were frightened, because of the Western support given to Marcellus; and the leaders were on the defensive, not only because the West charged them with Arianism, a charge which would endanger their credit with the majority, but also because the West which, through Julius, made this charge, could rely upon Constans, now lord of more than two-thirds of the Empire. The circumstances of the Council, and its composition, are reflected in its record. On the one hand, we find the Council described by Hilary, bishop of Poitiers 350–†67, as a 'synod of saints',[6] and its canons accepted throughout the Eastern church and not infrequently in the West.[7] On the other hand, it committed itself to inadequate creeds, just sufficient, as it hoped, to gain the approval of the West; and confirmed the previous rulings of the Council of Tyre against Athanasius. In one particular the Council represents a new departure. So long as Constantine lived, Eusebius had only tried to undermine the Nicene decisions by attacking the Nicene leaders. But now, within eighteen months of his death, at the end of 342, he ventured a direct assault upon Nicene doctrine, presumably with the countenance of Constantius. With this Dedication-Council of Antioch begins the long series of attempts to raise some other formulary to the rank of the Nicene Creed, and so to depose the

[1] Ath. *De Synodis*, § 22 (*Op.* ii. 587; *P. G.* xxvi. 720 c).
[2] Ibid., § 25 (*Op.* ii. 589; *P. G.* xxvi. 725 A).
[3] Hilary, *De Synodis*, § 28 (*Op.* ii. 477; *P. L.* x. 502 A).
[4] Soz. *H. E.* III. v, § 10; Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 119, n. 2.
[5] Ibid., § 10. [6] Hilary, *De Synodis*, § 32 (*Op.* ii. 480; *P. L.* x. 504 B).
[7] Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 706; *E. Tr.* ii. 59.

ὁμοούσιον from its position as an oecumenical test. The attempts were repeated to the end of the reign of Constantius.

The proceedings of the Council include Canons, the sentence of Athanasius, and its Creeds.

Its Canons are twenty-five, and of chief interest are the following. C. 1 enforces the Nicene rule about Easter, a judicious exhibition of respect for 'the great and holy Council'. C. 2 condemns those who come to church for the lections but turn their backs upon prayer and Eucharist—a hint of the 'lowering' of tone in the life of the Church that set in when it was 'no longer dangerous' but fashionable 'to be a Christian',[1] and that rules to-day in the Anglican habit of substituting Morning Prayer and Ante-Communion for the Eucharist. C. 4 is aimed at Athanasius, and rules that a bishop lawfully deposed, who shall presume to officiate, is no longer to hope for reinstatement. By c. 5 country presbyters may not send letters of communion, though a decent *chorepiscopus* may do so: clearly the chorepiscopus was a bishop. C. 9 deals with the rights of metropolitans, at once safeguarding and limiting them. C. 12 is also aimed at Athanasius: a deposed bishop is to have one court of appeal—'a larger synod'; if he troubles the Emperor, his case is to be treated as closed. C. 14 orders that if, in the case of a deposed bishop, his comprovincials differ, the metropolitan is to call in bishops of the neighbouring province to decide—a provision implying that the patriarchal or primatial system was not yet in working order. C. 19 develops the fourth Nicene, and provides for the election of bishops by the synod of the province. C. 20 orders provincial synods to meet twice each year, in spring and autumn. Priests and deacons, having a grievance, are to be heard there: a fresh proof, if any were needed, that only bishops are constituent members of Councils. C. 21 forbids translations, and c. 22 prohibits a bishop from naming his successor. The canons were accompanied by a letter to other bishops, desiring that they should be everywhere received.

The second business was to confirm the previous sentence against Athanasius, on the ground, it would be said, less of faith than of conduct. He had been deposed by a Council, but had returned to his see without being restored by one.[2]

[1] T. R. Glover, *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century*, 17.
[2] Socr. *H. E.* II. viii, §§ 6, 7; Soz. *H. E.* III. v, § 3.

Then followed the rival creeds, four in number[1]; and all inadequate, but faithfully reflecting the anarchy of parties[2] within the Council.

The first creed[3] is in an Encyclical of the Eusebians. 'We are not Arians. How could we—bishops—follow a presbyter? We examined and admitted him.' But they protest too much. Their formulary, commonly known as the First Antiochene Creed, is meagre and evasive,[4] too like the confession of Arius and Euzoius. For all they say is 'And in one Son of God, only-begotten, who existed before all ages, and was with the Father who had begotten Him'. It was as ambiguous as theirs; and probably it failed to commend itself to the majority, who had an older and better formulary of their own.

This was the Second Antiochene Creed,[5] otherwise *The* Dedication Creed,[6] or the Creed of Lucian.[7] Its most prominent feature is a direct attack on Arianism in the words ἄτρεπτόν τε καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον· τὴν τῆς θεότητος, οὐσίας τε καὶ βουλῆς καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀπαράλλακτον εἰκόνα[8]—a clause which is equivalent to ὁμοούσιον, as Athanasius[9] and Hilary[10] both admit by their adoption of it. Only, of course, it was impossible to retreat from the Nicene decisions. It was, however, inconsistent in men who adopted οὐσίας . . . ἀπαράλλακτον εἰκόνα to object to ὁμοούσιον as not found in Scripture. Both οὐσίας and ὁμοούσιος are ἄγραφα, as Athanasius points out.[11] But, as yet, this was not perceived by the majority, whether because they were still befogged, or newly alarmed, or both. They also spoilt their advance towards the Nicene position by two concessions, as they

[1] Given in Ath. *De Synodis*, §§ 22–5, and discussed in Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 120–4; Robertson, *Ath.* xliv sq.; W. Bright, *Age of the Fathers*, i. 173.

[2] Gwatkin[2], 120.

[3] Ath. *De Synodis*, § 22 (*Op.* ii. 587; *P. G.* xxvi. 720 sq.); Socr. *H. E.* II. x, §§ 4–8; Hahn, *Symbole*[3], § 153.

[4] Soz. *H. E.* III. v, §§ 6, 7.

[5] Ath. *De Synodis*, § 23 (*Op.* ii. 587 sq.; *P. G.* xxvi. 721); Socr. *H. E.* II. x, §§ 10–18; Hilary, *De Synodis*, §§ 29, 30 (*Op.* ii. 478–80; *P. L.* x. 502–4); Hahn[3], § 154; and Document No. 18.

[6] For this name, Ath. *De Syn.*, § 29 (*Op.* ii. 596; *P. G.* xxvi. 744 B); Socr. *H. E.* II. xxxix, § 19; Soz. *H. E.* VI. vii, § 5.

[7] Soz. *H. E.* III. v, § 9; Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 120–2.

[8] Originally used by Origen. *In Ioann.* xiii, § 36 (*Op.* iv. 245; *P. G.* xiv. 461 A, C); and Alexander *ap.* Theod. *H. E.* I. iv, § 38.

[9] Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* i, § 26 (*Op.* ii. 339; *P. G.* xxvi. 65 B).

[10] Hilary, *De Syn.*, § 33 (*Op.* ii. 481; *P. L.* x. 505 B). It emphasizes the absence of any change of essence in the transition from Father to Son, and is equivalent to ὁμοούσιος, as Hilary points out.

[11] Ath. *De Syn.*, § 36 (*Op.* ii. 600; *P. G.* xxvi. 757 B); Soz. *H. E.* III. v, § 8.

might seem, to Arianism. The clause τῇ μὲν ὑποστάσει τρία, τῇ δὲ συμφωνίᾳ ἕν[1] recalls the Arian evasion of ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἕν ἐσμεν,[2] and might be taken to teach a mere unity of will[3]; and the anathemas were enfeebled by the insertion of χρόνος in that against ἦν ποτὲ ὅτε οὐκ ἦν and of ὡς ἓν τῶν κτισμάτων in that against κτίσμα. This Creed, therefore, was at once semi-Arian and semi-Nicene. It became forthwith *the* creed of the Council, and represents the voice of the majority and their victory over the intriguers. Afterwards it became the venerated belief of the semi-Arians, who repeated it at their synods of Seleucia,[4] Lampsacus,[5] and Caria[6]; and from it, thanks to the conciliatoriness of Athanasius and Hilary, they were led on to union with the Nicenes.

But a minority remained which was much more anxious to show its detestation of Sabellianism than of Arianism, and hence the Third Antiochene Creed, or Creed of Theophronius,[7] bishop of Tyana. It was a personal confession, and directed against Marcellus. Thus it served the purpose of a 'red herring', and was so intended either by the intriguers to throw such as its author off the scent, or by himself to deal similarly with the majority. But they were not to be so put off. The creed 'obtained a momentary approval, but the meeting broke up without adopting it in the place of the Lucianic formula.'[8]

Such a result was, of course, intolerable to the Arianizers; and, at a cabal of their own, in the autumn of 341, they drew up the Fourth Antiochene Creed, and sent it, as the creed of the Council of Antioch, by Narcissus of Neronias, Maris of Chalcedon, Theodore of Heraclea, and Mark of Arethusa[9]—four of the most notorious of their number—to Constans in Gaul. In substance, it is less opposed to Arianism than the Lucianic; in form, it is a close copy of the Nicene, even to the adoption of the anathemas, though these, of course, were diluted. It is emphatic against

[1] Hilary justifies the phrase; *De Syn.*, § 32 (*Op.* ii. 480; *P. L.* x. 505 A).
[2] John x. 30.
[3] This is the objection taken to it by Ath. *De Syn.*, § 48 (*Op.* ii. 608; *P. G.* xxvi. 780 A).
[4] Socr. *H. E.* II. xxxix, § 19; Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxii, § 6.
[5] Socr. *H. E.* IV. iv, § 3; Soz. *H. E.* VI. vii, § 5.
[6] Soz. *H. E.* VI. xii, § 4.
[7] Ath. *De Syn.*, § 24 (*Op.* ii. 588 sq.; *P. G.* xxvi. 724 sq.); Hahn[3], § 155.
[8] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 122.
[9] Ath. *De Syn.*, § 25 (*Op.* ii. 589; *P. G.* xxvi. 725); Socr. *H. E.* II. xviii; Hahn[3], § 156.

Marcellus, and it develops the bare statement 'and in the Holy Ghost'. As such, it suited the intriguers well. It became in fact, the creed of what has conveniently been called 'the stationary period'[1] of Arianism, 341–51, between the close of the first generation of Arians by the deaths of Arius and the two Eusebii and the divergence of parties that began to appear under the sole rule of Constantius, 351–61. These divergences were as yet prevented among the Arianizers by common antipathy to Marcellus, by their dread of Constans, and by the preoccupation of Constantius. Without his support the Arianizers made no progress; and it suited them to make the most of a creed of this character. They repeated it at Philippopolis 343, Antioch 344, and Sirmium (now Szerem) 351, with ever-increasing anathemas; and only abandoned it in favour of the Dated Creed, 359. But no such reception awaited the Fourth Antiochene Creed in the West.

Western suspicion was already aroused; and before the four emissaries arrived at his Court in the summer of 342, there had taken place the intervention of Constans in the previous winter. Before leaving for the Frankish War, April 342, Constans, at the request of certain bishops[2]—probably Julius, Hosius, and Maximin—had written[3] to his brother to urge a General Council as the only remedy; and had summoned Athanasius from Rome to interview him at Milan,[4] May 342,[5] to tell him what he had done. The Emperor then hurried off to Gaul, where the Orientals found him at Trèves and presented their creed But they were shown the door[6]; Constans having been previously warned against them by Maximin, bishop of Trèves.[7] In the autumn, after the close of the campaign, Athanasius was summoned again from Milan to Trèves. Here he met Hosius and others, and was told that Constantius had agreed to a Council.[8] Constantius, indeed, was in no position to refuse, for he was face to

[1] Robertson. *Ath.* xlv.
[2] Ath. *Apol. ad Const.*, § 4 (*Op.* i. 236; *P. G.* xxv. 601 A).
[3] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 15 (*Op.* i. 278; *P. G.* xxv. 709 B).
[4] Ath. *Apol. ad Const.*, § 4 *ut sup.* He was received, with Protasius, bishop of Milan, 'within the veil' which shrouded the presence of the Augustus from common gaze. For the ceremonial of an Imperial Audience, see T. Hodgkin, *The Dynasty of Theodosius*, 33 sq.; and for this reception, Ath. *Apol. ad Const.*, § 3 (*Op.* i. 235; *P. G.* xxv. 600 B, C).
[5] For this date, Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 124, n. 2.
[6] Soz. III. x, § 6
[7] Hilary, *Fragm.* iii, § 27 (*Op.* ii. 663; *P. L.* x. 674 C).
[8] Ath. *Apol. ad Const.*, § 4 (*Op.* i. 236; *P. G.* xxv. 601 A).

face with the Persian Wars.[1] At Easter, 343, Athanasius was still at Trèves; but the final stage of his vindication by the West opened out shortly after.

The Council of Sardica,[2] now Sophia, or, popularly, Sredeč, in Bulgaria, met in the summer of 343. The town was just within the borders of the Western Empire,[3] and so under the protection of Constans. There were about '170 bishops, more or less, from East and West together'[4]; and Hosius presided[5] not as legate of Rome (for Julius is mentioned as represented by his presbyters, Archidamus and Philoxenus, who sign after Hosius),[6] but out of personal esteem.[7] He was supported by some ninety-six prelates, some from Illyricum, Greek and Latin, but most from the West properly so called. The Easterns arrived a little later; nearly as numerous, perhaps some seventy or more.[8]

The proceedings of the minority, as they travelled together, under the escort of two Counts,[9] and led by Stephen, bishop of Antioch 342–4, and Acacius, bishop of Caesarea 340–†66, were not conciliatory, as the majority afterwards learned through the defection of two of them, Arius of Petra and Asterius of Arabia.[10] Some were indifferent, and others personally orthodox among them, though they scrupled the ὁμοούσιον. But they were managed by their leaders; and undertook, in certain circumstances, to take no part in the synod. 'If', they agreed, 'Athanasius is allowed to sit, we will simply report our arrival.'[11] On arriving, they were quartered in the Palace,[12] with their leaders, to prevent defection; while Hosius and his friends were at the

[1] Gibbon, c. xviii and n. 62 (ii. 227, ed. Bury), and app. 17.

[2] Mansi, iii. 1–88; Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 737–823; *E. Tr.* ii. 86–176; Tillemont, *Mém.* viii. 92–115; Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 125 sq.

[3] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 125, n. 4; *contra* Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 743, n. 2; and W. Bright, *Hist. Wr. of St. Ath.* xxviii, who place it in the Eastern Empire.

[4] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 15 (*Op.* i. 278; *P. G.* xxv. 709 B); Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2] 125, n. 1.

[5] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 16 (*Op.* i. 279; *P. G.* xxv. 702 B).

[6] Signatories in Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 50 (*Op.* i. 132–4; *P. G.* xxv. 337–40).

[7] As 'father' of the Council, Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 15 (*ut sup.*).

[8] Socr. *H. E.* II. xx, § 5, including Ischyras (ibid.), called Quirius by Hilary, *Fragm.* iii, § 29 (*Op.* ii. 666; *P. L.* x. 677 A).

[9] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 36 (*Op.* i. 121; *P. G.* xxv. 309 A); and *Hist. Ar.*, § 15 (*ut sup.*).

[10] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 48 (*Op.* i. 131; *P. G.* xxv. 333 B), where for 'Macarius read 'Arius', as in *Hist. Ar.*, §§ 15, 18 (*Op.* ii. 278, 280; *P. G.* xxvi. 709 C, 713 B), where, however, Petrae is wrongly placed in 'Palestine', whereas it lies to the south in Arabia Petraea.

[11] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 48 (*ut sup.*).

[12] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 15 (*Op.* ii. 279; *P. G.* xxvi. 709 D).

Cathedral. They stuck to their programme, and, when invited to join their colleagues there, protested that, whereas Athanasius, Marcellus, and Asclepas had all been deposed by Eastern synods, they were now being treated, by Hosius and Protogenes, bishop of Sardica, as legitimate bishops.[1] The Roman synod had as much right to be respected as those of Tyre and Antioch; and besides, the Emperors had given permission to reopen the investigation, which was, in fact, the object of the present assembly. It would, perhaps, have been more prudent if Hosius had avoided the appearance of prejudging the issue; though, indeed, the Easterns had come with their hands tied. Yet Hosius was not unprepared with concessions; and messages passed from Cathedral to Palace and from Palace to Cathedral.[2] He urged them to take part in the process; and promised, with the consent of Athanasius, that even if it should go in his favour, he would take the bishop of Alexandria back with him to Spain.[3] But the Orientals would accept nothing, and withdrew by night to Philippopolis on the plea that they had just had news from Constantius of a victory over the Persians[4] and must hasten to offer their congratulations. As they started they addressed an Encyclical to the whole episcopate[5] by way of protest. In it they renewed the sentences of deposition; and added others, including Julius of Rome, Hosius of Cordova, Protogenes of Sardica, Gaudentius of Naissus (now Nish), and Maximin of Trêves.[6] They finished with a statement of their faith, directed against Marcellus and his patron Hosius—the creed already sent to Constans, or Fourth Antiochene—with some *extra* anathemas, and their signatures.[7]

The majority, left to themselves, took up the inquiry. Athanasius was pronounced innocent: the proceedings of Tyre itself were sufficient to acquit him.[8] Asclepas of Gaza produced satis-

[1] Hilary, *Fragm.* iii, § 14 (*Op.* ii. 656; *P. L.* x. 667 B, C).

[2] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 36 (*Op.* i. 122; *P. G.* xxv. 309 B); and *Hist. Ar.*, § 16 (*Op.* i. 279; *P. G.* xxv. 712, B, C).

[3] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 44 (*Op.* i. 292; *P. G.* xxv. 745 A).

[4] Ibid., § 16 (*ut sup.*).

[5] Hilary, *Fragm.* iii, §§ 23–9 (*Op.* ii. 660–4; *P. L.* x. 671–6).

[6] Ibid., § 27 (*Op.* ii. 662; *P. L.* x. 674 A).

[7] Ibid., § 29 (*Op.* ii. 664; *P. L.* x. 676 A). The document was sent far and wide; among others, to the Donatists of Africa. Augustine, *Contra Cresconium*, iii, § 38, and *Ep.* xliv, § 6 (*Op.* ix. 454 C, and ii. 103 C; *P. L.* xliii. 516, xxxiii. 176). He confuses this Arian *Concilibulum* at Philippopolis with the true Synod of Sardica, Hahn[3], § 158.

[8] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 46 (*Op.* i. 130; *P. G.* xxv. 329 B).

factory proof of his innocence also. As for Marcellus, they examined his book, which they had before them *in extenso*, and pronounced a verdict of not guilty on the ground that the context qualified his statements, and that some of them were hypothesis and not affirmation. But there was a flaw here: they did not satisfy themselves that Marcellus was ready to assert the eternity of the Son, not merely of the Word, and to confess that His Kingdom, as Christ or Word-Incarnate, and not merely Word simply, was to have no end. This done, they deposed and excommunicated eleven of their opponents, including the intruders, Gregory, Basil, and Quintianus, at Alexandria, Ancyra, and Gaza respectively, as well as the 'Arianising' leaders, Stephen of Antioch, Acacius of Caesarea, George of Laodicea, with Ursacius, Valens, and others.[1] It is a question whether they added anything about doctrine. There was afterwards current a creed [2] imputed to them, which Hosius and Protogenes drafted in explanation of the Nicene. As if to shield Marcellus, it turned ὁμοούσιον into an assertion of τὴν τῆς ὑποστάσεως ἑνότητα.[3] But it was not adopted, thanks to Athanasius. They should be content, he urged, with the Faith of Nicaea. It was not 'imperfect'. And no handle should be given to 'those who were for ever wanting to try their hand at a new creed'.[4] The Council thereupon sent an account of its proceedings to the bishops of Christendom, British included, by its Encyclical Letter [5]; to the church of Alexandria [6]; to the bishops of Egypt and Libya,[7] and to the churches of the Mareotis.[8] Signatures were invited, and after-

[1] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, §§ 36, 43, 49 (*Op.* i. 122, 127, 131; *P. G.* xxv. 309 C, 324 A, 336 A).

[2] The Greek text of the creed is preserved in Theodoret, *H. E.* II. viii, §§ 39–52 (cf. Hahn [3], § 157), and the Latin both of the creed and of the letter in which it was sought to commend it to Pope Julius in the Alexandrian collection of the deacon Theodosius, i. e. the *Vetus Interpretatio Latina Canonum Nic. Sard. et Chalc.*, printed in the appendix to Leo (*Op.* iii. 581–622; *P. L.* lvi. 823–62; and Mansi, vi. 1191–1230). The letter begins, *P. L.* lvi. 839 B, and the Creed 846 B (M. 1209 B, 1215 B).

[3] Theod. *H. E.* II. viii, § 47.

[4] Ath. *Tomus ad Antiochenos*, § 5 (*Op.* ii. 616 sq.; *P. G.* xxvi. 800 C, D).

[5] Preserved in Greek by Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, §§ 44–50 (*Op.* i. 127–34; *P. G.* xxv. 323–42); and in Latin by Hilary, *Fragm.* ii, §§ 1–8 (*Op.* ii. 622–8; *P. L.* x. 632–40). It was sent to Britain, Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 1 (*Op.* i. 98; *P. G.* xxv. 249 A).

[6] Ibid., §§ 37–40 (*Op.* i. 122–5; *P. G.* xxv. 311–18).

[7] Ibid., §§ 41–3 (*Op.* i. 125–7; *P. G.* xxv. 317–24).

[8] Ath. *Op.* ii. 1046 (*P. G.* xxvi. 1331–3), and *ap.* Leo, *Op.* iii. 607 sq. (*P. L.* lvi. 848–850); Mansi, vi. 1217–18. Athanasius also wrote himself to the

wards collected, from absent bishops in confirmation of its doings —more than two hundred in all. But it did not separate till it had taken some important decisions by way of legislation.

The Sardican Canons[1] are twenty-one in all. Canons 1 and 2 forbid the translations of bishops; cc. 7, 8, 9, 20 reprove the incessant running to and fro of bishops to Court, and were aimed, partly, at the Donatists; cc. 16–19 deal with local questions; cc. 10–15 with the consecration of bishops, their absence from their dioceses, and the processes of clerics. But the real interest attaches to cc. 3, 4, and 5, which grant an appellate jurisdiction to the see of Rome. Hitherto there had been no provision for an appeal from the provincial synod by a bishop who felt himself wronged. Now such provision is made, and it amounts to this. He may require his judges to write to the Roman bishop with a view to a fresh trial, and may also himself write as appealing for it. The Pope is then to consider whether a fresh trial is necessary. If not, the decision of the comprovincials is to stand; but if it is, the trial is to be committed to bishops of the neighbouring province, and the Pope may name them with, or without, legates of his own to sit among them. In estimating the extent of these powers, there is no need to question the genuineness of the Sardican legislation[2] nor to take them as bestowed on Pope Julius for his lifetime. Enough to observe that these powers have an origin and a range incompatible with the papal theory. First, they are granted, not inherent. There is, indeed, a desire to

clergy of the Mareotis (ibid. 850–2; Mansi, vi. 1219–21) and of Alexandria (*P. L.* lvi. 852–4; Mansi, vi. 1221–3)= *Epp.* xlvi. xlvii; tr. Robertson, *Ath.* 554–6; text in Ath. *Op.* ii. 1047–8 (*P. G.* xxvi. 1333–8).

[1] Text in Mansi, iii. 5–22 ['Vetus', ib. vi. 1202–9]; Hefele, *History of Councils*, ii. 108–58; and discussion in Jeremy Collier, *Eccl. Hist.* i. 74–84 (acute and amusing as usual), ed. 1840; W. Bright, *Roman See*, 86–91; F. W. Puller, *Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*[3], 140–4; E. Denny, *Papalism*, §§ 323–30.

[2] For a discussion of it see C. H. Turner in *J. T. S.* iii. 370 sqq., with revised text, ibid. 396 sq. The Easterns knew nothing of Canons of Sardica; only of letters as in Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, §§ 37–50; save for one doubtful allusion in Theod. *H. E.* v. ix, § 14. But Eastern ignorance of the West was very thorough; and Sardica was a Western Council. It is curious that St. Augustine and the African Church of his time confounded the Sardican Council with the Arian *Conciliabulum* at Philippopolis (Aug. *Ep.* xliv, § 6; *Contra Cresc.* iii, § 38, *ut sup.*). At Rome the Sardican Canons were tacked on to the Nicene and quoted as such, probably in all good faith, by Pope Zosimus in his instructions to his legate at the Co. of Carthage, 419 (Cap. iii; Mansi, iii. 404 A), about the case of Apiarius. On inquiry at Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch, the Africans were informed that the Nicene texts did not contain the canon in question, viz. Can. 5 (7) of Sardica, *J. T. S.* iii. 396, and Document No. 19.

'honour the memory of blessed Peter'[1]; but it is not more than honorific, and had there been an appellate jurisdiction already inherent in the Roman see the language of the canon would have been different. Secondly, they are limited, not absolute. The Pope may not evoke the cause to Rome, *motu proprio*, nor call the provincial synod to account, nor form the new tribunal at his pleasure, nor preside in it, nor judge the case by himself. The powers assigned to him fall far short of a papal supremacy. Indeed, they are inconsistent with it; and the mode of their acquisition no less fatal to it also. These canons, with the other documents of the Council, were dispatched to Pope Julius, with a covering letter[2] signed by the majority. They address him as writing to their 'head, i.e. to the see of the Apostle Peter'[3]; for this was a Western Council, and the Pope is admittedly 'head' of Western Christendom. They also let it be obvious that not the 'head' but the Emperors had determined the programme of the Council.[4] The legates of Pope Julius would tell him the rest.

As for results the Council of Sardica had vindicated Athanasius. But it had failed of its chief task—the pacification of the Church.[5] And if this failure was due, in the main, to the implacable temper of the Eastern leaders, there was some fault, perhaps, in Hosius too. He was the 'father' of Councils, it is true; but he was a Spaniard, inflexible in his orthodoxy, and wanting in the sympathy needed to guide them wisely. So the Council widened the breach between East and West[6]; which appears to have begun, in secular things, with the division of the Empire between Constantius and Constans, 340–50.

§ 3. The preoccupation of Constantius, 343–51, at first with the Persian, 343–50, and then with the Civil War, 351, left events free to take their course, for the next eight or ten years, without his control.

The divisions of Christendom were greater after the Council of Sardica than before; and the Arianizers, whose object was to force the recognition of their tenets throughout the East, returned to put pressure on Constantius with this end in view. While the

[1] Canon 3.
[2] Hilary, *Fragm.* ii, §§ 9–15 (*Op.* ii. 629–33; *P. L.* x. 639–43).
[3] Ibid., § 9 (*Op.* ii. 629; *P. L.* x. 639 C).
[4] Ibid., § 11 (*Op.* ii. 630; *P. L.* x. 640 B).
[5] Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 337.
[6] Socr. *H. E.* II. xxii, § 2.

Council was still sitting, they procured the deposition and banishment of the two deserters, Arius of Petra and Asterius of Arabia.[1] They got rid of Lucius of Adrianople and Diodore of Tenedos. Theodulus of Trajanople they so calumniated[2] that the Emperor sentenced him to death[3]; though, perhaps, he escaped.[4] And the *cursus publicus*[5] was even put at their disposal to hunt down Catholics. But Constantius suddenly found himself preoccupied with more dangerous game.

(1) The Persian Wars,[6] 343–50, had gone on as border-raids since the death of Constantine; but became more serious, according to the Emperor Julian,[7] about 344. By Easter[8] of that year Constantius was at Antioch, his base of operations against the Persians from whom he suffered defeat in the battle of Singara (now Sinjar, to the west of Mosul on the Tigris), 344. In May[9] 345 Constantius had advanced to Nisibis, to the north-west of Singara, and now on the railway from Aleppo to Baghdad. Nisibis had repulsed a first siege in 338,[10] when Sapor II, 309–†79, took advantage of the death of Constantine, and the partition of the Empire amongst his sons, to begin a forward movement against the Romans for the recovery of the five districts on the upper Tigris which the Empire had acquired after the campaign of Galerius in 297.[11] A second siege[12] took place early in 346, when the Persians were again beaten off. Constantius was then at Antioch, April 346.[13] A third siege of Nisibis,[14] 349, brought the wars to a close, for a time; and Sapor II was forced to retire, 350. Constantius was at Edessa (now Urfah, on the Aleppo to Baghdad railway, west of Nisibis) early in that year[15]; and, in memory of the brave resistance and the raising of the siege of

[1] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 18 (*Op.* i. 280; *P. G.* xxv. 713 C).
[2] Ibid., § 19 (*Op.* i. 280; *P. G.* xxv. 713–16).
[3] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 45 (*Op.* i. 129; *P. G.* xxv. 328 B).
[4] Socrates speaks of him as having survived Constans, †350, *H. E.* II. xxvi. § 7. [5] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 20 (*Op.* i. 281; *P. G.* xxv. 716 B).
[6] Gibbon, cc. xviii (ii. 227 sqq., ed. Bury), A. D. 343–50; xix (ii. 265 sq.), A. D. 359–60; xxiv (ii. 487 sqq.), 363; and Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, iv. 318 sqq.
[7] Julian, *Orat.* i (*Op.* i, p. 32, l. 6: Teubner, 1875); Gibbon, c. xviii, n. 62 (ii. 227), and app. 17. [8] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 300.
[9] Ibid., 300.
[10] Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* iv. 319, 668. It lasted sixty-three days.
[11] Gibbon, c. xiii (i. 375, ed. Bury).
[12] Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* iv. 341, 671; seventy-eight days.
[13] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 300.
[14] Tillemont, *op. cit.* iv. 350, 674; Gibbon, c. xviii (ii. 229, ed. Bury); one hundred days. [15] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 300.

Nisibis, he instituted the Persian Games, 17 May 350.[1] But these were years of anxious preoccupation; and only followed for the next decade, 350–60, by a 'precarious truce'.[2]

Closely connected with these wars is the persecution of the Church in Persia.

The Church in Persia[3] was founded from Edessa,[4] and began to assume the Catholic type of Christianity from about the middle of the third century.[5] Before 300 it had a bishop, Papa bar 'Aggai, 280–†327, at the royal towns of Seleucia-Ctesiphon[6] on the Tigris; while the see of Nisibis was founded *c.* 300, and its bishop was James, 309–†52. He represented his church at the Council of Nicaea[7]; and afterwards became the hero of the three sieges of his city.[8] Relations of Persian Christians with the State were good. They were not molested by the Royal House of the Sassanidae so long as the Roman Empire remained heathen, nor even after the first years of the conversion of Constantine; for this much, at any rate, is clear from the letter to Sapor II which Eusebius attributes to him.[9] But a change set in on the death of Constantine. The Empire was now Christian, and divided between his sons. Sapor thought it a favourable moment for recovering the lost Persian provinces.[10] As soon then as war broke out, every Christian in Persia became, if not actually, at least constructively, an ally of his co-religionists the Romans. This was specially so on the frontier, where, on either side, men not only worshipped the same Christ, but spoke, in Syriac, a common tongue.[11] The war lasted twenty years, 343–63; the persecution, forty, 339–79. The one, at times, was 'languid'[12]; the other, severe. Christianity in a Persian either meant or was taken to mean disloyalty.[13] Constantine had embarked on the war as

[1] *C. I. L.* i. 393. [2] Gibbon, c. xix (ii. 265, ed. Bury).

[3] J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire perse* (Paris, 1904); W. A. Wigram, *History of the Assyrian Church, or the Church of the Sassanid Persian Empire* (S.P.C.K. 1910). [4] Wigram, 25 sq. [5] Labourt, 17.

[6] Ibid. 20–2; Wigram, c. iii. For this see of the 'Catholici Chaldaeorum', see M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, ii. 1101 sqq. (Parisiis, 1740).

[7] Theodoret, *H. E.* i. vii, § 4. [8] Ibid. ii. xxx. [9] Eus. *V. C.* iv. 9–13.

[10] Of these, the chief were Cordyene, Zabdicene, and Arzenene: in Syriac, Qardu, Bait Zabdai, and Arzun. The others were Rehimene (Bait Rakhimi) and Moxoene (Bait Moksai). Arzun and B. Moksai still retain their ancient names. Qardu is Jezire, and B. Zabdai Fundik, Wigram, 46, and n. 1. [11] L. Duchesne, *The Churches separate from Rome*, 14 sq.

[12] Gibbon, c. xix (ii. 265, ed. Bury).

[13] Sapor, in a missive for the arrest of the Catholics, Shimun bar Saba'i, ordered that the Nazarenes should pay double taxes; 'they live in our land and their sympathies are with Caesar, our enemy,' Labourt, 46.

a war of religion[1]; and Sapor conducted the persecution[2] for political ends.

We may omit details, and content ourselves with noticing the authorities for the persecution, its general characteristics, and the chief *passions*.

The sources of our information begin with Sozomen,[3] always well informed about the East. His information is brief, but precise; and it can be supplemented and controlled from what follows. In the second place come the hagiographies contained in the Byzantine service-books. They have been translated and amplified in the process of passing from Syriac to Greek. Extracts from them are found in the prefaces to the *Acta*[4] by S. E. Assemani; and they have been fully and judiciously used by Tillemont.[5] Third, there are the original *Passions* contained in the *Acta Martyrum Orientalium*. They have been enriched with miracles by Greeks and with sermons by Orientals[6]; but in dates, names, and geographical details they are full and reliable. Sozomen may have consulted them. Fourth and last comes a list, dating from A.D. 412, of bishops, priests, and deacons who suffered martyrdom under Sapor II. It is now printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*[7] of the Bollandists.

As to the general characteristics of the persecution: first, there were no edicts nor legal process. These occur, from time to time, in the *acta*[8]; but they are simply part of the 'mise en œuvre'[9] of the story as written in the *Passions* by authors who lived on Roman territory and were familiar with the persecution under Diocletian. A martyrdom followed merely upon the order of a despot or his officers; and there was much confusion of jurisdiction.[10] Second, and in consequence of this method or absence

[1] Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* iv. 265.

[2] For the persecution, see Labourt, c. iii; W. Bright, *Age of the Fathers*, i. 201; Wigram, c. iv; J. M. Neale, *Patriarchate of Antioch* (Hist. East. Ch. v), 114 sqq.

[3] Sozomen, *H. E.* II. ix–xiv; reprinted in Th. Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum Selecta*, 584–90 (ed. 1855).

[4] S. E. Assemani [1707–†82], *Acta Martyrum Orientalium* (Romae, 1748).

[5] Tillemont, *Mém.* vii. 76–101, 236–42.

[6] Labourt, 59.

[7] *A. S. Novembris*, II. i, pp. lxiii–lxv.

[8] e. g. Soz. *H. E.* II. xi, § 3; *A. M. O.* 45, 116, &c.

[9] Labourt, 56; 'a Firman is not so much a decree, as a permission (the standing order being "Thou shalt do nothing at all"); and the result . . . was not the setting of the machinery of the law in motion against a *religio illicita*, in Roman wise, but . . . the releasing of a race hatred and fanaticism, normally held in check, to do its will upon its objects', Wigram, 64.

[10] Labourt, 60.

of method, the persecution was not universal but local[1]; at the twin royal cities of Seleucia-Ctesiphon; on the routes of the royal armies specially, from 343–4, in Garmistan or Bait Garmai which lay east of the Tigris and south of its tributary the lesser Zab, and in Adiabene between the Lesser and the Greater Zab; and on the frontiers, about the upper waters of the Tigris. Thirdly, it was directed mainly against the clergy, as the official teachers of Christianity.[2] Fourthly, the procedure was irregular. Thus the initiative was taken sometimes by private individuals, as when Jews were concerned in denouncing the Catholicos,[3] Shimun,[4] bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, 339, and his sister Tarbo,[5] or when ʿAbdiso [Ebedjesus], bishop of Kashkar, †374, was accused, out of revenge by his own nephew, an incestuous deacon[6]; more often by the royal officials incited by Mazdean priests.[7] On detection there ensued imprisonment, often long, as in the case of the Catholicos, Bar-B'ashmin, †346, for eleven months,[8] but often relieved by the devotion of fellow-Christians such as the noble lady Yazdun-docht who succoured the hundred and twenty martyrs of Seleucia, 344[9]; sometimes, instead of imprisonment, detention in the retinue of royal officials.[10] After, or instead of, imprisonment came interrogation, under torture, with a view to apostasy,[11] as in the case of ʿAbdiso, then death by the sword or by stoning; but often by slow torture,[12] as of the 'nine deaths', when they cut off in succession nine parts of the body beginning with the fingers and ending with the head.[13] Pusaik was slowly done to death; and the nine deaths are described in the *Passion* of James. There was, of course, some defection, as when a Christian would consent to put a fellow-Christian to death as the price of his own liberty. Thus Walran, a priest, slew the eunuch, Gusht-azad,[14] 343; and Nares, a Christian magistrate, procured his freedom by the execution of the monk Badema,[15]

[1] Labourt, 57. [2] Soz. *H. E.* II. xi, xii.

[3] Catholicos and patriarch, from the beginning of the fifth century, were practically interchangeable terms; though Catholicos originally meant an administrator. But the theory that the Catholicos of the East was the Procurator-general of Antioch is a fiction. The Church of the East owed its origin not to Antioch but to Edessa. The seat of the Catholicate was at first at Seleucia-Ctesiphon, and, for the last century or so, has been at Qudshanis in Kurdistan. Wigram, 90–2, and nn.

[4] Soz. *H. E.* II. ix, § 1. [5] Ibid. II. xii, § 1; *A. M. O.* 54.

[6] *A. M. O.* 152. [7] Soz. *H. E.* II. ix, § 1.

[8] February 345 to March 346; *A. M. O.* 113 sq. [9] *A. M. O.* 105 sqq.

[10] Labourt, 59. [11] Ibid. 60. [12] Soz. *H. E.* II. xi, § 2.

[13] Labourt, 61. [14] *A. M. O.* 100. [15] Ibid. 167.

375. But it cannot have amounted to much; for there was no question raised as to the treatment of the lapsed,[1] when the Church in Persia recovered its organization,[2] *c.* 400. On the contrary, there was heroism, often contagious in the cause of Christ. 'Close your eyes, for a moment', said Pusaik, the chief artificer of Sapor, to Ananias, a priest who was waiting his turn for martyrdom, 'and play the man! You will soon behold the light of Christ.' Pusaik was seized, confessed himself a Christian, and was put to death.[3] There is a similar episode in the case of the eunuch Usthazanes.[4] If Sozomen's figure of sixteen thousand martyrs[5] may exceed the mark, there remains the corroborative evidence of Aphraates, *fl. c.* 350. He was a contemporary and an eyewitness; and, after alluding to the 'great number' who perished in the persecution under Diocletian, he adds: 'In our day, for our sins, the same calamities have been visited upon our heads.'[6]

The chief *Passions* are those of martyrs connected with the royal cities, or their neighbourhood, to the south; with the provinces further north, viz. Bait Garmai and Adiabene, where the royal armies were concentrated; and with the districts on the frontiers along the headwaters of the Tigris. Thus, at Seleucia-Ctesiphon perished the Catholicos, Shimun bar Saba'i,[7] †341, and his sister Tarbo[8]; his successors, Shahdost,[9] †342, and Bar B'ashmin,[10] †346, the nephew of Mar Shimun; and a hundred and twenty of the clergy[11] there, 344. The see then remained vacant for twenty years. At Karka d'Lidan or Susa, suffered Miles,[12] its bishop, †341. Toward the end of the persecution there perished 'Abdiso, bishop of Kashkar, †374, a see whose incumbent was administrator of the Catholicate during a vacancy.[13] 'Abdiso was accused, on the information of his nephew, of having corresponded with Caesar and betrayed the secrets of the king of kings.[14] The *Passions* of all these victims remain. *Passions* connected with Bait Garmai, and Adiabene, 'a region of Persia almost entirely Christian',[15] are those of Narses,[16] bishop of Shehr-

[1] Labourt, 62. [2] Ibid., c. iv; Wigram, c. v. [3] Soz. *H. E.* II. xi, § 1.
[4] Ibid. II. ix, §§ 6–13. [5] Ibid. II. xiv, § 5. [6] Labourt, 81.
[7] Soz. *H. E.* II. ix, x; *A. M. O.* 15 sqq., and Document No. 157.
[8] Soz. *H. E.* II. xii; *A. M. O.* 54 sqq.
[9] *A. M. O.* 88 sqq. [10] *A. M. O.* 111 sqq.
[11] *A. M. O.* 105 sqq. [12] Soz. *H. E.* II. xiv, §§ 1–3; *A. M. O.* 66 sqq.
[13] Wigram, 99, 252. 'Cascar . . . in Babyloniae finibus exstabat . . . proxime Seleuciensi Catholico,' M. Le Quien, *Or. Chr.* ii. 1163.
[14] *A. M. O.* 144 sqq. [15] Soz. *H. E.* II. xii, § 4. [16] *A. M. O.* 97 sqq.

gard †343, and metropolitan of Bait Garmai; and of John, bishop of Arbela †344, and Abraham, †345, his successor with others in Adiabene till the year 372.[1] Further north, there are *Passions* of Heliodorus,[2] bishop of Phenek in Bait Zabdai, and his successor, Dausa. In 362, on the capture of the city, Heliodorus, with nearly three hundred Christians, was given the choice of apostasy or death, and only twenty-five accepted their lives at the price of their faith.[3] Last of all the victims of the forty years persecution was 'Aqib-shima,[4] bishop of Khanitha †378, aged eighty-four, with his companions. 'He was an ascetic, known and revered by all for his labours in converting the heathen . . . and was sent for execution to "the door of the king".'[5] 'Seldom has any national church' been subjected to so long and 'severe a trial'.[6] But we must return from the effects of the Persian War upon the Church in Persia to its effect upon the Church in the Roman Empire.

(2) The embarrassments of Constantius with the Persian War administered a check to Arianism which was reinforced by two events at home: pressure from Constans, and a scandal at Antioch.

Constans lost no time in supporting the action of the Council of Sardica. About Easter, 344, when Constantius lay at Antioch,[7] Vincent, bishop of Capua 343–†59, and Euphrates, bishop of Cologne 343–†6, brought him a letter from the Council, and another, to support it, from Constans.[8] The Western Emperor, with the greater resources and no embarrassments, took up the cause of Athanasius, who was spending Easter at Naissus,[9] now Nish in Serbia, and urged his brother to reinstate him. Otherwise, he would do it himself.[10] Constantius, under the circumstances, had no choice but to consent. He was, however, not indisposed to relent in his treatment of Athanasius, because of an incident that had just taken place under his very eyes.

This was the scandal at Antioch.[11] The Arianizers there took

[1] Labourt, 74–7. [2] *A. M. O.* 134 sqq. [3] Wigram, 73.
[4] Soz. *H. E.* II. xiii; *A. M. O.* 171 sqq. [5] Wigram, 69.
[6] W. Bright, *Age of the Fathers*, i. 205. [7] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 300.
[8] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 20 (*Op.* i. 281; *P. G.* xxv. 716 D).
[9] Ath. *Apol. ad Const.*, § 4 (*Op.* i. 236; *P. G.* xxv. 601 A); *Festal Index*, xvi.
[10] *Ap.* Socr. *H. E.* II. xxii, § 5. The date of this letter is not quite certain.
[11] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 20 (*Op.* i. 281; *P. G.* xxv. 717 A); Theodoret, *H. E.* II. ix.

alarm when they heard of the threats of Constans; and Stephen, bishop of Antioch 342–4, hatched up a plot to ruin the character of his envoys. He introduced a harlot into the bedchamber of Euphrates, in order to get up a story against him. But the detestable trick was immediately exposed. Salianus,[1] the General of Constans, who had escorted the Western envoys to Antioch, demanded that Stephen should be dealt with by the criminal courts and not by a Council.[2] This was done. He was tried and found guilty; and a synod[3] was allowed to depose him afterwards. With his deposition are connected two things of importance.

The one was the precedent thus set for the trial of criminous clerks. It was subsequently followed, in the reign of Gratian, 375–†83, by *Qui mos est* of 17 May 376, which required an *actio criminalis* against a bishop to be tried in the secular courts.[4]

The other was the appointment of Leontius to be bishop of Antioch, 344–†57. A Phrygian by birth[5] and, like many of the older Arians, a disciple of Lucian,[6] he was deposed from the presbyterate by Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, for having mutilated himself in order to live with Eustolium.[7] His case may thus have inspired two of the Nicene canons[8]: against that practice, and against *subintroductae*. But, perhaps, by this time he had recovered his reputation. At any rate, he was considered to have one qualification for the office of a bishop, for he had dropped his Phrygian enthusiasm and become the very soul of caution. It may have been less for his crypto-Arianism than for his singular astuteness that he was promoted into the place of Stephen. Arians, in reciting the *Gloria Patri*, were accustomed to say 'Glory be to the Father, *through* [διά] the Son, *in* [ἐν] the Holy Ghost'; while Catholics said either '*in company with* [μετά] the Son and *at the same time as* [σύν] the Holy Spirit'[9]; or else, as we do, '*and* [καί] to the Son, *and* [καί] to the Holy Ghost'.[10] Philostorgius, the Arian historian, affirms that *through* and *in* was the older use, and that Flavian, then a layman at Antioch, introduced *and* . . . *and*.[11] This may be so; and both before as

[1] Theod. *H. E.* II. viii, § 54.
[2] Ibid. II. ix, § 9.
[3] The Co. of Antioch, between Easter and Midsummer, 344: see below.
[4] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. ii. 23.
[5] Theod. *H. E.* II. x, § 2.
[6] Philostorgius, *H. E.* iii, § 15 (*P. G.* lxv. 505 B).
[7] Ath. *De Fuga*, § 26 (*Op.* i. 266; *P. G.* xxv. 677 B); *Hist. Ar.*, § 28 (*Op.* i. 284; *P. G.* xxv. 725 A).
[8] Nic. Can. 1, 3.
[9] Basil, *De Sp. Sancto*, § 3 (*Op.* iv. 3; *P. G.* xxxii. 72 C).
[10] Theod. *H. E.* II. xxiv, § 3.
[11] Philostorgius, *H. E.* iii, § 13 (*P. G.* lxv. 501 B).

well as after this epoch, Athanasius[1] and Basil[2] alike feel themselves free to use *through* and *in*. But once the Arians at Antioch had adopted this latter form of the *Gloria* for their own purposes, it became an offence. '*And* to the Son *and* to the Holy Ghost' became the formula of Catholics, as Sozomen tells us: while to glorify the Father *in* the Son was held to be tantamount to 'putting the Son into a secondary position'.[3] Philostorgius then may be right in attributing the change to Flavian, if he means this zealous Catholic layman introduced the present form 'and . . . and' into the public worship at Antioch; though it, as well as other forms, occur earlier.[4] But while Flavian and the laity in the congregation let it be known clearly enough what they said in reciting the *Gloria*, no one could ever catch what their bishop, Leontius, said: for he muttered the first part, and came out strong with 'world without end. Amen'.[5] With caution went comprehension; but both these episcopal virtues were redeemed by a saving grace of humour. Distracted by the partisans with whom he was surrounded—by Diodore and Flavian, the lay-patrons of antiphonal singing (that heathen practice, lately introduced by them into the service of the church[6]), and by Aetius, his pupil and deacon, whom, at their instance,[7] he had to depose for extreme Arianism—Leontius kept the balance as well as he could between either side. Touching his gray hair, he would prophesy, 'When this snow melts, there will be much mud'.[8] It was, perhaps, because he charged Athanasius with cowardice[9] for his flight in 356, and so drew down upon himself,

[1] e. g. Ath. *Apol. de Fuga*, § 27 (*Op.* i. 266; *P. G.* xxv. 680 A).

[2] Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto*, § 3 (*Op.* iv. 3; *P. G.* xxxii. 72 C).

[3] Soz. *H. E.* III. xx, § 8.

[4] For a note on the history of these forms of the doxology see St. Basil, *On the Holy Spirit*, § 3 *ad loc.* (ed. C. F. H. Johnston); and on the question, as between Arians and Catholics, Hooker, *E. P.* v. xlii, §§ 9–11.

[5] Theod. *H. E.* II. xxiv, § 3, and Document No. 220.

[6] According to Theod. *H. E.* II. xxiv, § 9 (Document No. 220), they were the inventors of it; but it was a heathen practice and well known, Lightfoot, *A. F.*[2] II. i. 31. Athanasius used the *cantus responsorius*, or soloist's monotone, followed by a refrain (*Apol. de Fuga*, § 24 [*Op.* i. 265; *P. G.* xxv. 676 A]), and Augustine thought it 'safer' (*Conf.* x, § 50 [*Op.* i. 187 F; *P. L.* xxxii. 800]). But the *cantus antiphonalis*, as Aug. heard it at Milan, powerfully 'allured' him (ibid., and *Conf.* ix, § 15 [*Op.* i. 162 F; *P. L.* xxxii. 779]). The change was probably rendered necessary by the substitution, after the conversion of the Empire, for small oratories of large churches. A soloist might not be heard where a choir would.

[7] Theod. *H. E.* II. xxiv, § 7.

[8] Soz. *H. E.* III. xx. § 9.

[9] Ath. *Apol. de Fuga*, § 1 (*Op.* i. 253; *P. G.* xxv. 645 A).

in the *De Fuga* of 357, the censure[1] of so great a man, that his own reputation suffered.

But to return to his predecessor. The scandal caused by Stephen's 'truly diabolical plot' discredited the intriguers, and caused Constantius some compunction; while the imperative tone of his younger brother's communication alarmed him. He began to recall the banished orthodox; forbade the further persecution of Athanasius, August 344; and, anticipating a fatal end to the long illness of the intruder Gregory, †26 June 345, invited him back.[2] In fact, so unpromising did affairs look for the Arianizers in the winter of 344–5 that the moderates, now once more in power, resolved to make another effort to conciliate the West.

(3) Photinus,[3] bishop of Sirmium 340–51, provided them with their opportunity. Born at Ancyra,[4] Photinus was the deacon[5] of Marcellus before he became bishop of the city which was the great bulwark of the Illyrian provinces, and so the chief prelate of those regions. Constantius was born there, and it was an imperial residence. Photinus was clever, eloquent, and persuasive.[6] He could write or speak as well in 'Latin' as in Greek.[7] He was so popular with his flock that no spiritual arms could dislodge him. Only the Emperor was equal to the task, and Constantius was not free till 351. Safe in his see, then, for the present, Photinus came forward to advocate a new heresy like that which had been imputed to Marcellus. He held that the impersonal Logos, immanent (*ἐνδιάθετος*) from eternity in God, who is one *ὑπόστασις* but *Λογοπάτωρ*, had been put forth (*προφορικός*) for creation.[8] There was thus one expansion (*πλατυσμός*) in the Godhead[9]; and the Holy Ghost was a second. At the Incarnation the Logos became Son, and dwelt in the man Jesus. It is not easy to see,

[1] Ath. always alludes to him as 'the eunuch', e. g. *Hist. Ar.*, § 20 (*Op.* i. 281; *P. G.* xxv. 717 B).

[2] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 21 (*Op.* i. 281; *P. G.* xxv. 718 C). He wrote him three letters, given in *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 51 (*Op.* i. 134; *P. G.* xxv. 341).

[3] Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 328–30; J. Tixeront, *History of Dogmas*, ii. 41–2.

[4] Ath. *De Syn.*, § 26 (*Op.* ii. 591; *P. G.* xxvi. 752 A); Socr. II. xviii. § 7.

[5] Hilary, *Fragm.* ii. 19 (*Op.* ii. 634; *P. L.* x. 645 B).

[6] Soz. *H. E.* IV. vi, § 1; Epiph. *Haer.* lxxi. § 1 (*Op.* ii. 829; *P. G.* xlii. 376 A, B).

[7] Vincent of Lerins, *Commonitorium*, § 11 (*P. L.* l. 652 sq.).

[8] Macrostich. v, vi, *ap.* Ath. *De Syn.*, § 26 (*Op.* ii. 591; *P. G.* xxvi. 729, 732).

[9] Long Sirmian. vi, vii, *ap.* Ath. *De Syn.*, § 27 (*Op.* ii. 593; *P. G.* xxvi. 737 A), and Hilary, *De Syn.*, § 38 (*Op.* ii. 486; *P. L.* x. 510 B).

at first, how the disciple differed from his master. But it seems that, while Marcellus laid most stress on the impersonality of the Logos, Photinus insisted more on the strictly human origin of Jesus Christ. He would not admit a generation (*γέννησις*) before the ages, nor an existence (*ὕπαρξις*). The Son had his beginning of Mary; and the seat of his Personality was in his human spirit.[1] Photinus, in short, held an unitarian (or, more precisely, a Socinian) doctrine of God and a humanitarian (or, better, a psilanthropist) doctrine of the Person of our Lord. But it was his Christology that gave offence, and that even to Arians. For there are two theories of the titular Sonship, theirs and his. Both fall short of the mark. But whereas, on the Arian theory, the Son did pre-exist (though not from eternity, only from 'before all ages') and was a super-angelic being, according to Photinus the Son took his origin from Mary, and his Sonship was a mere title given to a man because of his adoption into the Godhead as a reward of his virtue.

Photinus was irrepressible; and the Easterns at once saw that they could point to Marcellian ways of speaking as condemned in this new disciple. If Marcellus was the scandal of the Nicenes, 'Photinus was the scandal of Marcellus'.[2] They made capital, therefore, out of Photinus so as, by connecting him with Marcellus, to prejudice the West against Athanasius, who had steadily maintained a discreet but friendly loyalty towards Marcellus.

The Council of Antioch,[3] in the early summer of 344, which had deposed Stephen and elected Leontius, was accordingly employed to condemn Photinus. The condemnation was contained in its creed, the Fifth Antiochene, or the Macrostich[4]: so called because, after repeating the Fourth Antiochene or creed of Philippopolis, it proceeds to a long series of explanations intended to conciliate the Westerns. In these[5] (1) they maintain the Lord's eternal Sonship against the Arians, by ruling out their favourite phrases Ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, Ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως, Ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, as unsafe, unscriptural, and rationalistic[6]; (2) they repudiate

[1] Macrostich, v. vi, *ap.* Ath. *De Syn.*, § 26 (*ut sup.*), and Vigilius, bp. of Tapsus [*fl. c.* 450–500], *Dialogus*, i, § 4 (*Op.* 122; *P. L.* lxii. 132 c).
[2] Robertson, *Ath.* xxxvi. [3] Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 828; *E. Tr.* ii. 180.
[4] The name first occurs in Soz. *H. E.* III. xi, § 1; the text is given in Ath. *De Syn.*, § 26 (*Op.*, ii. 589–92; *P. G.* xxvi. 727–36); Socr. *H. E.* II. xix, §§ 3–28; Hahn[3], § 159, and Document No. 20.
[5] For this exposition I am indebted to Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 129 sq.
[6] Macr. iii.

the psilanthropism of Paul of Samosata, so inferior to their own theory of Sonship, and deny that our Lord ἐκ προκοπῆς τεθεοποιῆσθαι . . . ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον[1]; (3) they denounce by name Marcellus and Σκοτεινός—purposely, perhaps, making no distinction between them. These men reproduce the Samosatene, they say, in denying the Son's pre-existent personality,[2] under a pretended zeal for the strict unity of God,[3] and in saying that 'He first became Son when He took our flesh from the Virgin, not quite four hundred years ago'.[4] But Christ has taken no recent dignity. He is 'like in all things to the Father'—τῷ Πατρὶ κατὰ πάντα ὅμοιον.[5] This is the first occurrence of the formula which, because of its ambiguity, afterwards became the shibboleth of the Homoeans. 'Like in everything' would properly include 'like in essence'; and it is a strong semi-Arian, even semi-Catholic, formula introduced by the way. But it admits of evasion; and, in practice, it came to mean that the Son is divine in a sense, but neither coequal nor coeternal; for 'likeness' implies a measure of 'unlikeness'. And hence the popularity of the formula with the Arianizers. (4) They also abhor 'those whom the Romans call Patripassians and we Sabellians'[6]; and thence, by an easy transition, (5) they pass on to a covert attack on Athanasius. Those who infer from the Nicene ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός that the Son has been 'generated not of purpose nor of will—οὐ βουλήσει οὐδὲ θελήσει—encompass God with a necessity which excludes choice and purpose'. The Divine generation is voluntary —ἑκουσίως καὶ ἐθελοντήν,[7] though it is not to be understood as impairing the Divine Unity.[8]

This Creed the Easterns entrusted to a deputation of four bishops, Demophilus, Macedonius, Eudoxius, and Martyrius,[9] and sent it, for the benefit of the Westerns at the Council of Milan, 345. This Council was busy, on its part also, with the condemnation of Photinus; a step which had to be repeated, once by Catholics at Milan,[10] it would seem in 347, and once by Arianizers at Sirmium in the same year, before they could finally get rid

[1] Macr. iv. [2] Macr. v. [3] Macr. vi. [4] Macr. v.
[5] Macr. vi. [6] Macr. vii. [7] Macr. viii. [8] Macr. ix.

[9] So Pope Liberius, in a letter of 353, *ap.* Hilary, *Fragm.* v. § 4 (*Op.* ii. 673; *P. L.* x. 684 B). Ath. mentions the last three only, *De Syn.*, § 26 (*Op.* ii. 589; *P. G.* xxvi. 728 A). Two of them afterwards became bishops of CP., Eudoxius, 360–†70, Demophilus, 370–80.

[10] Hilary, *Fragm.* ii, § 19 (*Op.* ii. 635; *P. L.* x. 646 A); Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 848 sq.; *E. Tr.* ii. 189 sq.

of him there, in the winter of 351, after the victory of Constantius, in the Civil War, at the battle of Mursa, 28 September 351. Photinus then was abandoned by the West; but not Marcellus.[1] Yet peace seemed coming at the first synod of Milan. For Ursacius and Valens, who had been deposed for Arianism by the Council of Sardica, were aware that their patron Constantius was changing his mind, and made their submission. They presented a memorial,[2] condemning Arius and his adherents, and were accepted. Then the four deputies presented the Macrostich. It was too lengthy for Western endurance; and they were curtly asked to sign the Nicene Creed. This was the one thing that Easterns, as yet, would not do; and, says Pope Liberius, 352–†7, writing 'eight years' afterwards, 'they left the Council in anger'.[3] Two years later, Ursacius and Valens repeated their submission, by a letter written in abject terms to Pope Julius,[4] and by another, couched in tones of veiled insolence, to Athanasius.[5] They were received into communion at Milan,[6] 347. Then they went home, and worked off their irritation by an ineffectual attempt to dislodge Photinus in a synod at Sirmium,[7] 347, and by an Arianizing Creed.[8] Clearly Arianism was making no progress. It had reached 'the stationary period' of its fortunes, and was making way for better men.

§ 4. The way was now clear for the second return of Athanasius and his 'Golden Decade', 346–56.

His return began to look possible about Easter, 345. He spent it at Aquileia,[9] as the guest of Fortunatian, its bishop; and, together, they were admitted to more than one interview with Constans there.[10] At last Constantius, urged by his brother's

[1] Hilary, *Fragm.* ii, § 21 (*Op.* ii. 639; *P. L.* x. 651 A).
[2] Ibid. ii, § 20 (*Op.* ii. 637; *P. L.* x. 648 A).
[3] Ibid. v, § 4 (*Op.* ii. 673; *P. L.* x. 684 B).
[4] Ibid. ii, § 20 (*Op.* ii. 636 sq.; *P. L.* x. 647 sq.); Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 58 (*Op.* i. 139; *P. G.* xxv. 353); and *Hist. Ar.*, § 26 (*Op.* i. 284; *P. G.* xxv. 723 B).
[5] Preserved in Hilary, *Fragm.* ii, § 20; Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 58; *Hist. Ar.*, § 26 (*ut sup.*).
[6] It was probably at Milan, though possibly at Rome. Hilary, *Fragm.* ii, § 19 (*Op.* ii. 635; *P. L.* x. 646 A).
[7] Hilary, *Fragm.* ii, §§ 22, 23 (*Op.* ii. 639–41; *P. L.* x. 651); Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 850; and *E. Tr.* ii. 191 sqq.
[8] Hilary, *Fragm.* ii, § 24 (*Op.* ii. 641; *P. L.* x. 652 A). This creed therefore preceded the 'First' Sirmian, better called the 'Long' Sirmian of 351 in Ath. *De Syn.*, § 27 (*Op.* ii. 592–4; *P. G.* xxvi. 735–40); Socr. *H. E.* II. xxx, §§ 5–30; Hahn [3], § 160.
[9] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 51 (*Op.* i. 135; *P. G.* xxv. 344 B); *Festal Index*, § 17.
[10] Ath. *Apol. ad Const.*, § 3 (*Op.* i. 235; *P. G.* xxv. 600 B).

threats[1] and aware that the death of Gregory[2] would leave the way open, wrote three letters to Athanasius bidding him to return,[3] and another to Constans.[4] Athanasius hesitated at first. But, at length, he made up his mind; paid a farewell visit to Constans in Gaul[5]; thence travelled to Rome,[6] where Julius gave him a cordial welcome and sent a beautiful letter of congratulation to the church of Alexandria[7]; passed through Adrianople[8]; and, April 346, met Constantius, for the third time, at Antioch.[9] The Eastern Emperor gave him a gracious reception,[10] of which Athanasius took advantage to ask for a hearing in the Imperial presence. 'No,' replied Constantius, 'God knows I will never again credit such accusations.'[11] Thus reassured, Athanasius stayed some time in Antioch, attending the services of the Eustathians in a private house, and holding no communion with Leontius in the Golden Church: though, as we have seen, some Catholics, headed by the two laymen, Diodore, afterwards bishop of Tarsus 379–†94, and Flavian, afterwards bishop of Antioch 381–†404, worshipped there. The Emperor asked that Athanasius would leave the Arians one church when he got back to Alexandria. 'Certainly,' was the reply, 'if the same might be done for the Eustathians at Antioch.' But Leontius, and the advisers of Constantius, would not hear of it.[12] They could not, however, prevent him sending orders to the authorities in Egypt,[13] and letters, in favour of their archbishop, to the bishops and clergy,[14] and to the laity of Alexandria[15]; and Athanasius left for home. On the way he passed through Jerusalem, where, 346, a Council met, under the bishop Maximus,

[1] Socr. *H. E.* II. xxii, § 5.
[2] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 21 (*Op.* i. 281; *P. G.* xxv. 717 B).
[3] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 51 (*Op.* i. 134 sq.; *P. G.* xxv. 341); Socr. *H. E.* II. xxiii, §§ 5–14.
[4] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 21 (*ut sup.*).
[5] Ath. *Apol. ad Const.*, § 4 (*Op.* i. 236; *P. G.* xxv. 601 A).
[6] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 51 (*ut sup.*).
[7] Ibid., §§ 52, 53 (*Op.* i. 135 sq.; *P. G.* xxv. 344 sq.); Socr. *H. E.* II. xxiii, §§ 15–32.
[8] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 18 (*Op.* i. 280; *P. G.* xxv. 713 B).
[9] Ath. *Apol. ad Const.*, § 5 (*Op.* i. 236; *P. G.* xxv. 602 B). The other interviews were at Viminacium and Caesarea in Cappadocia (ibid.).
[10] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 54 (*Op.* i. 136; *P. G.* xxv. 348 B).
[11] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 22 (*Op.* i. 282; *P. G.* xxv. 717 D).
[12] Socr. *H. E.* II. xxiii, §§ 33–8; Soz. *H. E.* III. xx, §§ 5–7.
[13] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 56; *Hist. Ar.*, § 23 (*Op.* i. 138; *P. G.* xxv. 349 sqq.).
[14] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 54; *Hist. Ar.*, § 23 (*Op.* i. 136, 282; *P. G.* xxv. 348, 720 B); and Socr. *H. E.* II. xxiii, §§ 45–9.
[15] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 55; *Hist. Ar.*, § 23 (*Op.* i. 137, 282; *P. G.* xxv. 348 sq., 720 B); and Socr. *H. E.* II. xxiii, §§ 50–6.

to congratulate him and his church.[1] On 21 October 346[2] he entered Alexandria, 'the people and all those in authority' streaming out, 'like another Nile', to meet him 'a hundred miles'[3] beyond their boundaries; the air fragrant with perfumes; and the city festal with banquets and blazing with illuminations.[4] The moral results were no less striking[5]; and this ought not to be overlooked, if only in answer to the attempt to represent the age of the Arian controversy as purely dogmatic in its interests. On the contrary, the best theology was closely allied with true religion.

The Golden Decade of Athanasius is reckoned from 346 to 356. For these ten years he was in an impregnable position, not, indeed, because Constantius was, for the whole decade, too much engaged to renew the attack upon him; but because, on his return, he had the support of the monks of Egypt[6] and, when once more attacked, was sure of a refuge with them.

[1] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 57; *Hist. Ar.*, § 25 (*Op.* i. 138 sq.; *P. G.* xxv. 352 sq.); Socr. *H. E.* II. xxiv, §§ 1, 2; Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 836; *E. Tr.* ii. 184.

[2] *Festal Index*, § 18.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxi, § 29 (*Op.* i. 404; *P. G.* xxxv. 1116 sq.). Gregory connects this reception with the third return, 21 February 362: so Tillemont, *Mém.* viii. 204. W. Bright, however, assigns it to this date (*D. C. B.* i. 191, note p), relying upon the 'grand reception' spoken of in the *Festal Index*, § 18.

[5] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 25 (*Op.* i. 283; *P. G.* xxv. 721).

[6] The authorities are:

(i) Original—

(1) Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca*, c. 420; text in *P. G.* xxxiv. 991–1262, and ed. C. Butler, *Texts and Studies*, vol. vi, Nos. 1 and 2 (Cambridge, 1904); tr. W. K. L. Clarke (S.P.C.K., 1918). Palladius, b. 367, became a monk, 387, and spent eleven years in Egypt. In 400 he became bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia (for this identification, see *J. T. S.* xxii. 144–55), being consecrated by Chrysostom, to whom he proved himself a faithful friend and adherent. He visited monks again in Egypt, as also in Syria and near Rome. In 420 he wrote his reminiscences, a series of biographical sketches of monks he had known, or of whom he had heard through their disciples. He dedicated his work to Lausus, a chamberlain at the court of Theodosius II, 408–†50: whence its name.

(2) Rufinus, *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*; text in *P. L.* xxi. 391–462 (*Op.* 120–208), and ed. E. Preuschen, *Palladius und Rufinus* (Giessen, 1897). The work describes a series of visits to monks in the Thebaid and in Lower Egypt made by a party of seven in 394: Rufinus being the translator from the original Greek of the writer who was one of the party (C. Butler, *Lausiac Hist.* i. 198–203).

(3) Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* (*Op.* ii. 631–92; *P. G.* xxvi. 837–976); tr. Robertson, *Ath.* 188–221); written 256–62, and probably both genuine and authentic.

(ii) Modern—Tillemont, *Mém.* vii. 101 sqq.; C. Kingsley, *Hermits*, c. ii; J. H. Newman, *Church of the Fathers*, cc. xviii. xix; J. O. Hannay, *The spirit and origin of Christian Monasticism*, and Dom C. Butler, *Lausiac Hist.* i. 228 sqq., with E. W. Watson in *C. Q. R.*, vol. lxiv (April 1907), 105 sqq.

Monasticism is a mode of asceticism ; and there is an asceticism which is a principle original in Christianity.[1] For the religion of our Lord requires restraint in order to culture, and renunciation with a view to consecration. In pursuit of these ideals Christian ascetics did not, at first, withdraw from the world. They led their life of self-discipline in private: keeping fasts, abstaining from marriage, and giving themselves to prayer and good works at home. But under stress of the Decian persecution, *c.* 250, numbers of Christians in Egypt, says Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria †265, fled to the desert[2]; and some may well, according to later tradition, have remained there. Perhaps Paul of Thebes,[3] †340, was one of these. He is said to have lived as a hermit by the Red Sea where, shortly before his death, he was visited by St. Antony.[4] When Antony, 250–†356, became a monk, 270, he did so, at first, like the rest, near a town.[5] But fifteen years later, he withdrew to the desert,[6] 285, at Pispir,[7] or the Outer Mount,[8] by the Nile, and lived the life of a hermit there for the next twenty[9] years. In 305, at the time of the last persecution, he left his cave and organized the monastic life[10] at the Inner Mount, by the Red Sea,[11] for those who had settled near him. This is the monastery of St. Antony, still existing. A little later, Pachomius, 292–†346, founded his first monastery at Tabennesi,[12] near Denderah, on the Nile, in the far south. In these two names of Antony and Pachomius we have an epitome of the early development of Egyptian monachism, and a memento of the relation of Athanasius to it, for Pachomius lived to the beginning of the Golden Decade and Antony lived on to its end.

The Antonian type was semi-eremitical and belonged to Lower Egypt. It prevailed, by the end of the fourth century, from

[1] On Christian as distinct from Oriental asceticism, see C. Gore, *The Sermon on the Mount*, 67 ; J. R. Illingworth, *The Christian Character*, 47 sqq.

[2] *Ap.* Eus. *H. E.* VI. xlii, § 2.

[3] C. Kingsley, *Hermits*, 83 sqq.

[4] Butler, *L. H.* i. 231 sq.

[5] Ath. *Vita Ant.*, §§ 3, 4 (*Op.* ii. 634–5 ; *P. G.* xxvi. 844 sq.).

[6] Ibid., § 11.

[7] Now Der-el-Memun, Butler, *L. H.* ii. 199, n. 37 : see the Map of Monastic Egypt, ibid. I. xcviii, and a larger map in *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, edd. B. T. A. Evetts and A. J. Butler.

[8] Ath. *Vita Ant.*, §§ 73, 89.

[9] Ibid., §§ 12–14. With Antony Christianity was ἄσκησις: he could not have received the Eucharist during these twenty years of seclusion.

[10] Ibid., §§ 14, 15, 44.

[11] Ibid., §§ 49, 50, 91.

[12] For the sites of the Pachomian monasteries, see Butler, *L. H.* ii. 208. n. 54.

Lycopolis (Asyut) to the Mediterranean ; but specially in Nitria[1] (Wady Natron or the valley of nitre), where it was inaugurated by Amoun,[2] *c.* 325, and at Scete, a day's journey distant. Some of these hermits were solitaries, living out of hearing of each other ; some lived in twos and threes. All assembled in church, for worship on the Sabbath and the Lord's Day[3] ; on other days they said their devotions in their cells. There was no rule of life ; no authority, save that of superior age or experience ; the bonds of the community were like those of a family ; and men of all ranks were found there.

South of Lycopolis, in Upper Egypt, the monastic institute followed a different development, for the Pachomian type was coenobitic. It spread with great rapidity till, at the death of Pachomius, there were eight monasteries and several hundred monks. Its organization was completed as rapidly, and on a military system.[4] Association in labour[5] as well as in prayer distinguished the Pachomian monasticism ; for whereas, in Lower Egypt, work was only for occupation or for penance, in Upper Egypt it was part of the life. Pachomius, by association of prayer with work, set himself to establish a moderate level of observance obligatory on all. But he left it open to each, and even encouraged each, to go further in austerities[6] ; for at one of his convents, though dinner was at noon, there were also dinners served hourly till the evening for those who wished to prolong their fast.[7] Further, the Eucharist was obtainable and regularly ministered by clergy who, however, were not of the

[1] On the sites of Nitria and Scete, see Butler, *L. H.* ii. 187, n. 14.

[2] Ath. *Vita Ant.*, § 60 ; Palladius, *Hist. Laus.*, § 8 ; Rufinus, *Hist. Mon.*, § 29 ; Socrates, *H. E.* IV. xxiii ; Butler, *L. H.* ii. 190, n. 16.

[3] This observance of the Sabbath as well as of the Lord's Day was common throughout Egypt and the East, Butler, *L. H.* ii. 198, n. 36 ; and the Vigils of the regions of the Danube were held ' in septimana duarum noctium, id est Sabbati atque Dominici ', Niceta, *De vigiliis*, § 3 ; A. E. Burn, *Niceta of Remesiana*, 48.

[4] For the Rule of Pachomius, see Jerome's translation of it in *Op.* iii. 58–82 (*P. L.* xxiii. 65–86). He says, in his preface, that the houses were organized according to trades : fullers in one, carpenters in another, &c., *Praef. in Reg. Pach.*, § 6 (*Op.* iii. 55 ; *P. L.* xxiii. 64 B), and Document No. 150.

[5] Palladius, *Hist. Laus.*, § 32 (ii. 96, ed. Butler).

[6] ' Omnes pariter comedunt. Qui ad mensam ire noluerit, in cellula sua panem tantum et aquam ac salem accipit, sive in uno die voluerit sive in biduo ', Jerome, *Praef. in Reg. Pach.*, § 5 (*Op.* iii. 55 ; *P. L.* xxiii. 64 A), and Document No. 150.

[7] At Panopolis (Akhmîm), *Hist. Laus.*, § 32 (ii. 95, ed. Butler).

Order. And there was more than complete accord between the episcopate and the monastic institute.

In spite of these differences between the two types of Egyptian monasticism, the character which permeated both was the same—a strongly marked individualism. Now that the persecutions were over, the monk succeeded the martyr in the title and rôle of an 'athlete'. But his 'agony' was self-imposed. As an 'athlete' his aim was to make a record. Thus Macarius of Alexandria, one of the celebrities of the Cells between Nitria and Scete, could never hear mention of some feat of self-discipline without setting himself forthwith to beat it.[1] Eccentricities, therefore, and extravagances were to be expected, apart from the fact that the desert to which the monk retired was believed to be the place of demons[2] and conflict with them inevitable.[3] In time, the whole movement seemed likely to end in failure. Athletes who 'play for their own hand' must either give up or learn to 'play the game'; and it was this that St. Benedict, *c.* 480–†550,[4] who began with Egyptian austerities,[5] eventually discovered. He prescribed in his *Rule*[6] a sufficiency of food, sleep, and clothing for his monks. He reduced the time allowed to prayer[7]: the long offices of the Middle Ages began with his namesake Benedict of Aniane, 751–†821, and reached their full development at Clugny.[8] St. Benedict also discouraged private venture in asceticism, and taught that the sanctification of the monk was to be sought by living the life of the community.[9] But it was long before Egyptian monachism fell into the decay from which these measures rescued its traditions.

Monasticism was at its prime when Athanasius, as Archbishop of Alexandria, came into connexion with it. He was himself

[1] e. g. *Hist. Laus.*, § 18 (ii. 48, l. 2, ed. Butler). For instances of individualism, in the way of record-breaking, in the Pachomian monasteries also, see *Hist. Laus.*, § 32, and Rufinus, *Hist. Mon.*, § 3 (*Op.* 140 sq.; *P. L.* xxi. 407 c). [2] Matt. xii. 43; Luke xi. 24.

[3] *Hist. Laus.*, § 18 (ii. 49, l. 20, ed. Butler).

[4] According to Butler, *L. H.* i. 251, only one date in the life of St. Benedict can be accurately determined, viz. the visit of Totila to Monte Cassino in 543, described in Gregory, *Dial.* ii, §§ 14, 15 (*P. L.* lxvi. 160–2). Gregory's second Dialogue is *the* life of St. Benedict.

[5] Gregory, *Dial.* ii, §§ 1, 3 (*P. L.* lxvi. 127, 163).

[6] *S. Benedicti Regula Monachorum*, ed. C. Butler (Friburgi Brisgoviae, 1912). He calls it 'minima inchoationis Regula' (c. lxxiii), and hopes that it will establish 'nihil asperum, nihil grave' (Prologus, p. 7, ed. Butler). The rule is printed in *P. L.* lxvi. 215–932. [7] *Regula*, c. xx.

[8] E. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica*, 212–28 (Clar. Press, 1918).

[9] *Regula*, c. iii.

a disciple[1] and an heir[2] of Antony; and he was demanded, at his election, as 'one of the ascetics'.[3] In 333 he visited the Thebaid and Tabennesi.[4] In 338, on his first return, Antony visited the archbishop in Alexandria to offer his congratulations.[5] In 340 Athanasius took monks with him to Rome; and soon after his return, 346, he was welcomed by a deputation from Tabennesi bearing greetings again from Antony.[6] At this date he ordained Pachomius presbyter, thus making Tabennesi a self-contained community. Athanasius thus placed himself at the head of the monastic movement; and, whether or no he was able to check the extravagances of the ardent Copts, at any rate he won and relied on their dogged devotion. His letters of the Golden Decade are solely to monks: to Amoun,[7] who inaugurated monachism at Nitria, and to Dracontius,[8] bishop of Hermopolis Parva (now Damanhour)—both letters of importance for the history of monachism in Egypt. From the ranks of the monks he filled up vacancies in the episcopate: thus Serapion, bishop of Thmuis, 337–†70, was a monk[9] before he became the most valued of the suffragans of Athanasius. He is the author of a *Sacramentary*[10] containing the oldest extant written Liturgy, or *Liturgy of Serapion, c.* 350; and to him Athanasius addressed the epistle *De morte Arii*[11] and the four letters *Ad Serapionem*,[12] *c.* 359, in refutation of those who, while admitting the divinity of the Son, maintained that the Holy Spirit is a creature. In later days, the monks of Egypt and elsewhere became a scandal

[1] Ath. *Vita Ant.*, Praef. [2] Ibid., § 91.
[3] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 6 (*Op.* i. 102; *P. G.* xxvi. 260 A).
[4] *Vita Pachomii*, § 27 (*P. L.* lxxiii. 247 A); *Festal Index*, § 6.
[5] Ath. *Vita Ant.*, §§ 70, 71; *Festal Index*, § 10.
[6] *Vita Pachomii*, § 77 (*Acta Sanctorum Maii*, iii. 326); Tillemont, *Mém.* viii. 130. [7] Ath. *Ep.* xlviii (*Op.* ii. 765–8; *P. G.* xxvi. 1169–76).
[8] Ath. *Ep.* xlix (*Op.* i. 207–11; *P. G.* xxv. 523–34).
[9] He was a friend and legatee of St. Antony, Ath. *Vit. Ant.*, § 91.
[10] Text in *J. T. S.* i. 88–113 and 247–77, ed., with notes, by F. E. Brightman; tr. J. Wordsworth, *Bishop Sarapion's Prayer-Book* (S.P.C.K. 1899). The Liturgy is peculiar in containing an Invocation of the Word (*J. T. S.* i. 106, l. 13); and the condemnation of Anglican Orders by Leo XIII 'applies with more justice to Serapion than to the Anglican Ordinal. In the form of presbyteral ordination (*J. T. S.* i. 266) there is "nulla aperta mentio"—in fact, no mention whatever—"sacrificii, consecrationis, sacerdotii, potestatisque consecrandi et sacrificii offerendi", and consequently "id reticet quod deberet proprium significare": and in the form of episcopal consecration (*J. T. S.* i. 267) there is nothing of the "summum sacerdotium"' (*J. T. S.* i. 260); and Document No. 22.
[11] Ath. *Ep.* liv. (*Op.* i. 269–71; *P. G.* xxv. 685–90).
[12] Ath. *Op.* ii. 517–71 (*P. G.* xxvi. 529–676); and Document No. 49.

and a danger to the Church. But, at this date, they proved the main support of the power of Athanasius; a power that was built up in the Golden Decade, and rendered the Imperial authority incapable of harming him in the third exile, 356–62, that followed it.

The episcopate, as consolidated by Athanasius in Egypt and extended by him to Abyssinia at this date, provided him with a second source of strength when the attack upon him was renewed by Constantius. On his second return he was in the twentieth year of his archiepiscopate; and during the Golden Decade, as a man of fifty to sixty, he was at the maturity of his powers. The see of Alexandria enjoyed exceptional authority. Its bishop was not only primate, or patriarch in later phrase, but sole metropolitan, with immediate jurisdiction over all the bishops of Egypt who were his suffragans.[1] During a prolonged tenure of office, in the hands of a man like Athanasius, discordant elements would steadily disappear, and unanimity follow under his leadership. Nearly every bishop in Egypt signed[2] the Synodal Epistle of the Council of Sardica, 343; even the new bishops of 346–7[3] with one or two exceptions. Twenty years later, 369, when Athanasius was nearing his end and his work was done, he wrote, at the head of ninety bishops of Egypt and Libya, *Ad Afros*—to the bishops of Africa—in order to counteract the efforts that were still being made in the West to represent the Council of Ariminum, 359, rather than the Council of Nicaea, as having effected the final settlement of the Faith. Such was the unanimity of the Egyptian episcopate that, as he naïvely assures the Africans, he and his suffragans are on this, as on other points, 'all of one mind; and we always sign for one another, if any one chance not to be present'.[4] But this solidarity of the Egyptian episcopate was already apparent, if not actually attained, in the Golden Decade. It had its effect in missionary enterprise; the consecration of Frumentius as bishop for Axoum; and the consequent founding of the national church of Abyssinia[5] whose Catholicus or Matran is still consecrated by the Coptic

[1] For these powers, see J. M. Neale, *Hist. Orth. Eastern Church*, I. ii. 111 sqq.

[2] Signatures in Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 50 (*Op.* i. 133; *P. G.* xxv. 337 sqq.).

[3] Ath. *Ep.* xix, § 10 (*Op.* ii. 145 sq.; *P. G.* xxvi. 1429).

[4] Ath. *Ad Afros*, § 10 (*Op.* ii. 718; *P. G.* xxvi. 1045 c).

[5] J. M. Neale, *Patriarchate of Alexandria*, i. 156 sq.; *D. C. B.* ii. 232–41; A. Fortescue, *The lesser Eastern Churches*, 293 sqq.

patriarch of Alexandria [1] and whose Ethiopic Liturgy [2] is a variety of the Egyptian Rite. Solidarity thus led to expansion, if, as seems probable, we are to assign the consecration of Frumentius to this, and not, with Rufinus [3] and Socrates,[4] to an earlier date.[5] The letter of Constantius written in 356 to the two Ethiopian kings Aizanas and Sazanas,[6] seems to imply that Frumentius had recently been consecrated by Athanasius, and would need fresh instruction from his intruded successor, George. A further result of the inspiring presence of Athanasius during this decade was the disappearance of dissension and the increase of numbers among his flock. There were, indeed, a few Arians left in Alexandria.[7] But elsewhere in Egypt they were but the remnant of Meletians,[8] whose monks are still mentioned by Theodoret.[9] At Easter, 355, so vast were the crowds of worshippers at Alexandria that the Pope had to hold service in the unfinished church of the Caesareum, begun by Gregory and built, at the expense of Constantius,[10] within the precincts of the Imperial palace,[11] by the harbour; whence its name. The return of Athanasius had something of the character of a 'mission' in modern church-life; and then, as now, consolidated organization, missionary zeal, and crowded churches [12] testified to the spiritual life renewed.

But all this was not inconsistent with literary activity on the part of Athanasius; and to the Golden Decade belong several important works of his.

About 351 appeared the *Apologia contra Arianos*.[13] It is a defence against the charges directed against him by the Eusebian party, from 331 to his second return. The author's plan is, first, to show how complete a recognition had been accorded to him, in

[1] Neale, *op. cit.* i. 156.
[2] F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies*, i. 194–244, and S. A. B. Mercer, *The Ethiopic Liturgy* (Milwaukee, 1915).
[3] Rufinus, *H. E.* i, § 9 (*Op.* 230–2; *P. L.* xxi. 478–80).
[4] Socr. *H. E.* I. xix, and Document No. 199.
[5] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 97–9.
[6] Ath. *Apol. ad Const.*, § 31 (*Op.* i. 250; *P. G.* xxv. 656 sq.).
[7] Ath. *Ep.* liii (*Op.* ii. 771; *P. G.* xxvi. 1185–8).
[8] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, §§ 78, 79 (*Op.* i. 309 sq.; *P. G.* xxv. 788 sq.).
[9] Theodoret, *H. E.* I. ix, § 14.
[10] Ath. *Apol. ad Const.*, § 18 (*Op.* i. 243; *P. G.* xxv. 620 A).
[11] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 74 (*Op.* i. 307; *P. G.* xxv. 781 D).
[12] Athanasius mentions crowded churches which he had seen at Trèves and Aquileia, *Apol. ad Const.*, § 15 (*Op.* i. 241; *P. G.* xxv. 613 B).
[13] Text in Ath. *Op.* i. 97–162 (*P. G.* xxv. 239–410), and W. Bright, *Hist. Writings of St. Ath.* 11–104; tr. in Robertson, *Ath.* 97–147.

spite of such charges, by the West and by Constantius. This leads him, in §§ 1–58, to review, with a series of documents of 339–47, what had happened between his leaving Alexandria in 339 and the recantation, 347, of Ursacius and Valens on his return in 346. He had been frankly acquitted. In the second part of the *Apology* he proceeds to give the evidence, §§ 59–40, on which this acquittal was based, as contained in documents of 331–7. Thus the plan he adopts inverts the historical order of events, in favour of a 'praeposterus ordo'[1]; but the importance, for history, of the work, merely as a collection of contemporary documents, is unique. The *Apology* is the most authentic source of the history of the Church in the first half of the fourth century.[2]

About 352 appeared the *De decretis Nicaenae Synodi*,[3] or *Defence of the Nicene Definition*, with the *Epistola Eusebii ad Caesarienses*[4] appended. It was written in answer to a friend who, in disputing with Arians, had been posed by their objection to the use of non-Scriptural terms in the Nicene Definition. He therefore wants to know what the Council had actually done. In reply Athanasius stigmatizes, §§ 1–5, the evasiveness and the inconsistency of the Arianizers; investigates, §§ 6–17, the meaning of the Sonship; points out that, §§ 18–20, non-Scriptural terms were forced upon the Council by Arian shiftiness; that, §§ 21–4, they express no sense not to be found in Scripture; and that, §§ 25–7, they had already been employed by acknowledged writers of the Church. He finally discusses, §§ 28–32, the term Unoriginate—*ἀγένητος*—applied by the Arians to the Father, in contrast not to the creation but to the Son who is thereby declared to be *γένητος*, Originate. He insists on 'Father', not 'The Unoriginate', as the divine title authorized by Scripture. The main interest of the work centres in its account of what happened at Nicaea. It is one of the few primary sources of our knowledge of the Council.

The *De sententia Dionysii*[5] is like the *De decretis*, a tract of 352 addressed to a Catholic engaged in dispute with Arians. They were now finding open fault with the definition of Nicaea and specially with the word *ὁμοούσιος*. The Nicene definition, they said,

[1] Dom B. de Montfaucon, 1655–†1741, *Admonitio*, § 2 (*Op.* i. 94; *P. G.* xxv. 239).
[2] Ibid., § 14 (*Op.* i. 96; *P. G.* xxv. 245).
[3] Ath. *Op.* i. 164–87 (*P. G.* xxv. 415–76); tr. Robertson, *Ath.* 149–72.
[4] *P. G.* xx. 1535–44; and Document No. 12.
[5] Ath. *Op.* i. 191–207 (*P. G.* xxv. 479–522); tr. Robertson, *Ath.* 173–87.

condemned 'the Fathers', i.e. the great teachers of the Church, such as Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria 247–†65, of the previous and earlier generations. 'The Fathers',[1] they claimed, 'side with us.' Dionysius, it is true, had given the Arians a handle which they were not slow to use. Athanasius, in his pamphlet, sets himself to vindicate the reputation of his predecessor. He does it loyally; and, perhaps, a little too well. Basil was more critical of Dionysius.[2] For Athanasius it was of the highest importance to deprive the Arians of the chance of appealing to so weighty a name as that of his most distinguished predecessor. For us, however, the tract is of more importance as our main authority for the questions of doctrine and discipline which turn on the correspondence between Dionysius of Alexandria and his namesake Dionysius, bishop of Rome. In the pamphlet, §§ 1–4 are prefatory; §§ 5–12 deal with the incriminated passages; §§ 13–23 with the *Refutation and Defence* of Dionysius, where Athanasius brings out the opposition between his predecessor and the Arians; §§ 24–6 are recapitulatory; and in § 27 he claims a verdict on the evidence. Let the Arians abandon their error, or 'go to the devil'!

To about 354 belong the letters to Amoun,[3] to Dracontius,[4] to Serapion, *de Morte Arii*[5]; all of which, with the *Vita Antonii*,[6] 356–62, illustrate the close connexion of Athanasius with the monastic movement at this time, and are important as authorities for it.

§ 5. We now pass to the West, to take up again the history of Donatism.[7] Constans had won a notable triumph when he restored peace to Egypt by procuring the return of Athanasius in 346. Next year his attention was drawn to religious dissensions in Africa. For twenty-five years, 322–47, two parties had been in conflict there, Catholic and Donatist; but now public order

[1] Ath. *De sent. Dion.*, § 1 (*Op.* i. 191; *P. G.* xxv. 480 A); for this use of 'the fathers' cf. Rom. ix. 5; 2 Pet. iii. 4.

[2] Basil, *Ep.* ix., § 2 (*Op.* iv. 90; *P. G.* xxxii. 268 sq.), and *De Sp. Sancto*, § 72 (*Op.* iv. 60 sq.; *P. G.* xxxii. 201).

[3] Ath. *Op.* ii. 765–7 (*P. G.* xxvi. 1169–76); tr. Robertson, *Ath.* 556 sq.; *Ep.* xlviii.

[4] Ath. *Op.* i. 207–11 (*P. G.* xxv. 523–34); tr. Robertson, *Ath.* 557–60; *Ep.* xlix.

[5] Ath. *Op.* i. 269–71 (*P. G.* xxv. 685–90); W. Bright, *Hist. Writ. St. Ath.* 178–81; tr. Robertson, *Ath.* 564–6; *Ep.* liv.

[6] Ath. *Op.* ii. 631–92 (*P. G.* xxvi. 835–976); tr. Robertson, *Ath.* 195–221.

[7] Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 104 sqq.

was imperilled. The Donatists were the agressors; and the State, which for a quarter of a century had treated them with tolerance, about this time found it necessary to resort once more to Constantine's earlier policy of repression.

(1) The period of tolerance covered the years 322–47.

It began with Constantine's recall of the Donatist leaders and his determination to leave the question to 'the judgement of God', 322. Thereupon the Catholics, no longer protected by law against their adversaries, sought to defend themselves by discussion. They would appeal to the good sense of the public; and, for this purpose, about 330, they prepared an apology[1] against Donatism which has come down to us with the defective title *Gesta purgationis Caeciliani episcopi et Felicis ordinatoris eiusdem; necnon Epistola Constantini Imperatoris.*[2] It now remains in truncated form at the end of Optatus, *De schismate Donatistarum,*[3] *c.* 370; but, as used by him, by Augustine, and by the Catholics at the Conference in Carthage, 411, it was a more extensive compilation. It included two collections: the first, of ten reports, minutes, &c., relating to the *Purgatio Caeciliani*; and the second, of three such documents relating to the *Purgatio Felicis.*[4] Monseigneur Duchesne, who has reconstructed the work, calls it for convenience the *Sylloge Optatiana,*[5] as it now stands appended to the writings of Optatus, bishop of Mileve in Numidia; and, mainly from it, though partly from elsewhere, he notes fifty documents touching Caecilian and eight touching Felix, as having played their part, from time to time, in the discussions between Catholics and Donatists.[6] But the Donatists were in no mood for *dossiers*; and had no need of discussions now that, in succession to Majorinus, they had a leader like their 'Donatus of Carthage',[7] as he preferred to be called rather than

[1] For this apology, see L. Duchesne, 'Le dossier du Donatisme', *ap. Mélanges d'archéologie,* &c., x. 589 sqq.; for its date, ibid. 625.

[2] The title [*C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 182] comes from a ninth-century MS. [Codex Parisinus, 1711], emanating from the abbey of St. Paul de Cormery in the diocese of Tours. It begins in the middle of Optatus, bk. vi. Then, at the end of his work, comes the collection with the title, as opposite. There is a gap between the *Gesta Purgationis Caeciliani* and the [*Gesta Purgationis*] *Felicis*: and, instead of one epistle, there are eight dating from 313–30; ibid. 593 sq.

[3] Printed in *P. L.* xi. 883–1082, and in *C. S. E. L.* xxvi. 183–216.

[4] *Mélanges,* x. 626 sq. [5] Ibid. x. 633, n. 1.

[6] 'Pièces officielles ou officiellement produites qui ont rapport aux origines du Donatisme, 303–330,' *Mélanges,* x, 627 sqq.

[7] Optatus, *De sch. Don.* iii, § 3 (*Op.* 57; *P. L.* xi. 1002 B), and Document No. 4.

their 'bishop', 315–†55. He was an able man, learned, eloquent,[1] and of irreproachable morals.[2] But his pride of spirit, and of office, were intolerable. Not only was his party the Church, to the unchurching of the rest of Christendom, though the Donatists made capital out of their having been recognized by the Council of Philippopolis,[3] but the Church was 'his party'[4]; he sovereign of Carthage[5]; and his followers who swore 'By the white hairs of Donatus',[6] and shouted *Euge, Euge*[7] in acclamation of him, were, in a rougher way, tyrants like their leader. Their weapons were curses and blows, not discussion. Constantine, at length, lost patience; and, in the last year of his reign, 336–7, Gregory, the Praetorian Prefect of Italy, took up once more the policy of repression. Donatus remonstrated by a letter in which, with the air of a superior, he denounced him as 'the disgrace of the Senate and a scandal among Viceroys'. Gregory, says Optatus, 'replied with patience worthy of a bishop'.[8] But none the less, the Donatists placed him side by side with Counts Leontius and Ursacius[9] and the Consular Zenophilus[10] on the list of their oppressors, and continued in angry opposition.

On the death of his father, Constans took up the problem. It was complicated at this juncture by the appearance[11]—perhaps, the reappearance—of the Circumcellions, a body of adherents who indicate the social and racial animosities[12] which gave Donatism its furious persistency.

[1] Aug. *De Haeresibus*, § 69 (*Op.* viii. 21 F; *P. L.* xlii. 43).

[2] 'Sobrietas Donati,' Aug. *Contra Litt. Petil.* ii, § 94 (*Op.* ix. 248 F; *P. L.* xliii. 293).

[3] Aug. *Contra Cresconium*, iii, § 38 (*Op.* ix. 454 C; *P. L.* xliii. 516); and *Ep.* xliv, § 6 (*Op.* ii. 103 C; *P. L.* xxxiii. 176).

[4] Optatus, *De sch. Don.* iii, § 3 (*Op.* 58; *P. L.* xi. 1004 A).

[5] Ibid. iii, § 3 (*Op.* 56; *P. L.* xi. 1001 A).

[6] Aug. *In Psalm. x enarr.*, § 5 (*Op.* iv. 61 B; *P. L.* xxxvi. 134 A).

[7] Aug. *In Psalm. lxix enarr.*, § 5 (*Op.* iv. 715 C; *P. L.* xxxvi. 870).

[8] Optatus, *De sch. Don.* iii, § 3 (*Op.* 55 sq.; *P. L.* xi. 999 A, B).

[9] Ibid. iii, §§ 4, 8, 10 (*Op.* 62, 64, 67; *P. L.* xi. 1012 A, 1017 B, 1023 A).

[10] Aug. *Contra Litt. Petil.* ii, § 202 (*Op.* ix. 276 B; *P. L.* xlii. 324); and *Contra Cresconium*, iii, § 34 (*Op.* ix. 452 B; *P. L.* xlii. 514).

[11] Optatus seems to imply that they made their appearance just before the end of the reign of Constans (*De sch. Don.* iii, § 4 [*Op.* 60; *P. L.* xi. 1007 A); but Augustine says that it was before the Catholic Emperors began to protect Christians by law from pagan violence, *Ep.* clxxxv, § 15 (*Op.* ii. 649 C; *P. L.* xxxiii. 799); cf. Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 96.

[12] Augustine speaks of their 'rusticana audacia', and says that they only understood the old Punic tongue, *Ep.* cviii, §§ 14, 18 (*Op.* ii. 312 D, 314 D; *P. L.* xxxiii. 414, 416); but they were probably Berbers, H. Leclercq, *L'Afrique chrétienne*, i. 346.

The Circumcellions[1] were bands of agrarian fanatics. They were armed with clubs which they called 'Israels',[2] and shouted a war-cry of *Deo laudes*, by contrast with the Catholic *Deo gratias*.[3] Under Axido and Fasir, their leaders,[4] they scoured the country, specially of Numidia; haunted peasants' huts, whence their name,[5] and would not stick at pillaging farms and country houses by way of protest against social inequalities and wrongs. They set tenant against landlord, slave against master, and debtor against creditor; and nothing delighted them more than to catch a great man on his travels, with syces running before his chariot, and make master and man change places. The fabric of society was becoming unsafe; and even the Donatist prelates, whose authority the Circumcellions invoked, had to call in the Government against them. The Count Taurinus sent troops to reduce these ruffians; and at Octava in Numidia a massacre took place which the Donatists, for years afterward, avenged by treating its victims as martyrs and celebrating the Eucharist at their tombs.[6] The immediate effect was to rouse rather than to quench fanaticism. And, perhaps at the advice of Gratus, bishop of Carthage 343–†53, who, on returning from the Council of Sardica, appears to have had an interview with Constans, the Emperor abandoned force for persuasion and embarked upon a new policy.

It was the policy of Reunion, attempted in the years 347–8. His agents or *operarii unitatis*[7] were the two envoys Paul and Macarius, both Christians.[8] They acted together; but—to

[1] Aug. *Psalmus contra Partem Donati* [A. D. 393], *Op.* ix. 5 E (*P. L.* xliii 28). The rhythm of this curious psalm is a barbarous 'Achtsilber, mit trochäischen Schlüssen'; it shows the first sure traces of rhyme, W. Mayer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, i. 174, 213–15, and ii. 18–23.

[2] The best descriptions of them are in Aug. *De Haeresibus*, § 69 (*Op.* viii. 22; *P. L.* xlii. 43); and *Ep.* clxxxv [A. D. 417], § 15 (*Op.* ii. 649; *P. L.* xxxiii. 799), and Document No. 179.

[3] Aug. *In Ps. cxxxii enarr.*, § 6 (*Op.* iv. 1487 B; *P. L.* xxxvii. 1732).

[4] 'Sanctorum duces,' Optatus, *De sch. Don.* iii. § 4 (*Op.* 60; *P. L.* xxi. 1007 A).

[5] Aug. *Contra Gaudentium*, i, § 32 (*Op.* ix. 652 C; *P. L.* xliii. 725).

[6] 'Quorum corpora in hodiernum per dealbatas aras aut mensas potuerunt numerari,' Opt. *De sch. Don.* iii, § 4 (*Op.* 60; *P. L.* xi. 1008 sq.). Note that 'altar' and 'table' are here synonyms as in 1 Cor. x. 18–21; the reason being that a 'table' is 'non in qua pascat sive pascatur sed in qua sacrificium Deo offeratur', Aug. *Sermo*, cccx, § 2 (*Op.* v. 1250 B; *P. L.* xxxviii. 1413).

[7] Opt. *De sch. Don.* iii, § 4 (*Op.* 62; *P. L.* xi. 1012 B).

[8] So Tillemont argues (*Mém.* vi. 110) from their being called by the Co. of Carthage 'famulos Dei', Mansi, iii. 144 C.

judge by the hatred with which the Donatists afterwards pursued his memory [1]—Macarius took the lead.

At first, the Commissioners were to try the effect of Imperial doles; and they came provided with subventions from the Treasury for general distribution.[2] At Carthage, they were repelled with a fine scorn by Donatus. 'What has the Emperor to do with the Church?'[3] he asked: though this was scarcely consistent in Donatists, for they had been the first to appeal to Caesar; and he told them that he had written to forbid his people to accept the Emperor's money.[4] In 'Africa', however, the advice was not taken, and the alms were; and union was purchased there with little difficulty or scruple.[5] But in Numidia the attempt failed. Another Donatus, bishop of Bagai, headed a movement of resistance; called in Axido and Fasir 'the leaders of the saints'; dubbed their followers, the Circumcellions, *agonistici* or Christ's champions like the monks[6]; and transformed his church of Bagai into a fortress. As soon as the Commissioners approached, he sent ten bishops to protest against the union as sacrilegious; and their language and demeanour was such that, on the way, at Vegesila where the meeting took place, the Commissioners had some of them scourged, and kept Marculus, the worst of them, a prisoner. Fearing to proceed further unprotected, they obtained an escort from Count Silvester; and, when the detachment reached Bagai, riots ensued.[7] It was time for a change of policy; the period of tolerance was at an end.

(2) A policy of repression, 347–61, took its place; and its immediate effect was that Donatus of Bagai perished, while Marculus was put to death, August 347; as also were two others, Isaac and Maximian[8] of Carthage, about the same time. They became martyrs for Donatism, and no reunion was possible by methods like these. Paul and Macarius then resorted to dragonnades. They went from place to place, escorted by

[1] See a Donatist scrap, which speaks of 'Macarius, qui ex duabus bestiis tetrior fuit', Mansi, iii. 144 A, and the phrase 'Macarii tempora'.

[2] Opt. *De sch. Don.* iii, § 4 (*Op.* 59; *P. L.* xi. 1006 C).

[3] Ibid. iii, § 3 (*Op.* 57; *P. L.* xi. 999 A).

[4] Ibid. (*Op.* 56; *P. L.* xi. 1000 B).

[5] Ibid. iii, § 4 (*Op.* 59; *P. L.* xi. 1006 C).

[6] Aug. *In psalm. cxxxii enarr.*, § 6 (*Op.* iv. 1487 A; *P. L.* xxxvii. 1732).

[7] For this account, see Opt. *De sch. Don.* iii, § 4 (*Op.* 59–61; *P. L.* xi. 1007–11); and the *Passio Marculi*, a Donatist document printed in *P. L.* viii. 760–6.

[8] See the Donatist *Passio Isaac et Maximiani* in *P. L.* viii. 767–74.

cavalry. The schismatic clergy fled at their approach, after making their flocks believe that the Imperial Images would be set up again on the altars and the Christian Sacrifice offered to them.[1] But the Commissioners were at least outwardly successful. In some cases, the Catholic and the Donatist bishop were brought to an arrangement[2]; in others, there was much severity exercised before submission was procured. Donatist presbyters took permanent refuge with the Circumcellions; their bishops were exiled, Donatus of Carthage among them. He died in banishment, 355. Two Donatist *Passions*[3] which survive bear testimony to the exasperation of spirit that resulted. But outwardly and officially Donatism had ceased to exist; and, when the *operarii unitatis* took ship for Italy, they might report to Constans with truth that they had done their work.

It only remained for the Council of Carthage, 348, under Gratus,[4] to ratify it. The Council represented Africa as a whole; and contained not only Catholic but ex-Donatist bishops rallied to the Church. Gratus began by thanking God for bringing the schism to an end through Constans and his Commissioners. He then went on to say that it was obviously the moment for adopting some necessary rules. Accordingly, Canon 1 forbids the iteration of Baptism; rejecting, that is, both Donatist practice and the former practice of Africa as inherited from St. Cyprian, which had already been condemned by the Council of Arles. Canon 2 orders that suicides are not to be treated as martyrs. These two arise out of the recent troubles. The rest deal with general questions of discipline. Canons 3 and 4 denounce *subintroductae* and similar scandals. Canon 5 forbids one bishop to receive the cleric or laic of another. Canons 6, 8, 9, and 13 condemn various forms of clerical secularity.

So ended the efforts to bring about reunion between Donatists and Catholics. They gave Africa fourteen years of peace, 348–61, so long as Constans and Constantius, both Christian princes, ruled. But when Julian, by an edict of 362,[5] permitted the exiles to return,[6] the sect was reorganized; and Donatism, the running sore of the Church of Africa, was opened again.

[1] Opt. *De sch. Don.* iii, § 12 (*Op.* 69; *P. L.* xi. 1026 A).
[2] Co. of Carthage [A. D. 348], c. 12; Mansi, iii. 149.
[3] Of Marculus and of Isaac and Maximian, *ut sup.*
[4] Mansi, iii. 143–58; Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 837–41; *E. Tr.* ii. 184–6.
[5] q.v. in Aug. *Contra litt. Petil.* ii. § 224 (*Op.* ix. 286 A; *P. L.* xliii. 334).
[6] Opt. *De sch. Don.* iii, § 16 (*Op.* 40; *P. L.* xi. 968 A).

§ 6. The reunion was barely accomplished when it was followed by the death of Constans in February 350. His character is a puzzle.[1] Contradictory estimates of him are given by different historians. Athanasius speaks well of him, as a devout man[2]: so does Optatus. But Athanasius owed much to Constans, and he overlooks his vicious side due, perhaps, to ill-health and to bad favourites.[3] For Constans not only loved hunting better than application to the duties of his office, but he gave scandal by his depraved tastes. An ambitious soldier, Magnentius,[4] took advantage of his unpopularity to declare himself Emperor at Augustodunum (Autun), 18 January 350. Constans fled. But he was overtaken at Helena (once Illiberris and now Elne) at the foot of the Pyrenees, where he was murdered by the cavalry of Magnentius. Gaul and Italy acknowledged the authority of the usurper; but Illyricum chose to set up Vetranio, 1 March 350, chiefly at the instigation of the princess Constantina. She was a daughter of Constantine the Great and the widow of Hannibalian. She became the foundress of the church of St. Agnes at Rome,[5] and had for her second husband the Caesar Gallus, 351–†4; but she was a fury and a virago. By this time Constantius was rid, for a period, of the Persian Wars. For when Sapor II raised the third siege of Nisibis, 349, and retired, Constantius instituted the Persian Games, May 350, to celebrate the heroism of its resistance, and hastened towards Europe. Pursuing the policy of *Divide et impera* in order to deal with the two usurpers, he received their envoys, November 350, at Heraclea; and, 25 December, secured the deposition of Vetranio by seducing his troops at Sardica (Sofia). Next year, he advanced to meet Magnentius; and defeated him, 28 September 351, in a hard-won but signal victory at Mursa (now Essek, on the Drave, in Hungary). The Civil War was prolonged, during 352, by the

[1] Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* iv. 358; Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 146, n. 1.

[2] Ath. *Apol. ad Const.*, §§ 3–5 (*Op.* i. 235 sq.; *P. G.* xxv. 597–602); so Hosius *ap.* Ath. *Hist. Ar.* § 44 (*Op.* i. 292; *P. G.* xxv. 745 A).

[3] Amm. Marc. *Res Gestae*, XVI. vii, § 5. There is some excuse for his vices. He waited faithfully but in vain for Olympias, daughter of Ablavius, after her father's disgrace, Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 69 (*Op.* i. 304; *P. G.* xxv. 776 B).

[4] Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* iv. 354 sqq.; Gibbon, c. xviii (ii. 232, ed. Bury).

[5] L. Duchesne, *The early Hist. of the Ch.* ii. 199; cf. ibid. 51, n. 2, for her sarcophagus of porphyry, taken from another basilica of hers on the Via Nomentana, where she was buried, and now in the Vatican Museum.

necessity for reconquering Italy, Africa, and Spain. But at last, Magnentius, after retreating from one place to another, fell on his sword at Lyons in Gaul, 12 August 353. But from the battle of Mursa onwards Magnentius had been but a fugitive; and Constantius was thus, in effect, sole Emperor for the last decade of his reign, 351–†61.

CHAPTER V

CONSTANTIUS SOLE EMPEROR, 351–†61: (*a*) THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF ARIANISM, 351–6

By the overthrow of Magnentius, Constantius became sole Emperor, 351–†61. It was the opportunity of the Arianizers, and they meant to use it for all it was worth. While the battle of Mursa itself was in progress, Valens, its bishop, stayed with Constantius in the church[1]; arranged 'a secret chain of swift and trusty messengers' to tell him how the fortunes of the day were going; and at length assured the Emperor that the enemy was giving way, and that he had been told so by an angel.[2] By this characteristic piece of pious fraud Valens re-established his influence over the mind and policy of Constantius, and a beginning was made for the re-establishment of Arianism, 351–6.

§ 1. One of its first incidents was the fourth and final banishment, 350, of Paul,[3] bishop of Constantinople. Philip, Prefect of the East, being commissioned to expel him, remembered the fate of Hermogenes at the third exile, enticed Paul to the baths, and so contrived to spirit him away 'to Cucusus in Cappadocia' before a rescue was attempted.[4] Macedonius once more took possession; and from that day till the day when Gregory of Nazianzus became bishop of Constantinople, 20 November 380, the capital remained a stronghold of Arianism.[5] Philip then accompanied Constantius westward to confront the usurpers; and Constantius, after the submission of Vetranio, 25 December 350, had placed Illyricum at his feet, advanced to Sirmium.

[1] Gibbon, c. xviii (ii. 240, ed. Bury).

[2] Sulpicius Severus, *Hist. Sacr.* ii, § 38 (*P. L.* xx. 150 c); Gibbon, c. xxi (ii. 358).

[3] On Paul and his banishments, see Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 7 (*Op.* i. 275; *P. G.* xxv. 701); for the date, Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 150, n. 1.

[4] Socr. *H. E.* II. xvi, §§ 1–7; and, for Cucusus, Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 7 (*ut sup.*) and Socr. *H. E.* II. xxvi, § 6, where Socr. says that Paul was strangled there. So Ath. *Apol. de Fuga*, § 3 (*Op.* i. 255; *P. G.* xxv. 648 D). In *Hist. Ar.*, § 7, he is more cautious; and Sozomen says he had never been able to ascertain the cause of Paul's death—disease or violence, *H. E.* IV. ii, § 2. He places Cucusus in Armenia [II].

[5] Its Arianizing bishops were Macedonius, 350–60; Eudoxius, 360–†70; Demophilus, 370–80.

Here he remained, after victory had declared for him at Mursa, 28 September 351, for the winter of 351–2.

§ 2. At the instance, no doubt, of Valens, he allowed a second Council of Sirmium,[1] 351 (the first having taken place 347), to deal a final blow at its bishop, Photinus; and so, indirectly, to discredit the Nicenes.

Among those present were Basil, since 350 reinstated as bishop of Ancyra, after a fresh expulsion of Marcellus.[2] He would have his own reasons for antipathy to Photinus as the pupil of his predecessor; and he now comes forward as the chief theologian of the semi-Arians, a man of varied 'learning' and 'blameless life'.[3] Mark, bishop of Arethusa, in Syria II, was also there, a good and brave man of the same party.[4] It was a party, as yet imperfect in its theology, and to it Cyril, just made bishop of Jerusalem, 350–†86, also belonged. In his *Catecheses*, he 'tacitly protests against the ὁμοούσιον as of human contrivance,[5] and uses in preference the words τὸν ὅμοιον κατὰ πάντα[6] or ἐν πᾶσιν ὅμοιος.[7] There were present, besides, many well-known Arianizers: Eudoxius of Germanicia, 330–57, Macedonius of Mopsuestia, Theodore of Heraclea, and Narcissus of Neronias. Valens and Ursacius, too, for they had recanted their recantation, now that they were once more safe as the subjects of Constantius.[8] But not Hosius[9]; no one would be there from the regions where Magnentius still held sway.

The business of the Synod was again and finally to depose Marcellus and his disciple Photinus, and then to publish the so-called 'First', or, better, the 'Long' Sirmian Creed[10]: there had been a 'First' in 347. Of Marcellus we hear no more for many years; but Photinus hazarded an appeal to the Emperor. Basil was appointed to dispute with him, and Photinus, worsted in the discussion which, apparently, was held at Sirmium early

[1] Mansi, iii. 253 sqq.; Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 852–62; *E. Tr.* ii. 193–9; Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 351–6; Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 149.
[2] Socr. *H. E.* II. xxvi, § 6. [3] Newman, *Arians*[5], 300. [4] Ibid. 301.
[5] Cyril of Jer. *Cat.* v, § 12 (*Op.* 78; *P. G.* xxxiii. 521 B).
[6] Ibid. iv, § 7 (*Op.* 54; *P. G.* xxxiii. 461 B).
[7] Ibid. xi, § 4 (*Op.* 151; *P. G.* xxxiii. 696 B). For the theological position of St. Cyril see Robertson, *Ath.* xlix.
[8] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 29 (*Op.* i. 285; *P. G.* xxv. 725).
[9] As we are told by Socr. *H. E.* II. xxix, § 3; Soz. *H. E.* IV. vi, § 4.
[10] Text in Ath. *De Syn.*, § 27 (*Op.* ii. 592–4; *P. G.* xxvi. 735–40); Hilary, *De Syn.*, § 38 (*Op.* ii. 485–8; *P. L.* x. 509–12); Socr. *H. E.* II. xxx, §§ 3–30; Hahn[3], § 160.

in 355,[1] was at last sent into exile. The records of the disputation are unfortunately lost. Photinus was recalled, with the rest, under Julian; but banished again by Valentinian, and he died in exile, *c.* 376.[2] As to the 'Long' Sirmian Creed, it is in two parts. The former is a *réchauffé*[3] of the Fourth Antiochene, which had already seen service again at Philippopolis, 343, and at Antioch 344. The second part is a long comment consisting of twenty-seven anathemas. Of these, some bar out ultra-Arianism[4]; some repudiate all ditheistic[5] or tritheistic[6] conceptions; some are directed against Marcellus,[7] some against Photinus,[8] as might be expected; some thinly disguise an Arian standpoint[9] as, for instance, when they protest against the notion of the Son's generation from the Father's essence as involving the Father in a 'physical necessity'.[10] But their chief interest lies in the indication they afford of the rise of new questions —the doctrines of the Person of Christ[11] and the Holy Spirit.[12] On the whole the creed is a good specimen of the better type of Arian formulary; though Socrates can scarcely be right in ascribing it to Mark of Arethusa,[13] as he is certainly wrong in attributing to this largely 'conservative'[14] synod the composition of the 'Blasphemy'.[15] The 'Long' Sirmian is commented on by Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, 350–†68, in his *De Synodis*.[16] Animated, like Athanasius, by the desire to win over the semi-Arians to the Catholic side, he makes the best of it. He finds in it much to his purpose,[17] though he stretches a point here and there.[18] Athanasius, no less conciliatory in intention, is less cordial. He ranks the formulary as just one among other attempts of the

[1] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 149, n. 6, for the date. For the discussion, Epiph. *Haer.* lxxi, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 829 sq.; *P. G.* xli. 376); Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 353 sqq.

[2] Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 354. Constantius put in, at Sirmium, an Arian, Germinius, bishop of Cyzicus, Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 74 (*Op.* i. 307; *P. G.* xxv. 784 B).

[3] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 150, n. 2.

[4] Nos. 1 and 24.

[5] Nos. 2, 18.

[6] No. 23.

[7] Nos. 5–8, 14.

[8] No. 9.

[9] Nos. 1b, 3, 17, 18.

[10] No. 25.

[11] Nos. 12, 13.

[12] Nos. 20–2.

[13] Socr. *H. E.* II. xxx, § 4. Mark was the author of the Dated Creed of 22 May 359.

[14] In proof of this character of the Synod, Gwatkin notes its interpretations of Scripture, *Arianism*[2], 151, n. 1.

[15] Socr. *H. E.* II. xxx, § 3.

[16] Hilary, *De Syn.*, §§ 39–63 (*Op.* ii. 488–99; *P. L.* x. 512–23).

[17] e. g. on the First Anathema in ibid., § 40 (*Op.* ii. 488; *P. L.* x. 513 A, B).

[18] Ibid., where he treats an anathema against ἦν χρόνος ἢ αἰὼν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν as no less free from 'ambiguity' than an anathema against ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν.

Arianizers to find a substitute for the Nicene Creed.[1] And on the whole, we may conclude to treat it as on a par with the best and most celebrated of such alternatives, the Dedication Creed of Antioch. For in its theology it did not sound unorthodox; though, in its practical effect, it was anti-Nicene. Yet, as Newman says, 'the Council met to set right a real evil, and was not a mere pretence with Arian objects'.[2] Photinus was the 'evil'; and opposition to him it was that gave it the weight and character of a 'Catholic Council'.[3]

Constantius, on the death of Magnentius, was in a position to be exceedingly dangerous. Like James 'the Sixth and First' he prided himself on the nicety of his discrimination in matters theological. He had repressed Photinus. Now he would put down Nicenes. 'No extremes' was his motto, as it has been the maxim, since his day, of many 'Establishments', but always with a leaning to that extreme which made for laxity. This leaning, in his case, was increased by the influence of the new Empress Eusebia,[4] a good and beautiful woman but an Arian, whom he had married in Italy, 352–3, on his way from the first overthrow of Magnentius at Mursa, 28 September 351, to inflict a second and final defeat on him at Mons Seleucus in the Cottian Alps,[5] 353. His victory put him into possession of Gaul; and, by 10 October 353, we find him at Arles where he spent the winter. The bishops of the West were solid for the faith of Nicaea, save for[6] one or two nominees of the Court such as Saturninus, bishop of Arles 353–60; and they were led by Liberius, bishop of Rome 352–†66, Dionysius, bishop of Milan 346–†74, Paulinus of Trèves 349–†58, and by Hosius, still the patriarch of Christendom. Gaul, moreover, was the centre of the Nicene resistance. Doctrine, therefore, had again to be kept in the background; but Constantius, whose suspicions had lately been roused against

[1] Ath. *De Syn.*, §§ 27, 32 (*Op.* ii. 592, 597 sq.; *P. G.* xxvi. 735 A, 749).

[2] Newman, *Treatises of St. Ath.* i. 117, note l (*L. F.* viii).

[3] So Hilary treats it, and so it is called by Vigilius of Tapsus [*c.* 450–500], *Contra Eutychem*, v, § 3 (*Op.* 59; *P. L.* lxii. 136 c).

[4] Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* iv. 380 sq.; Gibbon, c. xix (ii. 254).

[5] Gibbon, c. xviii (ii. 243). Mons Seleucus was La Bâtie, near Gap, in Dauphiné. The army of Constantius would approach it from Italy over the pass that had been used by Hannibal and by Julius Caesar, and was the most frequented in Roman times, viz. that of Mont Genèvre, W. A. B. Coolidge, *The Alps in Nature and History*, 163.

[6] 'On the Arian side we find scarcely any but Ursacius, Germinius, and Valens on the Danube, Saturninus of Arles, and the renegade Potamius of Lisbon,' Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 151, n. 2.

Athanasius by fresh charges of disloyalty,[1] determined to force on the West a declaration disowning him. A Council had been in contemplation to settle ecclesiastical affairs after the turmoil of the civil war; and Liberius sent Vincent, bishop of Capua, and others, with documents for and against Athanasius which had been laid before the church of Rome,[2] to beg him to call it at Aquileia.[3] But Constantius insisted on having it under his own eye.[4]

§ 3. The Council, accordingly, met at Arles[5] in the winter of 353, with Saturninus as president, and Valens and his friends to manage it. By the Emperor's orders a draft decree[6] was presented, condemning Athanasius on the ground of the charges now stated to have been proved against him in the East,[7] before Sardica. Vincent desired that the faith should be taken first, before the personal question; but Valens and his party would not hear of anything of the kind.[8] At length, the papal envoys undertook to 'sign against Athanasius' for the sake of peace, provided that the other side would anathematize Arianism. This also the Arianizing majority refused[9]—as well they might. Vincent had made a surrender as foolish as it was ignoble; and Valens and his friends had secured their point, the condemnation of Athanasius. They turned to the Emperor, and by threats and force he extorted signatures[10] to the decree from all of the orthodox minority save one—Paulinus, bishop of Trêves. He was banished to Phrygia and its Montanists: afterwards, beyond the frontiers.[11] Pope Liberius, on receipt of the news, was deeply hurt at the fall of his legates. He wrote to Hosius, lamenting

[1] Ath. *Apol. ad Const.*, §§ 2, 6, 14, 19, &c. (*Op.* i. 234, &c.; *P. G.* xxv. 597, &c.).

[2] Hilary, *Fragm.* v, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 672; *P. L.* x. 683 B).

[3] Ibid. vi, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 677; *P. L.* x. 688 B).

[4] Hilary, *Ad Const. Aug.* i, § 8 (*Op.* ii. 540; *P. L.* x. 562 B).

[5] The acts of this Synod have not been preserved, but see Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 869; *E. Tr.* ii. 204; Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 357 sqq.; Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 152; Gibbon, c. xxi (ii. 371 sqq.).

[6] Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sacr.* ii, § 39 (*P. L.* xx. 150 D).

[7] 'The memory of the firm and effectual support which the primate of Egypt had derived from the attachment of the Western Church engaged Constantius to suspend the execution of the sentence [of the East], till he had obtained the concurrence of the Latin bishops,' Gibbon, c. xxi (ii. 371). Hence the proceedings at Arles and Milan.

[8] Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sacr.* ii, § 39 (*P. L.* xx. 151 A).

[9] Hilary, *Fragm.* v, § 5 (*Op.* ii. 64; *P. L.* x. 685 A, B).

[10] Ath. *Apol. ad Const.*, § 27 (*Op.* i. 247; *P. G.* xxv. 629 B).

[11] Hilary, *Contra Const. Imp.*, § 11 (*Op.* ii. 570; *P. L.* x. 588).

it[1]; and let Caecilian, bishop of Spoleto, with others, know that he could not sanction their proceedings.[2]

So things stood in the winter of 353–4. The Emperor had not yet got 'the concurrence of the West' in sufficient force to enable him to deal the blow at Athanasius. Nor, for a couple of years, could more be done. There was trouble on the frontiers. In the spring of 354 Constantius was at Augusta Rauracorum[3] (now Augst in the Aargau) on the upper Rhine; in the early summer of 355 his presence was required in Rhaetia to deal, from the neighbourhood of the Splügen and Chur,[4] with the barbarians on the Danube; and, in the autumn of that year, Julian, 331–†63, had to be hurriedly summoned from his books at Athens; invested at Milan, where Constantius was spending the winter, with the insignia of Caesar,[5] 6 November 355; and, 1 December, dispatched[6] across the Alps to Gaul to drive the Alemanni beyond the Rhine. This done, and the frontiers once more secured, Constantius acceded to the request for a Council at Milan.

§ 4. The Council of Milan[7] met early in 355.

The request came from Pope Liberius; for the Emperor, encouraged by his measure of success at Arles, had begun to press heavily on the Italian bishops, requiring them to break off communion with Athanasius.[8] The pressure stirred into action two champions of the Nicene cause among them: Eusebius,[9] bishop of Vercellae 340–†71, who upheld it nobly, and Lucifer,[10] bishop of Caliaris (Cagliari) 353–†70, in Sardinia, no less zealous. But it was the zeal of a Jehu, and damaged the cause he was burning to sustain. Lucifer now came to Rome, and offered Liberius to go to Court as his envoy and bring the Emperor to a better mind.[11] Liberius gladly accepted the offer; and sent him, accompanied by the priest Pancratius and the deacon Hilary, with *Obsecro*,

[1] *Quia in nullo*, *ap.* Hilary, *Fragm.* vi, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 676 sq.; *P. L.* x. 688 B); Liberius, *Ep.* i (*P. L.* viii. 1349); Jaffé, No. 209.

[2] *Nolo te factum*, *ap.* Hilary, *Fragm.* vi, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 676; *P. L.* x. 688 A); Liberius, *Ep.* ii (*P. L.* viii. 1349 C); Jaffé, No. 210.

[3] Amm. Marc. *Res Gestae*, XIV. x. 6.

[4] Ibid. XV. iv. 1.

[5] Ibid. XV. viii; Gibbon, c. xix (ii. 255 sqq.).

[6] Amm. Marc. *Res Gestae*, XV. viii. 18.

[7] Mansi, iii. 233–52; Hefele, *Conciles*, II. ii. 870–7; *E. Tr.* 205–10; Socr. *H. E.* II. XXXVI; Soz. *H. E.* IV. ix, §§ 1–5; Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 360 sqq.

[8] Liberius, *Ep.* iii, § 1 (*P. L.* viii. 1350 B).

[9] Tillemont, *Mém.* vii. 529–63.

[10] Ibid. vii. 514–29.

[11] Liberius, *Ep.* iii, § 1 (*P. L.* viii. 1350 B, C).

tranquillissime Imperator[1]—a very plain-spoken letter of explanation and expostulation addressed to Constantius, 354. He also wrote twice to Eusebius of Vercellae[2]: first, that he would use his influence with Constantius, and, next, that he would join the embassy. Eusebius accepted the task, and went. The Pope then wrote him another letter, of thanks[3]; adding that he had also invited Fortunatian, bishop of Aquileia 343–†69, to join them too. The envoys had little difficulty with Constantius, for a new synod, under his own eye, would further his plans.

Accordingly, at Milan,[4] three hundred[5] bishops, mainly Western, met in the principal church under the presidency of Dionysius, bishop of Milan 352–5, and an earnest Catholic. Owing to the menacing tone of Constantius and the dominant faction, some Western bishops would not attend: chief among them Eusebius and, possibly, Hilary—our authority for these events. But neither Catholics nor Arians would dispense with the presence of Eusebius; and not only the Synod[6] but the Emperor[7] and the three papal legates[8] insisted that he must come. The Synod wanted him to sign against 'the sacrilegious Athanasius'.[9] The envoys of Liberius wanted him to overthrow Valens.[10] So he came; but for ten days he was shut out from the church where the Council was sitting, perhaps because the plans for the deposition of Athanasius were still under discussion. At last he was admitted. The Arianizers in power demanded that he should sign against Athanasius; not on doctrinal grounds, it will be remembered, but because of the charges against his character. Like the papal envoys at Arles, Eusebius answered: 'Let us first settle the primary question—that of doctrine. Here is the Nicene Creed. If you will sign that, I will do what you want.' Taken strictly, it was a concession that ought not to have been made; but Eusebius knew that the Creed stood no

[1] Given in Hilary, *Fragm.* v (*Op.* ii. 671–5; *P. L.* x. 681–6); and Liberius, *Ep.* iv (*P. L.* viii. 1351–4); Jaffé, No. 212.

[2] Liberius, *Epp.* iii and v (*P. L.* viii. 1350, 1355); Jaffé, Nos. 211, 213.

[3] Liberius, *Ep.* vi (*P. L.* viii. 1355 sq.); Jaffé, No. 215.

[4] For the proceedings, see Hilary, *Ad Const. Aug.* i, § 8 (*Op.* ii. 540; *P. L.* x. 562 sq.); Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, §§ 32–4 and 76 (*Op.* i. 287–8, 308; *P. G.* xxv. 729–34, 785); and Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sacr.* ii. § 39 (*P. L.* xx. 151).

[5] So Socr. *H. E.* II. xxxvi, § 1, but the number seems too large.

[6] Synodal Letter to Eusebius in Mansi, iii. 236 sq.

[7] Const. to Eusebius, *ap.* Mansi, iii. 238, or among 'Mon. vet. ad Arianorum doctrinam pertinentia', in *P. L.* xiii. 564 sq.

[8] Mansi, iii. 237 sq., and *P. L.* xiii. 765 sq.

[9] Mansi, iii. 236 E.

[10] Ibid. iii. 237 D.

chance of being signed with anything like unanimity. Dionysius, the president, was ready to sign, and took the paper. But Valens tore pen and paper from his hand, shouting, 'We can get nothing done *that* way'.[1] A tumult followed in the church. Dionysius went out from the chancel where the Council was sitting, and passed through the curtain[2] into the nave to quiet the people who had caught echoes of the disturbance among the bishops.[3] At a second session, when pressure was again being put on Eusebius to sign and he was protesting loudly that the Nicene Creed should be accepted first,[4] the laity overheard again. 'Out with the heretics!' Out with the Arians!'[5] they cried; and then, after Dionysius and Eusebius had signed the Creed in the presence of the bishops, the laity demanded that the Eucharist should be proceeded with.[6] They remained in the church two nights, till Lucifer, whom Constantius had detained, was set free and sent back to them.[7]

Routed by the Catholic laity, the Arianizers got the Council transferred to the Imperial palace[8]; and Constantius took up his place behind the veil,[9] or curtain, which, as usual, shrouded the presence of the Augustus but allowed him to hear what was going on among the bishops on the other side. Valens and Ursacius presented a letter in his name[10]; and the Emperor, by his officers, began to argue from his own success to the truth of the faith which he held.[11] The Roman legates answered that the Creed of Niceae was the faith of Christians. 'Let the Emperor look to his soul's welfare', exclaimed Lucifer, 'and condemn the Arians.'[12] It was the first time that Caesar had been resisted in

[1] 'Non posse fieri ut aliquid inde gereretur,' Hilary, *Ad Const. Aug.* i, § 8 (*Op.* ii. 540; *P. L.* x. 563 A).

[2] J. Bingham, *Ant.* VIII. vi, § 8.

[3] The account is now taken from the *Vita Dionysii* in *Acta Sanctorum*; *Maii*, vi. 44 sqq. (for May 25): see Tillemont, *Mém.* vii. 538 sqq., and 775, n. 7: see *Vita D.*, § 10.

[4] *Vita D.*, § 12 (*A. S. Maii*, vi. 46 C).

[5] Ibid., § 13 (*A. S. Maii*, vi. 46 D).

[6] 'Dionysium ut Missam faceret postulabant,' ibid., § 14 (*A. S. Maii*, vi. 46 E).

[7] Ibid., § 18 (*A. S. Maii*, vi. 47 C).

[8] Hilary, *Ad Const. Aug.* i, § 8 (*Op.* ii. 540; *P. L.* x. 564 A).

[9] 'Intra velum,' Lucifer, *Moriendum*, &c., § 1 (*P. L.* xiii. 1009 C), or *C. S. E. L.* xiv. 285, l. 29.

[10] Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sacr.* ii, § 39 (*P. L.* xx. 151 B); Lucifer speaks of him as 'eximiis verbis pulcherrimisque sensibus conscribens edictum' in *De non conveniendo*, &c., § 9 (*C. S. E. L.* xiv. 19, ll. 3, 4). But it was Arianizing: see Tillemont, *Mém.* vii. 541.

[11] Lucifer, *De regibus apostaticis*, § 11 (*C. S. E. L.* xiv. 61).

[12] Lucifer, *Moriendum*, § 4 (*C. S. E. L.* xiv. 293).

his own palace : and Constantius was taken aback. He turned to the charges against Athanasius, where he might hope for better success, and told the bishops that they must condemn so great a criminal.[1] ' How can we condemn him ', the Council replied, ' on the testimony of men, self-convicted,[2] like Valens and Ursacius ? ' ' It is no question ', answered Constantius, ' of Valens and Ursacius : *I* am the accuser of Athanasius.'[3] ' But you cannot accuse where you have no personal knowledge, and the accused is not present. Besides, the demand has no canon to rest upon.' ' Let my will serve for a canon ', thundered Constantius, ' as it does with the Syrian bishops.'[4] It was the voice of Caesarism undisguised ; and, as the Emperor was now sitting outside the veil, the situation, besides, was as if an English judge should assume the black cap at the beginning of a capital trial. But again the breath of freedom came from the lips of Catholic bishops. They reminded him of Who gave him the Empire and Who could take it away ; of the Last Judgement ; and of the incapacity of the temporal power to judge in things Spiritual. But to no effect. The Emperor laid his hand upon his sword,[5] and all signed except a few who were sent into exile : Dionysius, Eusebius, Lucifer,[6] Maximus of Naples, and Rufinianus.[7] So ended the Council of Milan, which Hilary calls a *malignantium synagoga*[8] and Lucifer ' a cave of robbers '.[9] No new creed was attempted : that would have been premature till the Catholic leaders—Hosius, Liberius, Hilary, and Athanasius—were disposed of. But the Court and Arianism were now dominant, if not established, at Milan ; and beside Constantinople, Sirmium, and

[1] Lucifer, *De S. Ath.* i, § 6 (*C. S. E. L.* xiv. 73).

[2] sc. by their recantations, Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 58 (*Op.* i. 139 ; *P. G.* xxv. 353) ; and *Hist. Ar.*, § 29 (*Op.* i. 285 ; *P. G.* xxv. 725).

[3] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 76 (*Op.* i. 308 ; *P. G.* xxv. 785 B).

[4] Ibid., § 33 (*Op.* i. 287 ; *P. G.* xxv. 732 C) ; so Pius IX at the Vatican Council, ' La tradizione son io ' ; Document No. 46.

[5] Ibid., § 34 (*Op.* i. 287 ; *P. G.* xxv. 732 sq.), and Document No. 46. The *Hist. Ar.* should be used with caution. It employs ' a good deal of dramatic freedom ', W. Bright, *Age of the Fathers*, i. 232 ; Tillemont, *Mém.* vii. 544.

[6] Liberius wrote to cheer them in their banishment ; his letter is given in Hilary, *Fragm.* vi (*Op.* ii. 675 sq. ; *P. L.* x. 686–8) ; Jaffé, No. 216.

[7] ' Faustinus et Marcellinus,' *Libellus Precum*, § 7 (*P. L.* xiii. 88) ; Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 391–3.

[8] Hilary, *Ad Const. Aug.* i, § 8 (*Op.* ii. 540 ; *P. L.* x. 562 B). The phrase is an echo of Ps. lxiii. [lxiv.] 3.

[9] Lucifer, *De S. Athanasio*, i, § 36 (*C. S. E. L.* xiv. 130, l. 13), quoting Mark xi. 17.

Arles, another see of importance was placed, for twenty years, in Arian hands. For Dionysius was succeeded by Auxentius as bishop of Milan, 355–†74, one of the many Arians of Cappadocia. He knew no Latin.[1] He had been ordained by Gregory[2] who, from 339–†45, was the intruding bishop of Alexandria. And he may have been the agent through whom creeds[3] and liturgies,[4] of a type as yet unfamiliar in the West, came thither, about this time, from the East.

Constantius had now obtained, without difficulty, the verdict that he desired from the two Councils of Arles and Milan. But his position, that his Arianizing protégés had as much right to hold office in the Church as had any Catholic bishop, could not make itself good so long as there were great prelates left undisturbed who treated his Arianizing nominees as heretics with no right to be there. If, however, such prelates were either won over, or got rid of, in the West where they were the accepted leaders, the Emperor might then deal finally with that Eastern adversary, Athanasius—'an enemy more odious to him than the vanquished tyrant of Gaul'.[5]

§ 5. Liberius, Hosius, Hilary, and Athanasius[6] were thus marked down for extinction in turn, 355–6.

(1) The Emperor began with Liberius,[7] 355. He tried first to cajole him; and sent his chamberlain, Eusebius, a zealous Arian, to talk him over. Eusebius demanded of him two things: to subscribe against Athanasius, and to communicate with the Arians. 'The Emperor wishes it, and commands you to do so.' 'Impossible,' replied the Pope, 'Athanasius has been acquitted by two Councils, viz. at Alexandria and at Sardica; and he was in communion with us as our guest in Rome.' The eunuch then tried bribes and threats. But to no purpose. He was obliged to report that the Pope would only yield to force. Palace officials

[1] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 75 (*Op.* i. 307; *P. G.* xxv. 784 B, C). For Auxentius (not in *D. C. B.*), see Robertson, *Ath.* 493, n. 9.

[2] Hilary, *Contra Auxentium*, § 8 (*Op.* ii. 598; *P. L.* x. 614 B).

[3] *J. T. S.* iii. 14, vii. 503; A. E. Burn, *The Apostles Creed*, 46.

[4] Such is the theory of L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*[2], 93, viz. that the non-Roman rite of the West, as found in the Ambrosian, Gallican, and Mozarabic service-books, is an Eastern rite which found its way West through Auxentius. But there is a rival theory of the origin of the non-Roman rite of the West, for which see F. Procter and W. H. Frere, *A new history of the B. C. P.*[2], 508.

[5] Gibbon, c. xxi (ii. 371).

[6] Ibid. (ii. 373).

[7] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, §§ 35–41 (*Op.* i. 288–91; *P. L.* xxv. 733–42); Tillemont, vi. 380 sqq.; Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.* XIII, cc. xix–xxi.

were then dispatched to Leontius, the Prefect of the City, who was commissioned to convey him to Court. Liberius was thus forcibly removed to Milan and set face to face with the Augustus, to whom he is said to have addressed both argument[1] and admonition.[2] But in vain. He was banished to Beroea in Thrace,[3] where lonely confinement, it was hoped, might shake his resolution. In his place Constantius set up the Arian deacon, Felix, as bishop of Rome, in accordance with his policy, now being carried out, of substituting Arian for Catholic prelates. Felix was consecrated by three Arian bishops in the Palace. The *History of the Arians* calls them 'three ill-conditioned spies'[4]; and, in face of this strong language, it is curious to note how Felix came to figure in the Middle Ages as the orthodox rival of the 'Arian' Liberius.[5]

(2) Hosius[6] was next to be dealt with, 355. He was more influential than Pope Liberius, for he had been a Confessor in the persecution by Maximian, the grandfather of Constantius; he was now in the hundredth year of his age and had passed the sixtieth of his episcopate; the 'father' of Councils; and the most venerable figure in Christendom. Constantius, then, sent for him to Milan, and urged upon him the same demands. But he made a great impression on the Emperor, and was allowed to return home. No sooner was he gone than the Arian courtiers made Constantius return to the charge, with letters of mingled flatteries and threats. Hosius replied with the famous letter which Athanasius has preserved. 'God', he writes to Constantius, 'has put into your hands the kingdom: to us [bishops] He has entrusted the affairs of His Church; and, as he who would steal the empire from you would resist the ordinance of God, so likewise fear on your part, lest, by taking upon yourself the government of the Church, you become guilty of a great offence. It is written, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." . . . I will not communicate with

[1] A dialogue between Constantius and Liberius is given by Theodoret, *H. E.* II. xvi, §§ 1–26; but it must be accepted with some reservations, for which see W. Bright, *Age of the Fathers*, i. 234.
[2] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 39 (*Op.* i. 290; *P. G.* xxv. 740 A, B).
[3] Theod. *H. E.* II. xvi, § 27.
[4] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 75 (*Op.* i. 307; *P. G.* xxv. 784 D).
[5] *D. C. B.* ii. 480 sqq.
[6] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, §§ 42–6 (*Op.* i. 291–5; *P. G.* xxv. 741–52); Tillemont, vii. 313–21; Fleury, *H. E.* iii. 425 sqq.

the Arians . . . neither will I subscribe against Athanasius.'[1] Constantius was unmoved by this spirited appeal. He sent for Hosius to Sirmium, and there, under the tutelage of Valens and Ursacius, the old man's constancy was so far broken down that, in the summer of 357, he communicated with their party. But he never 'yielded'[2] to the extent of subscribing against Athanasius; and he revoked his act of communion with the Arianizers before his death.

(3) Persecution was next directed against Hilary,[3] bishop of Poitiers 350–†68.

Hilary was born *c.* 300. His parents were people of consideration, possibly of rank. They gave him a first-rate education, and he was a writer and thinker of some distinction before he thought of becoming a Christian, as a man of mature age. He was drawn to Christianity not by contact with Christian teachers, but by studying the Scriptures for himself; and thus he is deservedly reckoned by St. Augustine with distinguished converts like Cyprian and Lactantius who came over to the Church 'laden with the gold and raiment of Egypt'.[4] It is possible that, like St. Ambrose, he was advanced straight from the life of a layman to the episcopate; and though Poitiers was only an ordinary see, still, to be a bishop in the West was to hold a great position. For there, save in central and southern Italy and in Africa, dioceses were few and of huge extent: so that, whereas in the East, save in Cappadocia, a bishop's authority was limited to a town, the bishop in north Italy, Gaul, or Spain might be called 'a prince of the Church'.[5] But greatness of this kind meant isolation. A bishop in Gaul, unless he had the missionary spirit and the magnetic influence of a St. Martin, could not be known to his flock. He lacked their support; and as, moreover, in Gaul, belief rested on tradition rather than upon argument or conviction, the laity would not appreciate a stand for Catholic against Arian sufficiently to support a bishop who made it. Hilary himself—

[1] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 44 (*Op.* i. 293; *P. G.* xxv. 745, 748), and Document No. 23. [2] Ath. *Apol. de fuga*, § 5 (*Op.* i. 255; *P. G.* xxv. 649 c).

[3] For his writings, see *P. L.* ix. x, of which the *De Synodis*, 359, and the *De Trinitate*, c. 360, are tr. in *N. and P.-N. F.* ix, with an introduction on his life and writings (c. 1) and his theology (c. 2) by E. W. Watson: see also Tillemont, *Mém.* vii. 432–69; *D. C. B.* iii. 54–66; Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 402–11.

[4] Aug. *De doctrina Christiana*, ii. § 61 (*Op.* iii. 42 F; *P. L.* xxxiv. 63).

[5] Hilary, *De Trinitate*, viii. § 1 (*Op.* ii. 213; *P. L.* x. 236 c).

and *a fortiori* his people—had never heard, though he must have heard of, the Nicene Creed till after he became a bishop.[1] When, therefore, as a bishop and a well-equipped theologian, he came forward to rouse the bishops of Gaul to withdraw themselves, after the proceedings at Arles and Milan, from the communion of Saturninus, the Arian bishop of Arles, it was a bold venture which many would not understand. He would expose himself, without much backing, to the vengeance of the Court party; and Constantius, with the memories of Magnentius fresh in his mind, would look upon it as a new, though an ecclesiastical, rebellion in Gaul.

How many bishops of Gaul followed Hilary's lead is uncertain; but he supported his withdrawal by a letter of protest, 355, now entitled *Ad Constantium Augustum liber primus*.[2] It runs in a tone of studied respect; and after complaining, § 1, of the interference of civil officers in matters religious, it argues, § 2, that, if there is to be peace, there must be liberty. Let the Emperor leave the laity free to choose their own teachers. There is, § 3, no treason nor disturbance save from the Arianizers. The, § 4, exiled bishops should be restored, and, § 5, 'those two ignorant and unprincipled young men, Ursacius and Valens', discarded: to communicate with them would be a sin. He then goes on, § 6, to combine with a denunciation of the atrocities in Egypt, a splendid plea for liberty of conscience. No one ought to be coerced into an external conformity; for while God Himself teaches men to know Him, He does not force their wills, or, rather, He will not accept an involuntary homage.[3] In § 7 he contends that the Arians were convicted and Athanasius acquitted long ago: it is intolerable that they should now be the accusers and he the victim. Finally, § 8, what was done at Milan was a tale of wrong-doing. The Council was 'a gathering together of the froward'.

After such an outburst it is surprising that some months were allowed to elapse before Hilary was taken in hand. At last, in the spring of 356, Saturninus presided at the Council of Biterrae[4] (now Béziers, not far from the Gulf of Lyons), where Hilary was compelled to attend; but refused a hearing, at least, on the

[1] Hilary, *De Synodis*, § 91 (*Op.* ii. 518; *P. L.* x. 545 A).
[2] Hilary, *Op.* ii. 535–40 (*P. L.* x. 557–64). [3] Document No. 24.
[4] Mansi, iii. 251; Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 884–6; *E. Tr.* ii. 216 sq.

question of faith which he endeavoured to raise.[1] It was their cue not to discuss doctrine ; and they dealt only with his conduct. He had endeavoured to rouse popular discontent ; and to this charge his letter to the Emperor lent some plausibility. The Synod deposed him, and charged him with sedition before their immediate ruler, the Caesar Julian. But Julian took no notice. He did not wish to alienate Church feeling in Gaul, for he might still want all the support of Gaul in the near future. The Council then carried the charge to Constantius[2] ; and, in the summer of 356, the Emperor banished Hilary to 'Asia',[3] with Rhodanius, bishop of Toulouse 350–†8, who had stood by him.[4]

(4) At last Athanasius was visited by the long-gathering storm.[5] Symptoms of danger began to appear not long after the death of Constans. Envoys, sent *c.* 350 by Magnentius to Constantius, came round by Egypt and had an interview with the archbishop. Though he had shed tears when speaking to them of Constans[6] and had called upon his flock to pray for the Eastern Emperor,[7] the incident might easily be construed by Constantius into something like treasonable relations with the usurper.[8] On the final overthrow of Magnentius, Athanasius, aware of the unfriendly mood of Constantius,[9] thought it wise to conciliate him ; and sent a deputation, headed by his most trusty suffragan, Serapion, bishop of Thmuis in the Delta, to the Court at Milan. They sailed 19 May 353 ; but, 23 May, there arrived a silentiary, Montanus by name, with an Imperial letter couched in unexpected terms, and composed, no doubt, under the eye of Valens and Ursacius. 'The bishop of Alexandria', it said, 'was not to send a deputation ; but, as he had asked leave to visit the Emperor at Milan, he could be received in audience if he came.'[10] Athana-

[1] Hilary, *Contra Constantium*, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 563 ; *P. L.* x. 579 A).
[2] Hilary, *Ad Const. Aug.* ii, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 544 ; *P. L.* x. 564 sq.).
[3] Hilary, *De Syn.*, § 63 (*Op.* ii. 498 ; *P. L.* x. 522 sq.).
[4] Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sacr.* ii, § 39 (*P. L.* xx. 151 C).
[5] Fleury, *H. E.* iii. 436 sqq.
[6] Ath. *Apol. ad Const.*, § 9 (*Op.* i. 238 ; *P. G.* xxv. 605 C).
[7] Ibid., § 10 (*Op.* ii. 239 ; *P. G.* xxv. 608 B). The passage is interesting as being in the form of a Litany, and so addressed to our Lord ; and also as being the earliest instance on record of prayers by the Church for Emperors and Kings, and the first example of the title, 'Most religious' in such a prayer.
[8] Ibid., § 6 (*Op.* ii. 237 ; *P. G.* xxv. 601).
[9] It was due to his annoyance that so many bishops continued in communion with Athanasius : see Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 30 (*Op.* i. 285 ; *P. G.* xxv. 727 A).
[10] Ath. *Apol. ad Const.*, § 19 (*Op.* ii. 243 ; *P. G.* xxv. 619 B).

sius had never asked for an audience, and, suspecting a plot, remained at home.[1] The plot got out; and Montanus retired, without effecting anything.[2] For the next two years nothing happened except that orders were sent to the Augustal Prefect of Egypt to transfer the usual doles of corn from Catholics to Arians, who were now to be permitted to criticize their bishop and to be counted as churchmen.[3] But, in August 355, there appeared an Imperial Notary named Diogenes; and, though without definite instructions, for four months he used every effort, short of personal violence, to get Athanasius away. But he was baffled by the resistance of people and magistrates: and, 23 December, he too retired without success.[4] Rumour, however, now had it that exiles from the West were on their way Eastward in the cause of Athanasius[5]; and when, on 6 January 356, the duke Syrianus arrived in Alexandria and began to concentrate soldiers there, Athanasius felt justified in asking whether he came with orders from the Court. He replied that he did not. Athanasius then produced the letters which Constantius had written him, *c.* 350–1, before the defeat of Magnentius, assuring him of his protection. Whereupon Syrianus had no choice but to promise that no change should be made in the situation of affairs till further orders should arrive.[6] This was on 18 January 356; and confidence was restored. But on the night of 8 February, when the archbishop was presiding at a Vigil in the church of St. Theonas, Syrianus beset the church with five thousand troops. Taking his seat upon his throne, Athanasius ordered the deacon to read or recite the hundred and thirty-sixth psalm, and the people to respond, 'For his mercy endureth for over': then, all to depart. But the soldiers broke in before it was over. Some of the congregation were wounded fatally, as the troops rushed forward to seize Athanasius. But his friends got him away, just as the foremost were pressing through the chancel-gates.[7] Such was the memorable 'Flight of Athanasius',[8] followed by six years

[1] Ath. *Apol. ad Const.*, §§ 20–1 (*Op.* ii. 244; *P. G.* xxv. 619–22).
[2] *Hist. Aceph.* iii, § 3; *Festal Index*, xxv.
[3] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 31 (*Op.* i. 286; *P. G.* xxv. 728 C).
[4] *Hist. Aceph.* iii, § 4; *Festal Index*, xxvii; Ath. *Apol. ad Const.*, § 22 (*Op.* i. 244; *P. G.* xxv. 621 D).
[5] Ath. *Apol. ad Const.* i, § 27 (*Op.* i. 247; *P. G.* xxv. 629 A).
[6] Ibid. §§ 22–4 (*Op.* i. 244–5; *P. G.* xxv. 621–6).
[7] The irruption of Syrianus is described in Ath. *Apol. ad Const.*, § 25, and at greater length in *Apol. de Fuga*, § 24 (*Op.* i. 246, 264 sq.; *P. G.* xxv. 625 C, 673–6); Document No. 44.
[8] Tillemont, *Mém.* viii. 152 sqq.

of concealment, in the cells of the desert, or the third exile, 356–62.

Athanasius took refuge, perhaps, in the Nitrian cells; at any rate, with a people so loyal that for six years he was safe from the police of Constantius. His first idea was to appeal in person to him. He would not believe that an Emperor could go back upon his word.[1] Accordingly, he drew up his *Apologia ad Constantium* and set off, through the Libyan desert, towards Milan. But on his way he fell in with rumours confirmatory of the exile not only of Dionysius and the papal envoys at Milan but of Liberius himself and of the great Hosius. Then he heard news of violence at Alexandria, near the cemetery,[2] at Easter (7 April) 356; and of a vague creed, couched in Scriptural language,[3] having been circulated among his suffragans for their signature on pain of banishment.[4] It was these last tidings that produced the first of the series of seven anti-Arian works of Athanasius which belong to his third exile, viz. *The letter to the bishops of Egypt and Libya.*

(*a*) In this *Ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae epistola*,[5] 356, Athanasius begins with, §§ 1–4, general warnings, e.g. that Arianism is idolatrous,[6] and, § 5, a statement of the tactics of his opponents. He then urges the bishops, §§ 6–8, in view of the 'hangman's' character attributed to his successor-designate, George, to hold fast to the faith of Nicaea, and, §§ 9–11, to be satisfied with nothing short of an explicit repudiation of Arianism. After this, he turns to doctrine; and after, § 12, stating the original Arian position[7] and, § 13, confronting it with Scripture, he, §§ 14–17,

[1] Ath. *Apol. ad Const.*, § 23 (*Op.* i. 245; *P. G.* xxv. 624 B, C).

[2] Ibid., § 27 (*Op.* i. 247; *P. L.* xxv. 629).

[3] The bait was that they must often have heard Athanasius insisting on the sufficiency of Scripture, as in Ath. *Ad episc. Aeg.*, § 4 (*Op.* i. 216; *P. G.* xxv. 548 A). His answer would be as in *De decretis*, § 2 (*Op.* i. 165; *P. G.* xxv. 428 A).

[4] Ath. *Ad episc. Aeg.*, § 5 (*Op.* i. 216 sq.; *P. G.* xxv. 548 C). The formulary cannot be identified, but it may have been the Long Sirmian of 351. It was the 'beginning' (ibid.) of a persecution in which sixteen of the suffragans of Athanasius were banished, *Apol. ad Const.*, § 27 (*Op.* i. 247; *P. G.* xxv. 629 B).

[5] Text in Ath. *Op.* i. 213–33 (*P. G.* xxv. 537–94), and W. Bright, *Hist. Writ. of St. Ath.*, 105–29; tr. in Robertson, *Ath.* 222–35.

[6] For this charge see §§ 4, 13 (*Op.* i. 216, 224; *P. G.* xxv. 543 B, 568 B); W. Bright, *Hist. Wr. St. Ath.* lvi. n. 1, and *Sermons of St. Leo*, 153 sq.; and Newman, *Select Tr. St. Ath.*[7] ii. 159 sq., and Document No. 43.

[7] An important source for the original Arian statements, for which see Socr. *H. E.* I. v, § 2; Ath. *De decretis*, § 6; *De synodis*, §§ 15, 16; *Orat. c. Ar.*

challenges the Arians therefrom. Next, he, § 18, taxes them with dissimulation; specially Arius in his profession to Constantine, whence, § 19, his death. Finally, §§ 20–21, he urges his suffragans to stand firm; condemns, § 22, the coalition of Meletians and Arians; and, § 23, expresses his belief that Constantius will put an end to these outrages when once made aware of the facts of the case. He then concludes with a doxology to the Father *through* the Son *in* the Spirit.[1] Athanasius, whose tone towards Constantius in this letter was still one of respect and hope, was bent, it would seem, upon an interview with Constantius; and was continuing his journey toward Milan when he received copies of two letters from the Emperor.[2] The one denounced him to the Alexandrians and commended to them George as their new bishop. The other commanded the princes of Axum to send Frumentius to Egypt in order that he might unlearn what he had been taught by 'the wicked' Athanasius and receive instruction from 'the venerable' George. Alarmed at the news, he abandoned his purpose of confronting Constantius, and turned back from Cyrenaica, which he had reached about April 356, to the cells of the desert.

(*b*) There he completed at his leisure the second anti-Arian work of this exile, viz. the *Apologia ad Constantium*.[3] It is written on the supposition[4] of a bare chance that Constantius, who had again become the instrument of Arian hostility, might relent once more and admit him to plead his cause in person. It is what he would have said in that event; prepared, with oratorical elaboration,[5] for that contingency. At least, such is the idea and the character of its first part, §§ 1–26. But, at this point, it became clear to Athanasius that it would be courting misfortune to carry out his plan, and see the Emperor. The second part of the *Apology*, therefore, takes the form, rather, of a letter, §§ 27–34.

In Part I Athanasius sets himself to refute four personal

i, §§ 5, 6; *Ad Afros*, § 5; *Vita Ant.*, § 69; the *Depositio Arii*; and W. Bright, *Hist. Wr. St. Ath.* lv, and Document No. 198.

[1] I. x δι' οὗ τῷ πατρὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, Ath. *Ad ep. Aeg.*, § 23 (*Op.* i. 233; *P. G.* xxv. 394 A); on this and other forms of *Gloria Patri*, see vol. II, c. iv, § 3.

[2] Ath. *Apol. ad Const.*, §§ 30, 31 (*Op.* i. 248–50; *P. G.* xxv. 631–8).

[3] Ath. *Op.* i. 234–53 (*P. G.* xxv. 595–642); W. Bright, *Hist. Wr. St. Ath.* 130–57; tr. Robertson, *Ath.* 238–53.

[4] For this supposition cf. §§ 1, 2, 6, 19, 29, 34, 35.

[5] e. g. §§ 3, 6, 8, 16, 22, 27, 35, where he refers to the impression made on the hearers or—'I see you smile', § 16—on the Emperor.

charges that had recently been brought against him before the Emperor.

First, §§ 2–5, 'he had prejudiced Constans against Constantius'. The Western Emperor had certainly proved his friend, and he may therefore have had some influence with him. But he had never spoken to Constans save in the presence of others—the bishops of Milan, Aquileia, or Trèves. The reply to this charge incidentally gives us some important details for the two earlier exiles of Athanasius.

Second, §§ 6–13, 'he had corresponded with the Western "tyrant" Magnentius'. This calumny was scarcely consistent with the preceding, and was absurd as well. What motive could Athanasius have for corresponding with the very man who had caused the death of his patron Constans, and of others who had been kind to him[1] when an exile in Italy? The charge was disproved by his known affection for Constans. It was only bolstered up by forgeries, and by the rage for libelling which had caused such widespread mischief—'a dexterous side-stroke at the Eusebians'.[2]

Third, §§ 14–18, 'he had presumed to use the "imperial church" then in course of building at Alexandria, before it was finished and without waiting for the imperial commands'. The charge had reference to the Easter services of 355, held 'in the great church in the Caesareum'.[3] Athanasius admits the charge; but pleads both necessity and precedent. The same thing had been done by his predecessor Alexander when the church of Theonas was being built; and he had seen it done at Trèves and Aquileia. The passage is of importance as evidence for the growth of the Church at this period. The other churches were too small. To use the larger, but unfinished, church was no disrespect to its August founder, nor any anticipation of the formal dedication.

Fourth, §§ 19–26, 'he had disobeyed an imperial summons to come to Italy'. The charge involves the whole history of the attempts to dislodge him from Alexandria which had culminated in his recent flight. In summary, he replies, 'I received no such

[1] Eutropia, the aunt of Constantius. Nepotian, the son of Eutropia, Constantine's sister, had taken up arms against Magnentius, got possession of Rome, and enjoyed the title of Augustus for about a month, July 350. Magnentius put him to death, with his mother and a number of his adherents, some of whom are mentioned in Ath. *Apol. ad Const.*, § 6 (*Op.* i. 237; *P. G.* xxv. 604 C); Gibbon, c. xviii (ii. 242).

[2] W. Bright, *Hist. Wr. St. Ath.* lix.

[3] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 74 (*Op.* i. 307; *P. G.* xxv. 781 D).

mandate. I did receive, from an official of the Palace, an Imperial letter purporting to grant a request of mine for leave to visit Italy. But I had made no such request. A second emissary, Diogenes, gave me no letter, and brought me no orders. As for duke Syrianus, he too brought no written orders; and I produced your Grace's letter of six years ago, in which you promised me your support.' Thus Athanasius dismissed the four charges.

In Part II the *Apology* becomes more of a letter; and Athanasius, §§ 27–35, tells what happened after his expulsion. He meant, § 27, to lay the matter before the Emperor in person, and set out to Italy for the purpose. On the way three reports reached him: (*a*) of the banishments following upon the Council of Milan, 355; (*b*) of military outrages, probably those at Easter, 356, and of the nomination of George; (*c*) of the letters of Constantius to the Alexandrians and to the princes of Abyssinia. These evil tidings forced him to give up his design and 'to turn back again into the desert'; not, indeed, for fear of the Emperor but of his officials. Then he concludes with an outspoken denunciation of the treatment of Virgins of the church at Alexandria; and with an expostulation 'which supposes the Imperial listener to be already more than half-appeased'.[1] The *Apology* 'has been justly praised for its artistic finish[2] and its rhetorical skill'. But knowing what we do of the character of Constantius, and what, in great part, Athanasius must have known, we feel that there is an air of unreality about its professions of confidence in him which is unworthy of its author, and which gives some prima facie justification to Gibbon's charge that Athanasius affected respect to the Emperor before his face but 'at the same time denounced him behind his back'.[3] It is true that the *Apologia de Fuga* was written in the autumn of 357, soon after the *Apologia ad Constantium*; but its tone contrasts with that of the latter only as one of chilly reserve to one of confidence. The *Historia Arianorum* was written, 358, nearly two years after the *Apologia ad Constantium*; and by this time the language of confidence was exchanged for 'vehement invective'. But much had happened in the interval: and, in justification of the *Apologia ad Constantium*, we have to remember (*a*) that it was written upon a supposition, and by one

[1] W. Bright, *Hist. Wr. St. Ath.* lxii.
[2] J. H. Newman, *Hist. Tracts of St. Ath.* 154 (*L. F.* xiii).
[3] Gibbon, c. xxi (ii. 380 sq.).

who believed in the wisdom as well as the charity of hoping against hope[1]; (*b*) that it was written under a system of personal government, when it is natural to put down the bad acts of kings to their evil advisers[2]; (*c*) that it was written in days when much courtly language made all language largely conventional.

Whilst Athanasius was so engaged, the persecution at Alexandria increased in violence. After Easter, 356, a change of governor took place: Maximus[3] of Nicaea being succeeded by Cataphronius, who reached Alexandria 10 June.[4] With him came a Count Heraclius, who brought a letter from Constantius urging, under threat to withdraw from the Alexandrians their allowance of corn, that they should take severe measures against the friends of Athanasius,[5] who rightly remarks that the letter 'reflected great discredit upon the writer'.[6] But it also shows that a persecution of the bishop and his adherents could not be sustained in Alexandria except under pressure, so high was the esteem in which he was held. It is equal evidence of the misgivings felt at Court about the welcome preparing for George. On 13 June, three days after the arrival of Cataphronius, the persecution, as concerted, began with an attack, once more, on the church of St. Theonas. Women were murdered, and the church polluted with the worst orgies of heathenism; for Constantius had threatened to overthrow the idols unless the pagans attacked the friends of Athanasius. This at once brought up not only the young bloods of the city but the trades interested in the maintenance of idol-worship[7]; and among the furniture of the Church which they pillaged is mentioned 'the table of wood'.[8] In so describing the altar Athanasius implies that some tables or altars—for these terms are synonyms—were of stone.[9] Houses also were pillaged and tombs rifled on pretence

[1] Gifted with a Pauline 'versatility' (Stanley, *Eastern Church*, 230, with a reference to Julian, who speaks of the ἐντρέχεια [*Ep.* li; *Op.* ii. 559, ed. Teubner] of Athanasius) Ath. 'projects himself imaginatively into a possible future, and writes, not as he feels at the time, but as he would feel if a certain change were to take place', W. Bright, *Hist. Wr. St. Ath.* lxiii.

[2] Ibid. lxiv.

[3] Ath. *Apol. ad Const.*, § 24; *Hist. Ar.*, § 81 (*Op.* i. 245, 311; *P. G.* xxv. 625 A, 793 A).

[4] *Hist. Aceph.* iv, § 5.

[5] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, §§ 48, 54 (*Op.* i. 295, 297 sq.; *P. G.* xxv. 753 A, 757 C).

[6] Ibid., § 49 (*Op.* i. 295; *P. G.* xxv. 753 A).

[7] Ibid., § 55 (*Op.* i. 298; *P. G.* xxv. 760).

[8] Ibid., § 56 (*Op.* i. 298; *P. G.* xxv. 759 D).

[9] Bingham, *Ant.* VIII. vi, § 15; 'On the history of the Christian altar' see E. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica*, 20–38.

of searching for Athanasius[1]: all under the direction of Sebastian the Manichee[2] who had succeeded to the military command of duke Syrianus. Then, as more bishops were exiled,[3] and Arian prelates and clergy restored, the churches were formally transferred to the Arians, 15 June; and, at last, after a further delay of 'eight months and eleven days',[4] George, the new bishop, made his entry into Alexandria[5] on the third Friday in Lent, 24 February 357. He had been consecrated before he came; and was a man of literary tastes, in possession, moreover, of a good library.[6] But this is all that can be said in his favour; for he brought with him, besides his library, nothing but an evil reputation. He had been a pork-contractor in Constantinople to the Imperial Army, and had amassed, by peculation, it was said, a considerable fortune.[7] He was a zealous Arian, and had 'a hangman's temper'.[8] These were scarcely qualifications for the bishop of the second see in Christendom; but they were qualifications for bearing down opposition. He was 'the hand of his party',[9] and a man of resolution and action.[10] Entering the city with an armed escort, he renewed, at Easter, 23 March 357, the scenes of violence of a year ago. At Whitsuntide, 11 May, he let loose the cruel commandant Sebastian,[11] and carried on his tyranny for eighteen months, till 29 August 358, insulting pagan worship[12] as well as punishing Catholics. At last the populace rose against him, exasperated, as Ammianus Marcellinus tells us, by his 'adder's bites'. He was rescued with difficulty; and fled the city, 2 October. The friends of Athanasius expelled his followers from the churches, 11 October; but, 24 December, they were restored by Sebastian.[13] Next summer, while George was at Sirmium and busy with the Councils of Seleucia and Constantinople, there came, 23 June 359, the notary, Paul 'Catena',

[1] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 58 (*Op.* i. 299; *P. G.* xxv. 764 A, B).
[2] Ibid., § 59 (*Op.* i. 300; *P. G.* xxv. 764 C).
[3] Ibid., § 72 (*Op.* i. 305 sq.; *P. G.* xxv. 780).
[4] *Hist. Aceph.* v, § 6.
[5] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 75 (*Op.* i. 307; *P. G.* xxv. 784 C).
[6] Julian, *Ep.* xxxvi (*Op.* ii. 531, ed. Teubner).
[7] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, §§ 51, 75 (*Op.* i. 296, 307; *P. G.* xxv. 754 D, 784 C); Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxi, § 16 (*Op.* i. 395; *P. G.* xxxv. 1097 sqq.).
[8] Ath. *Ad Episc. Aegypt.*, § 7 (*Op.* i. 219; *P. G.* xxv. 556 A).
[9] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxi, § 21 (*Op.* i. 399; *P. G.* xxxv. 1105 B).
[10] Sozomen, *H. E.* III. vii, § 20.
[11] Ath. *Apol. de Fuga*, §§ 6, 7 (*Op.* i. 256; *P. G.* xxv. 652 sq.).
[12] For his anti-pagan zeal, see Julian, *Ep.* xlv (*Op.* ii. 549 C, ed. Teubner); Amm. Marc. *Res Gestae*, XXII. xi, §§ 3–8; Soz. *H. E*, IV. xxx, §§ 1, 2.
[13] *Hist. Aceph.*, § 6.

to hold, like Judge Jeffreys, an assize of blood. He punished many[1]; for some of whom, however, George, with his influence at Court, managed, to his credit, to procure a mitigation of sentence.[2] But nothing could win him a welcome again at Alexandria. He ventured back, 26 November 361, soon after the death of Constantius. But, 30 November, on the proclamation of Julian he was seized by the mob and thrown into chains. Then, impatient of the law's delays, they dragged him from his dungeon; and, on Christmas Eve 361, they lynched him and carried his corpse on a camel round the town.[3]

By this time Athanasius had finished the remaining five of the group of seven anti-Arian writings which belong to the third exile; and it is convenient to summarize their contents here.

The third of the whole series is the *Apologia de Fuga sua*.[4] It was written before the death of Leontius of Antioch,[5] which took place in the summer of 357, and after Athanasius knew not only of the lapse of Hosius but of its merely temporary character.[6] The *Apologia de Fuga sua*, therefore, must be placed in the autumn of 357.[7] We do not know to whom it was addressed; but it was a reply to the charge of cowardice which Leontius and others had circulated against him. His escape and subsequent concealment was proof, they said, if any were needed, that the hero of Egypt was no better than a runaway. After, §§ 1, 2, a preamble upon the motives of his accusers, who affected surprise that he had not put himself into their hands, he shows, §§ 3–5, that such hands as theirs were responsible for a system of expatriation of bishops of which his own case is but one example. He then, §§ 6, 7, adverts to the attack upon his church and describes the tyranny of George in May 357. This brings him to the main question, §§ 8–22, which gives its name to the pamphlet, viz. the justification of flight under persecution,[8]

[1] *Hist. Aceph.*, § 7.

[2] Libanius, *Ep.* ccv (ed. J. G. Wolf, Amstelaedami, 1738), p. 97.

[3] *Hist. Aceph.*, § 8.

[4] Text in Ath. *Op.* i. 253–66 (*P. G.* xxv. 643–80), and W. Bright, *Hist. Wr. St. Ath.* 158–77; tr. in Robertson, *Ath.* 255–65.

[5] Ath. *Apol. de Fuga*, § 1 (*Op.* i. 253; *P. G.* xxv. 644).

[6] Ibid., § 5 (*Op.* i. 255; *P. G.* xxv. 649 c).

[7] There is no reference to the fall of Liberius, which took place in the spring of 358.

[8] For a summary of this discussion, see J. H. Newman, *The Church of the Fathers*, c. xii. He compares the line taken by Ath. with that of Tertullian, *De fuga*, and of Augustine, on the invasion of Africa by the Vandals, in *Ep.* ccxxviii (*Op.* ii. 830–5; *P. L.* xxxiii. 1013–19); and Document No. 190.

as warranted by our Lord's precepts, 'When they persecute you in this city, flee into the next',[1] and 'Then let them that are in Judaea flee unto the mountains'.[2] If, §§ 8, 9, flight be evil, those who persecute are responsible for the evil. The real grievance, § 10, in this case is not that he is a coward, but that he is free. But his flight is, after all, defensible, §§ 10, 11, not only by the example of the saints but, §§ 12–15, by that of our Lord Himself.[3] The saints, § 16, of course, differed from our Lord in that they were unaware of their appointed time. They, § 17, fled or did not flee according to circumstances; never, §§ 18–20, from cowardice, else how could their flight have so often been the occasion of divine communications?[4] and, §§ 21–2, how could such good have resulted from it? Then follows, § 22, a vindication of flight on principle; and, § 23, a short but weighty rebuke of persecution as devilish. Finally, after, § 24, a vivid description of the attack on the church of St. Theonas[5] and, §§ 25–6, a plea for his own conduct on that occasion, he concludes, § 26, with bitter accusations against his opponents and, § 27, a prayer for the frustration of their devices. We may allow for some natural exasperation of spirit: the charge of cowardice had wounded him deeply, and he was now a fugitive who, to use his own words, 'while daily expecting an attack from his enemies, deems death a lighter evil'[6] than being hunted from one retreat to another. Moreover, he was now finally disappointed in the hope of protection from the Emperor. Making these allowances, then, it is remarkable with what clearness and balance he lays down the duty of Christians under persecution.[7] Others had discussed this case of conscience—Clement of Alexandria,[8] Tertullian,[9] and Cyprian.[10] Augustine was afterwards to lay down more fully

[1] Matt. x. 23. [2] Matt. xxiv. 16.

[3] e. g. the flight into Egypt, Matt. ii. 13 and Matt. xii. 15; John xi. 53 sq., viii. 58 sq.; Luke iv, 30. &c.

[4] Peter and Paul are said to have been the recipients of the divine communication: 'Ye must bear witness at Rome,' Acts xxiii. 11. The communication was made to St. Paul only; but this reference to the Roman martyrdom of both Apostles is noteworthy.

[5] Document No. 44.

[6] Ath. *Apol. de Fuga*, § 17 (*Op.* i. 261; *P. G.* xxv. 665 c).

[7] Ibid., § 22 (*Op.* i. 264; *P. G.* xxv. 672 sq.), and Document No. 44.

[8] Clem. Al. *Strom.* iv. x (*Op.* i. 216; *P. G.* viii. 1285 sqq.), on Matt. x. 23.

[9] Tert. *De Fuga* (a Montanistic treatise, written *c.* 212). He says flight is wrong, § 4 (*Op.* i. 468, ed. Oehler), and treats Matt. x. 23 as a temporary direction. His argument would prove it wrong to try to avoid any calamity: see W. Bright, *Aspects*, &c., 195, n. 4.

[10] Cyprian, *De lapsis*, § 3 (*C. S. E. L.* iii. i. 238).

the principles that should guide the conduct of a bishop in such a crisis.[1] But the pamphlet of Athanasius *de Fuga sua* is a *locus classicus*,[2] and was, at the time, the fullest discussion of the subject that had yet appeared. His own principle was: (1) not to forsake his church until persecution had actually approached him; (2) then to use any chance of escape; and (3) to hold himself ready for martyrdom, when concealment was no longer possible. But rashness was to be avoided, lest it should end in apostasy[3]; and it would be, in any case, presumptuous to forestall the appointed time for our death by any act of ours. On the other hand, when the time comes, we must face it quietly. It is therefore right to escape when we can, and not to follow the exceptional course taken by certain martyrs in courting death.

Fourth in the series of anti-Arian works belonging to the third exile comes the *Historia Arianorum*.[4] Like Xenophon's *Hellenica* it begins abruptly: some would say because it has lost its earlier chapters[5]; but, more probably, because, as Xenophon was the continuator of Thucydides,[6] so the *History of the Arians* was intended to take up the *Apology against the Arians*. It continues the narrative from the admission of Arius to communion at the Synod of Jerusalem, 335,[7] and carries it on to the fall of Liberius[8] in 358. Apparently it was begun while Leontius was still bishop of Antioch.[9] He died in the autumn of 357. The *Historia Arianorum*, therefore, was commenced soon after the *Apologia de Fuga sua*, and completed when the fall of Liberius was known in Egypt. It dates, in consequence, *c.* 358. In tone it contrasts painfully with 'the great *Apology*', and even with the *Apologia ad Constantium*. It continues, and even carries further, the bitter denunciations of the conclusion[10] of the *Apologia de Fuga sua*; and, though neither its authorship nor its substantial trustworthiness can be fairly impugned,[11] it is nevertheless a fierce and anonymous pamphlet against Constantius. But Athanasius

[1] Aug. *Ep.* ccxxviii, *ut sup.* [2] As such, quoted in Socr. *H. E.* III. viii.
[3] Ath. *Apol. de Fuga*, § 17 (*Op.* i. 262; *P. G.* xxv. 668 A).
[4] Ath. *Op.* i. 272–312 (*P. G.* xxv. 695–796); W. Bright, *Hist. Wr. St. Ath.* 184–244; tr. Robertson, *Ath.* 270–302.
[5] So W. Bright, *Hist. Wr. St. Ath.* lxxvi sq.
[6] Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 5 (ed. G. E. Underhill).
[7] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 84 (*Op.* i. 157; *P. G.* xxv. 397).
[8] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 41 (*Op.* i. 291; *P. G.* xxv. 741 B).
[9] Ibid., § 4 (*Op.* i. 274; *P. G.* xxv. 700 A).
[10] Ath. *Apol. de Fuga*, §§ 26, 27 (*Op.* i. 265 sq.; *P. G.* xxv. 677 sqq.).
[11] W. Bright, *Hist. Wr. St. Ath.* lxxvii sq.

was human. He had hoped the best, and was now experiencing the worst, from that despicable tyrant. The *Historia Arianorum* was intended for private circulation only; and so its author lost the protection of that sense of responsibility which tends to keep public utterance self-respecting. But, if he falls below himself, and to the level of his generation, when writing of Constantius, there are passages enough in which the true Athanasius appears: e.g. the repeated protests against persecution as alien to the mind of Christ,[1] and 'the generous estimate of Hosius[2] and Liberius[3] in the hour of their infirmity'.[4] It was like him also—though a less pleasing feature in him and his times—to put into the mouth of Constantius and the Arians not so much a report of their own words as 'a representation *ad invidiam* of what is assumed to have been in their minds'.[5] Closely associated with the *Historia Arianorum* is the *Epistola ad monachos*,[6] usually as its prefatory epistle. They had asked him for a short account of the sufferings he had undergone, and for a refutation of the Arian heresy. But the connexion is uncertain; and it is doubtful whether 'the short account' that he says he has written,[7] has come down to us. The letter, however, is interesting for its assertion that man's knowledge of God is negative and imperfect,[8] and for its quotation of the unwritten saying of our Lord, 'Be ye approved money-changers'.[9]

Fifth in the series follows the short *Epistola ad Serapionem de morte Arii*.[10] Serapion was the right-hand man of Athanasius among the bishops of Egypt. He had been on an important

[1] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, §§ 29, 33, 67 (*Op.* i. 285, &c.; *P. G.* xxv. 725 C, &c.).
[2] Ibid., § 45 (*Op.* i. 293 sq.; *P. G.* xxv. 748 sq.).
[3] Ibid., § 41 (*Op.* i. 291; *P. G.* xxv. 741 C).
[4] W. Bright, *Hist. Wr. St. Ath.* lxxix.
[5] Ibid. lxxvii.
[6] Text in Ath. *Op.* i. 271 sq. (*P. G.* xxv. 691–4); W. Bright, *Hist. Wr. St. Ath.* 182–4; tr. Robertson, *Ath.* 563 sq. (*Ep.* lii).
[7] Ath. *Ep. ad mon.*, § 1 (*Op.* i. 271; *P. G.* xxv. 692 A).
[8] Ibid., § 2 (*Op.* i. 272; *P. G.* xxv. 693 A), and Document No. 50. This negative or limited character of our knowledge, whether of the Father or of the Son, is insisted on by other writers, e. g. Cyril, *Catechesis*, xi, § 11 (*Op.* i. 153; *P. G.* xxxiii. 704 A); and Hilary, *De Trinitate*, iv, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 71 sq.; *P. L.* x. 97 sq.). But Ath. would have been the first to acknowledge that, though we do but 'know in part', our knowledge of God is real as far as it goes, e. g. *Orat. c. Ar.* iii, § 63 (*Op.* ii. 485; *P. G.* xxvi. 456 B); for which, see J. H. Newman, *Select Tr. St. Ath.*[7] ii. 408; W. Bright, *Hist. Wr. St. Ath.* lxxv. sq., and *Sermons of St. Leo*[2], 212.
[9] Ath. *Ep.* lii, § 2 (*Op.* i. 272; *P. G.* xxv. 693 D).
[10] Text in Ath. *Op.* i. 269–71 (*P. G.* xxv. 685–90); and W. Bright, *Hist. Wr. St. Ath.* 178–81; and tr. in Robertson, *Ath.* [*Ep.* liv], 564 sqq.

embassy to Constantius in the spring of 353; and, perhaps, because he too was a friend of the monks and a co-legatee with Athanasius of Antony himself[1] (who had died about three weeks before 'the flight'), he had escaped the persecution which fell so heavily then on the orthodox bishops of Egypt. About this time Athanasius addressed to him his four extant *Epistolae ad Serapionem*[2] on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit; and he now asked Athanasius for three things: for an account of his life and times, for a refutation of Arianism, and for an answer to the question (which, strange to say, had been debated in his presence) whether Arius had died in Catholic communion. For the two first questions Athanasius referred[3] him to the *Epistola ad monachos*. As to the third—the death of Arius—he had already said enough about it in his *Epistola ad episcopos Aegypti*[4]; but he now tells the story in greater detail on the authority of the presbyter Macarius who had been in Constantinople at the time.[5] The event, of course, was natural enough; but equally natural that, being so awestriking, Athanasius and the Catholics should take it for a sign.[6] Athanasius concludes by begging Serapion neither to give copies of this letter to any one nor to transcribe it for himself; and he had asked the monks to be equally careful of his letter to them. Men were only too ready to misinterpret him.[7]

Of the five anti-Arian treatises above described, none relates directly to the doctrinal question. They are taken up, in the main, with the personalities and the intrigues that had hitherto encumbered it. But within eighteen months of the Flight of Athanasius, the true issues became apparent, by the publication, in August 357, of the 'Blasphemy' of Potamius.[8] The situation was beginning to clear; and men like Basil, bishop of Ancyra, who stumbled at the ὁμοούσιον but were in fundamental agreement with Athanasius and not with Valens and Eudoxius, had to think again and make their choice. Were they semi-Arians or semi-Nicenes? And if semi-Nicenes, could they not be won?

[1] Ath. *Vita Ant.*, § 91 (*Op.* ii. 691; *P. G.* xxvi. 972 B).
[2] Ath. *Op.* ii. 517–71 (*P. G.* xxvi, 529–676). For a short account of them see Robertson, *Ath.* lxiii; Document No. 49.
[3] Ath. *Ep.* liv, § 1 (*Op.* i. 269; *P. G.* xxv. 685 A).
[4] Ath. *Ep. ad ep. Aeg.*, §§ 18, 19 (*Op.* i. 228 sq.; *P. G.* xxv. 581).
[5] Ath. *Ep.* liv, §§ 2, 3. [6] Ibid., § 4. [7] Ibid., § 5.
[8] Given in its original Latin in Hilary, *De synodis*, § 11 (*Op.* ii. 464–6; *P. L.* x. 487–9); and, in Greek, in Ath. *De synodis*, § 28 (*Op.* ii. 594 sq.; *P. G.* xxvi. 740 sq.); and Socr. *H. E.* II. xxx, §§ 31–41; Hahn [3]. § 161; and Document No. 25.

Hence the sixth in the series—the *Orationes contra Arianos*,[1] the author's most famous dogmatic work. It was written with a conciliatory as well as with a controversial purpose, in view of the developments taking place between 357–9. Athanasius pointedly avoids the test-word ὁμοούσιος,[2] and he even adopts 'like in essence'[3] (though never the actual word ὁμοιούσιος) as being true so far as it goes. After, i, §§ 1–4, some introductory remarks which lead him, §§ 5–7, to reproduce the doctrine of Arius as stated in the *Thalia*, and so, §§ 8–10, to exhibit the significance of the controversy, Athanasius embarks upon the main subject of his 'tracts' or 'discourses', viz. the Sonship of Christ. It is: (1) eternal, §§ 11–13; (2) though real, not like earthly sonship, §§ 14–16; and (3) the only true Sonship, §§ 17–21. Then, after, §§ 22–9, dealing with objections, he discusses (4) the term Ἀγένητος (unoriginate[4]), §§ 30–4, and (5) the alleged τρεπτότης or moral mutability of the Son, §§ 35–6. This brings him to (6) the examination of the stock texts of Arianism, i, § 37–iii, § 58, i.e. to the main body of the work; and these are discussed *seriatim*: (*a*) such as bear on the exaltation of the Son, viz. *Phil.* ii. 9; *Ps.* xlv. 7, 8; *Hebr.* i. 4 in i, §§ 37–64; (*b*) such as had been taken to argue a 'creation' of the Son, viz. *Hebr.* iii. 2; *Acts* ii. 36; *Prov.* viii. 22 in ii, §§ 1–82; (*c*) passages from the Gospel of St. John on the relation of the Son to the Father in iii, §§ 1–25; and (*d*) a fourth group bearing more directly on the Incarnation, e.g. *Mark* xiii. 32 (His ignorance of the Day), and *Luke* ii. 52 (His advance in wisdom as in stature) in iii, §§ 26–58. The first three *Orations* then conclude with (7) an inquiry into the relation of the Sonship to the Father's will, §§ 58–67. There is, of course, a *Fourth Oration*; but it stands by itself, and is anti-Marcellian rather than anti-Arian. If, however, the purpose of Athanasius was, at this time, mainly conciliatory, he may well have been anxious not only to unite the semi-Arians with himself upon the Scriptural sense of the ὁμοούσιον but also

[1] Text in Ath. *Op.* ii. 319–511 (*P. G.* xxvi. 11–526), and ed. W. Bright (Clar. Press); tr. in Robertson, *Ath.* 306–447.

[2] It only occurs once in the first three *Orations*, viz. in *Orat.* i, § 9 (*Op.* ii. 325; *P. G.* xxvi. 29 A).

[3] Ὅμοιον κατ' οὐσίαν in *Orat. c. Ar.* i, § 20 (*Op.* ii. 334; *P. G.* xxvi. 53 A); and ὁμοίας οὐσίας in ibid. i, § 21 (*Op.* ii. 335; *P. G.* xxvi. 56 A).

[4] On this translation, by preference to Newman's 'Ingenerate', see Robertson, *Ath.* 149, 324, n. 1. The 'Son' is 'unoriginate', for He has not 'come into being'; but He is not 'Ingenerate', for He is 'Son'.

to clear himself and his friends, once for all, of anything like complicity with Sabellianism as revived by Marcellus. The *Fourth Oration* may therefore be regarded as an appendix to the first three.[1]

The *Orations*, as a whole,[2] were written at a crisis when Athanasius felt that the time had come to clear the issues by striking a decisive blow. They do this, by their refutation of Arianism once and for all; showing up, as they do, its disloyalty to 'the sense'[3] of Scripture as interpreted by the Rule of Faith,[4] the shallowness of its objections,[5] its cheap evasions,[6] its logic-chopping,[7] its inconsistency,[8] and its irreverence.[9] In spite of some arguments which no modern writer would admit,[10] and of an *exegesis* which he would find it difficult to adopt,[11] the *Orations* are still the mine from which all defenders of the Divinity of our Lord may seek their best material. They are distinguished by a rich use of Scripture; by a firm grasp on primary truths, such as the unity of God[12] and the reality of our Lord's Divine Sonship[13]; by an equally clear insight into the way in which, bound up with the theological controversy, the religious interests of the soul are at stake, viz. the reality of redemption and grace, of our knowledge of God, of our fellowship with Him, and of our adoption as sons of God. These things would not have been ours had not Christ

[1] On the purpose, and the argument, of the *Fourth Oration*, see Robertson, *Ath.* 431 sq.

[2] For this estimate, in greater detail, see W. Bright, *Ath. Orations against the Arians*, lxviii sqq.

[3] Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* ii, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 370; *P. G.* xxvi. 148 B).

[4] Ibid. iii, § 28 (*Op.* ii. 458 sq.; *P. G.* xxvi. 385 A).

[5] e. g. the objection of the Anomoeans to the eternity of the Son that it makes Him the brother of the Father, ibid. i, § 14 (*Op.* ii. 330; *P. G.* xxvi. 40 C).

[6] e. g. they are afraid to speak out, ibid. i, § 10 (*Op.* ii. 326; *P. G.* xxvi. 32 B); or the ambiguity of 'there was once when the Son was not', ibid. i, § 11 (*Op.* ii. 327; *P. G.* xxvi. 33 B).

[7] Ibid. i, § 21 (*Op.* ii. 336; *P. G.* xxvi. 36 B).

[8] e. g. Arianism leads to creature-worship, ibid. i, § 8 (*Op.* ii. 325; *P. G.* xxvi. 28 B).

[9] e. g. in the questions the Arians put to boys and women in the market-place, ibid. i, § 22 (*Op.* ii. 336 sq.; *P. G.* xxvi. 57 B, C), and Document No. 105. The passage is a *locus classicus* on Arian disputatiousness, and is to be compared with Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxvii, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 487; *P. G.* xxxiii. 13 A, B); and Greg. Nyss. *De deitate*, &c. (*Op.* iii; *P. G.* xlvi. 557 B).

[10] e. g. he attaches a literal sense to Gen. i in *Orat. c. Ar.* ii, § 48 (*Op.* ii. 408; *P. G.* xxvi. 249 B, C).

[11] e. g. of 'firstborn of all creation' (Col. i. 15), ibid. ii. § 63 (*Op.* ii. 420; *P. G.* xxvi. 280 C).

[12] Ibid. i, § 15 (*Op.* ii. 330 sq.; *P. G.* xxvi. 44).

[13] Ibid. i, § 61 and iii, § 62 (*Op.* ii. 367, 484; *P. G.* xxvi. 140 A, 453).

imparted[1] to us what was His own to give.[2] But the *Orations* have by-interests of importance too. Such are the frequent rejection, by anticipation, of later heresies—Macedonian,[3] Nestorian,[4] Eutychian[5]; the refusal of worship to any but God[6]; the stress on the uniqueness of the immaculate conception of our Lord,[7] and the balanced discussion of our Lord's knowledge as man.[8]

Last, and in some ways most striking, of the series comes the *De synodis*,[9] written towards the end of 359, the year of the 'Dated Creed' and of the synods of Ariminum and Seleucia. These twin-synods were the means by which the Arianizers put an end to the attempt of the semi-Arians (who, the year before, had the ear of Constantius) to condemn Arianism without adopting the *ὁμοούσιον*, conciliate the West, and so unite Christendom.[10] The semi-Arians were out-manœuvred by this Court-party of experienced intriguers: now known, from their newly adopted, non-committal and comprehensive formula,[11] as Homoeans. These Athanasius sets himself, in the *De synodis*, to expose without mercy; by giving, in Part I, the history of their two Councils, §§ 1–14, and, in Part II, of their shiftiness, §§ 15–32, as seen in their endless synods and formularies.[12] He then, §§ 33–40, shows up the hollowness of their objections to the Nicene term *ὁμοούσιον*, that it gives offence,[13] that it is not in Scripture,[14] that its meaning

[1] Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* i, § 48 (*Op.* ii. 357; *P. G.* xxvi. 112 A, B).

[2] Ibid. ii, §§ 68–70 (*Op.* ii. 424–6; *P. G.* xxvi. 292–6).

[3] Ibid. i, § 48 (*Op.* ii. 357; *P. G.* xxvi. 112 B), iii, § 24 (*Op.* ii. 454 sq.; *P. G* xxvi. 373).

[4] Ibid. i, § 45, iii, § 31 (*Op.* ii. 354, 460; *P. G.* xxvi. 104 C, 388 sq.); for the *Communicatio idiomatum*, and for *Θεοτόκος*, ibid. iii, § 14 (*Op.* ii. 446; *P. G.* xxvi. 349 A), &c.

[5] Ibid. ii, § 10 (*Op.* ii. 378; *P. G.* xxvi. 168 C).

[6] Ibid. ii, § 23 (*Op.* ii. 388; *P. G.* xxvi. 196 A); cf. iii, § 32.

[7] Ibid. iii, § 33 (*Op.* ii. 461; *P. G.* xxvi. 363 B).

[8] Ibid. iii, §§ 42 sqq. (*Op.* ii. 468 sqq.; *P. G.* xxvi. 412 sqq.).

[9] Text in Ath. *Op.* ii. 572–614 (*P. G.* xxvi. 681–794); W. Bright, *Hist. Wr. St. Ath.* 245–306; tr. in Robertson, *Ath.* 451–80; summary in Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 180–2.

[10] W. Bright, *Hist. Wr. St. Ath.* lxxxi sq.

[11] *Ὅμοιον*, Ath. *De syn.*, § 8 (*Op.* ii. 577; *P. G.* xxvi. 693 C).

[12] Part II is important as giving a long list of Arian, or Arianizing, statements of doctrine from the letter of Arius to Alexander, § 16, to the Creed of Nice of 10 October 359 in § 30—twelve in all. For this list, and for characterizations of its creeds, see W. Bright, *Hist. Wr. St. Ath.* lxxxvii sqq. The list, however, is not exhaustive (five more have to be added, ibid. xc); and it does not distinguish, with sufficient clearness, between the different schools of Arianism, between Basil and Acacius, and again between Acacius and Valens.

[13] Answer. Not to those who really believe in the divine Sonship, §§ 33–5. and W. Bright, *Hist. Wr. St. Ath.* xc, xvi.

[14] Answer. The objection (*a*) comes with a bad grace from Arianizers,

is obscure[1]; and finally, §§ 41–54, he turns to the semi-Arians to press it on their acceptance by direct appeal. It is the only adequate expression, he urges, of what they really mean, and the only bulwark equal to keeping out Arianism. These last sections contain the pith of the whole treatise. It was intended to detach the semi-Arians from an allegiance to which they were traditionally, and not by real conviction, committed: and they seemed to be 'coming round'.[2] The appeal was not immediately successful; and its author was too hopeful. The victory of the Homoeans in the last year of Constantius, the ascendancy of Arianism under Valens, and the eventual consolidation of a semi-Arian sect under the name of Macedonianism, were to prove him to have been too sanguine. But for all that, Athanasius was right. He was right in the charity[3] with which he hoped the best from an appeal to 'old enemies' now 'returning to a better mind'.[4] He was right, too, in his diagnosis of the situation. Not only did many of the semi-Arians accept the *ὁμοούσιον*,[5] but from their ranks the men were rising who were to carry the Nicene cause to victory in the East. Basil, of Caesarea in Cappadocia, who went, as a young deacon, with his chief, Basil, bishop of Ancyra, from the council of Seleucia to the council of Constantinople[6] in 360, adopted, soon after, some words of the *De synodis*[7] to justify his acceptance of the *ὁμοούσιον*. 'He that is essentially God', he wrote, 'is co-essential with Him

and (*b*) is unreal; it merely veils antipathy to the ideas expressed by the phrase, §§ 36–9, W. B. *op. cit.* xci. xcii.

[1] Answer. The anathemas of their contraries explain them, § 40, W. B. *op. cit.* xcii.

[2] W. B. *op. cit.* xcii sqq. Ath. here sets himself to resolve their objections to *ὁμοούσιον* (*a*) philosophical, as materializing, § 41, and (*b*) ecclesiastical, as repudiated at Antioch. 269, §§ 43–5; see W. Bright, *Hist. Wr.* xciii sq., and Document No. 45.

[3] 'We are discussing the matter', he says, 'with them [the semi-Arians] as brothers with brothers,' *De Syn.*, § 41 (*Op.* ii. 603; *P. G.* xxvi. 765 A); for the 'good sense' and 'large sympathy' of Ath., see J. H. Newman, *Historical Sketches*, iii. 39: Hilary made a similar appeal to the semi-Arians in his *De Synodis*, § 88 (*Op.* ii. 515; *P. L.* x. 541 A).

[4] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 180.

[5] e. g. The fifty-nine who accepted the Nicene Creed in a document presented to Pope Liberius in 365, q.v. in Socr. *H. E.* IV. xii, §§ 9–20; Soz. *H. E.* VI. xi.

[6] Socr. *H. E.* II. xli; Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxiv; Thdt. *H. E.* II. xxvii; Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 246 sq.

[7] *Ὅμοιον γὰρ καὶ ἀνόμοιον κατὰ τὰς ποιότητας λέγεται*, Basil. *Ep.* viii, § 3 (*Op.* iv. 82; *P. G.* xxxii. 249 C); from Ath. *De syn.*, § 53 (*Op.* ii. 612; *P. G.* xxvi. 788 B).

that is essentially God. . . . If I am to state my own opinion, I accept " like in essence " with the addition of " exactly " as identical in sense with " co-essential " : but " exactly like " [without " essence "] I suspect. . . . Accordingly, since " co-essential " is the term less open to abuse, on this ground I, too, adopt it.' [1]

[1] Basil, *Ep.* ix, § 3 (*Op.* iv. 91 ; *P. G.* xxxii. 272 A, B).

CHAPTER VI

CONSTANTIUS SOLE EMPEROR, 351–†61 : (*b*) THE OUTWARD TRIUMPH, BUT INNER DISINTEGRATION, OF ARIANISM, 356–61

The attack on the church of St. Theonas, 8 Feb. 356, which led to the third exile of Athanasius, from 356 to 362, is a landmark. His banishment followed hard upon the exile of Hosius, Liberius, and Hilary—the three Nicene leaders of the West. Two of them presently yielded : Hosius, the most venerable in years ; and the highest in place, Liberius. Never had things looked so hopeless. But ' when the tale of bricks is doubled, then cometh Moses '[1] ; and deliverance came, not from any external help, but from within. The disintegration of the Arian party, in spite of its outward triumph, is the real feature of the third exile ; for, if ' its commencement saw the triumph, its conclusion saw the collapse, of Arianism '.[2] The original Arianism, which denied the eternity of the Son but assigned to him a super-angelic position, was now held by nobody. It had been merged in the position of the Eusebians or Arianizers, a party which found it more prudent to drop the negations of Arianism proper and to multiply *formulae*, which, while keeping out the *ὁμοούσιον*, seemed to recognize the divine dignity of the Son. It was a composite party, with attractions, and room, for various shades of opinion. Some of its members were really orthodox but suspected Homoousians of Sabellianism ; and were justified, as they would say, by Marcellus and Photinus, or by the confusion still prevalent between *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις*. Typical of such men was Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem 350–†86. In his *Catecheses*,[3] delivered as a presbyter in 348, he warns the candidates for baptism against Sabellius[4] and Marcellus[5] ; contradicts Arius in set terms,[6] though without

[1] ' Cum duplicantur lateres, Moses venit '—an allusion to Exod. v. 9–19 ; R. C. Trench, *Proverbs and their lessons*[10], 65. [2] Robertson, *Ath.* li.

[3] Text in Cyril, *Op.* i. 1–332 (*P. G.* xxxiii. 331–1128) ; tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* ; and see Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 272 sq.

[4] Cyril, *Cat.* xi. § 13 (*Op.* i. 155 ; *P. G.* xxxiii. 708 A).

[5] *Cat.* xv. § 27 (*Op.* i. 239 ; *P. G.* xxxiii. 909 A).

[6] Ibid. vi, § 6 (*Op.* i. 90 ; *P. G* xxxiii. 548 A) : see also vii, § 5, xi, § 8.

naming him ; while of the Nicenes we hear nothing directly, but whereas ' formerly heretics came out into the open, now-a-days the Church is filled with hidden heretics ',[1] *sc.* the Nicenes. The Nicene Creed he never mentions ; but we cannot mistake the allusion when he tells his catechumens that their own Creed of Jerusalem was not put together by the will of man, and impresses on them that every word of it can be maintained by Scripture.[2] Cyril, then, in 348, represents a section who were orthodox but suspicious of Nicene orthodoxy. Another section consisted of those who would not renounce their view of the subordination of the Son ; but cleared themselves of Arianism by anathematizing it as in the creeds of its ' stationary period '. Others, again, were mere intriguers in the interests of Arianism, and they thought to win by suppressing their sympathy with it.

§ 1. The Arianizers had now swept the field. But their party began to exhibit its internal divisions, hitherto concealed while the common enemy survived. Three groups among them can be distinguished.

(1) The semi-Arians,[3] as the friends of Basil, bishop of Ancyra 336–60, came to be called, were a party of high motives and conscientious scruples, very nearly orthodox. Victims of the original inconsistency of Arianism of giving at once too much and too little to the Son, they gradually came to see that they must take a step further, and ascend to the Catholic platform ; for they were already semi-Nicenes. Thus Cyril went over, after the Council of Alexandria, 362 ; and to this period of his career must be assigned that revision, in the Nicene interest, of the local creed of Jerusalem,[4] which is now recited in Catholic worship to the exclusion of the Creed of Nicaea. Socrates puts the appearance of the semi-Arian *formula*[5] ὁμοιούσιον in 360, three years too late. It was current in 357.[6] But the essence of the semi-Arian position was older than the particular term which they adopted to express it. The term was simply the assertion of what the original Arians had, among other things, explicitly denied—that

[1] Cyril, *Cat.* xv, § 9 (*Op.* i. 228 ; *P. G.* xxxiii. 881 A).
[2] Ibid. v, § 12 (*Op.* i. 78 ; *P. G.* xxxiii. 521 B) ; Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 136, and Document No. 21.
[3] J. H. Newman, *Arians*[5], 297 sqq.
[4] F. J. A. Hort, *Two Dissertations*, 108 sqq. ; Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 212.
[5] Socrates, *H. E.* II. xlv. § 2.
[6] It occurs in the ' Blasphemy ' of Potamius, Ath. *De syn.*, § 28 (*Op.* ii. 595 ; *P. G.* xxvi. 741 B) ; Hahn[3], § 161 ; and Document No. 25.

the Son is 'like' in 'essence' to the Father.[1] It made for reverence; and it came in to save religion from the extreme forms of Arianism. Hence the sympathy of Athanasius[2] and Hilary[3] for the semi-Arians: for men like Basil, bishop of Ancyra, Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste in Armenia I, and Eleusius, bishop of Cyzicus.[4] They acknowledge their good will: men of 'holy life', and 'not Arians'. And the same good will may be illustrated by the way in which Cyril of Jerusalem came to be accorded the title of 'Saint'.[5]

(2) The second group consisted of the Homoeans,[6] or Acacians, as they came to be called after their leader Acacius, who, in succession[7] to Eusebius the historian, was bishop of Caesarea 340–†66 and metropolitan of Palestine I. His principles or, rather, his tactics—for he was not a man of many principles—were to keep to Scriptural language, but with a motive different from that of his master and predecessor, Eusebius, and opposite to that of his suffragan and victim, Cyril.[8] The latter would have kept to Scriptural language as sufficient for securing the truth; Acacius, rather, for obscuring it. The Nicene Fathers had done their best to keep within the terms of Scripture; but to preserve its sense, in the face of Arian evasions, they had to give up the attempt and fall back on the ὁμοούσιον. But ὅμοιον, though equally unscriptural, had the merit of indefiniteness, and so commended itself to Acacius. It occurs, though not conspicuously, in the Macrostich,[9] as early as 344; but not as a test word

[1] Arius, *Thalia*, *ap.* Ath. *De Syn.*, § 15 (*Op.* ii. 582; *P. G.* xxvi. 705 D).

[2] Ath. *De syn.*, § 41 (*Op.* ii. 603; *P. G.* xxvi. 765).

[3] Hilary, *De syn.*, § 88 (*Op.* ii. 515; *P. G.* x. 511 A).

[4] Hilary speaks of Eleusius and his friends as exceptions to the type of bishop prevalent in 'Asia', *De syn.*, § 63 (*Op.* ii. 498; *P. L.* x. 522 C); and of Basil, Eustathius and Eleusius as 'sanctissimi viri', ibid., § 90 (*Op.* ii. 516; *P. L.* x. 542 B).

[5] 'Hierosolymis S. Cyrilli episcopi, qui ab Arianis multas fidei causa perpessus iniurias ac ab ecclesia sua saepe pulsus, tandem, sanctitatis gloria clarus, in pace quievit' [18 March], *Martyrologium Romanum*, 39 (ed. Romae, 1902).

[6] For this party see Newman, *Arians*[5], 275 sqq.; and Robertson, *Ath.* liv.

[7] Socr. *H. E.* II. iv; Soz. *H. E.* III. ii, § 9.

[8] Acacius consecrated Cyril and, according to Nic. 22, claimed a right of priority for Caesarea as metropolitan over Jerusalem. Cyril refused to yield it because his was an Apostolic see. Then followed mutual recriminations for heresy, and, 358, Acacius succeeded in deposing Cyril (Socr. *H. E.* II. xl, § 39). He was restored at Seleucia, 359, but banished again at CP., 360: see Soz. *H. E.* II. xxv, §§ 2–4; Thdt. *H. E.* II. xxvi, xxvii.

[9] No. vi. *ap.* Ath. *De syn.*, § 26 (*Op.* ii. 591; *P. G.* xxvi. 732 B); Socr. *H. E.* II. xix, § 18 τῷ Πατρὶ κατὰ πάντα ὅμοιον; Hahn [3], § 159; and Document No. 20.

until the Dated Creed[1] of 22 May 359. Thus it was probably adopted as a rival to the *ὁμοιούσιον*, current two years before.[2] It was a term with a respectable past[3] and a promising future; for it would include Arianism as effectually as the Nicene term would exclude it. Hence its attraction for the versatile and able[4] Acacius—'the tongue of the Arians', according to Gregory of Nazianzus,[5] as George of Cappadocia was 'their hand'. But, for his shifty tongue, he was an object of scorn to the ultra-Arians. Philostorgius, their historian, says that 'his thoughts went one way, his tongue another'[6]; and Tillemont gives him a similar character,[7] with an eye, perhaps, to some of the courtly ecclesiastics of Louis XIV.

(3) The Anomoeans,[8] as the ultra-Arians came to be called, disowned all concealment; and for that, by contrast with the Homoeans, they are entitled to respect. They also represent a protest in favour of original Arianism; only where, out of respect for Christian sentiment, it was evasive,[9] there the Anomoeans were frank.[10] In action they relied on the leadership of Valens and Ursacius in the West and, in the East, of Eudoxius, bishop of Germanicia (now Marash in the vilayet of Aleppo) 341–58, then of Antioch 358–60, and finally of Constantinople 360–†70. But they became a power with the rise, *c.* 350, of Aetius and his pupil Eunomius—two logicians rather than theologians, who reduced the ultra-Arian position to a system. A few words, then, on these two leaders and their teaching. We have a fair knowledge of it, thanks to what remains of their writings, and to the refutations in Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, and Epiphanius.[11]

[1] *Ὅμοιον . . . κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς . . . ὅμοιον κατὰ πάντα ὡς αἱ ἁγιαι γραφαὶ λέγουσιν*—intentionally ambiguous, Ath. *De syn.*, § 8 (*Op.* ii. 576 sq.; *P. G.* xxvi. 693 A, C); Socr. *H. E.* II. xxxvii, §§ 19, 24; Hahn[3], § 163; and Document No. 59.

[2] It is referred to in the 'Blasphemy' of 357; Ath. *De syn.*, § 28 (*Op.* ii. 595; *P. G.* xxvi. 741 B); Socr. *H. E.* II. xxx, § 35; Hahn[3], § 161.

[3] It was freely used by Ath. in his earlier anti-Arian writings, e. g. *Orat. c. Ar.* i, § 9 (*Op.* ii. 326; *P. G.* xxvi. 32), and by Cyril, *Cat.* xi, § 18 (*Op.* i. 158; *P. G.* xxxiii. 713 A); and Newman, *Select Treatises of St. Ath.*[7] ii. 432 sq.

[4] Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxiii, § 2.

[5] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxi, § 21 (*Op.* i. 399; *P. G.* xxxv. 1105 B).

[6] Philostorgius, *H. E.* iv, § 12 (*P. G.* lxv. 528 B).

[7] Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 306.

[8] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 133 sq.; Newman, *Arians*[5], 337 sqq.

[9] As in the Creed of Arius, Socr. *H. E.* I. xxvi; Soz. *H. E.* I. xxvii; Hahn[3], § 181.

[10] Socr. *H. E.* II. xxxv, § 2.

[11] The sources are: (1) The forty-seven propositions of Aetius in Epiph. *Haer.* lxxvi, § 11 (*Op.* ii. 924–30; *P. G.* xlii. 533–46); (2) The *Ἔκθεσις πίστεως* of Eunomius, presented to Theodosius, 383, and preserved in the notes of Valesius [Henri de Valois, 1603–†76] on Socr. *H. E.* V. x

Aetius,[1] †367, called by Athanasius 'the godless'[2] for his irreligious doctrine, might also be called the indomitable. Born at Antioch, and soon left an orphan, he started life as the slave of a vinedresser; and became in turn goldsmith[3] or travelling tinker, itinerant physician, and sophist—for he was a born disputant and loved dialectics.[4] Drifting from city to city and from one master to another, he is found first with Paulinus the Arian bishop of Tyre, then with three pupils of Lucian in succession: Athanasius, bishop of Anazarbus in Cilicia II, Antonius, a priest of Tarsus, and Leontius, afterwards bishop of Antioch. At Antioch he found no welcome, and returned to Cilicia. But mortified by being beaten there in disputation with a Borborian Gnostic, he betook himself to Alexandria, and there recovered his reputation by defeating in argument a prominent Manichaean.[5] By this time Leontius had become bishop of Antioch, 344–†57. Aetius returned; and by him was ordained deacon, 350, with special permission to teach in public.[6] The ordination was challenged by Flavian and Diodore, two distinguished laymen of Antioch, and Leontius had to inhibit him from the exercise of his ministry.[7] After a dispute with the semi-Arian leader, Basil,[8] bishop of Ancyra, Aetius, whose rise to importance was thus signalized, retired once more, *c.* 356, to Alexandria.[9] Here he lived in the train of the intruding George, who allowed him to officiate as deacon.[10] It was while so employed that he fell in with Eunomius.

Eunomius,[11] afterwards bishop of Cyzicus 361–†93, came

(ed. R. Hussey, iii. 375–82); (3) The *Liber Apologeticus* of Eunomius, preserved in Basil, *Op.* ii. 691–703 (*P. G.* xxx. 835–68); (4) The *Contra Eunomium* of Basil, *Op.* i. 207–322 (*P. G.* xxix. 497–774); (5) The *Contra Eunomium* of Gregory of Nyssa, *Op.* ii. 265–864 (*P. G.* xlv. 237–1122); (6) Epiph. *Haer.* lxxvi (*Op.* ii. 912–94; *P. L.* xlii. 515–640): see J. Tixeront, *History of Dogmas*, ii. 49, n. 97.

[1] For Aetius see Socr. *H. E.* II. xxxv; Soz. *H. E.* III. xv, §§ 7–10; Philostorgius, *H. E.* iii. 15, 16, 17, 19, 27, v. 2 (*P. G.* lxv. 591 sqq.), who is the fullest because, to him, an ultra-Arian, Aetius is the hero of Arianism: see also Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 403 sqq.; Fleury, *H. E.* iii. 363 sqq.; Newman, *Arians*[6], 337 sqq.; Robertson, *Ath.* liv.

[2] Ath. *De syn.*, § 6 (*Op.* ii. 575; *P. G.* xxvi. 689 B).

[3] Philostorgius, *H. E.* iii, § 15 (*P. G.* lxv. 504 A).

[4] Soz. *H. E.* III. xv, § 7.

[5] Philostorgius, *H. E.* iii, § 15 (*P. G.* lxv. 505–8).

[6] Ibid., § 17 (*P. G.* lxv. 508 sq.).

[7] Thdt. *H. E.* II. xxiv, §§ 6–8.

[8] Philostorgius, *H. E.* iii, § 16 (*P. G.* lxv. 508 C).

[9] Ibid., § 17 (*P. G.* lxv. 509 A).

[10] Thdt. *H. E.* II. xxvii, § 8.

[11] For Eunomius see Socr. *H. E.* IV. vii; Soz. *H. E.* VI. xxvi, xxvii; Philostorgius, *H. E.* vi–x. § 6, *passim* (*P. G.* lxv. 551 sqq.); Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 501 sqq.; Newman, *Arians*[5], 339.

originally from Cappadocia,[1] the home of so many ultra-Arians: Asterius, Gregory, George, Auxentius, Eudoxius, and Eunomius.[2] In early life Eunomius was a jack-of-all-trades. In 356 he went to Alexandria, and became first pupil,[3] and then secretary,[4] to Aetius. They were kindred spirits, with a common love of disputation and a common disdain of compromise. But Eunomius was the more learned and the abler of the two. 'Aetius', says his admirer, Philostorgius, 'could lay a foundation; but he could never have raised upon it such a fine building as Eunomius did.'[5] We may compare the relation of Luther to Melanchthon, or of Farel to Calvin. Aetius was great at negation; Eunomius at construction. His materials and methods were those of the Schools. For 'he changed theology', says Theodoret, 'into technology'[6]; and, paying no respect either to the Church or to the Bible,[7] he erected his system by pure dialectics.

The system proceeded thus.[8] God is pure Being, essentially simple and one. He is ingenerate and unoriginate.[9] As simple and not complex, He is perfectly intelligible and comprehensible. 'I know God', said Eunomius, 'as well as He knows Himself'.[10] As God is essentially unoriginate, all that is generate or originate is foreign to God: neither *ὁμοούσιον* nor *ὁμοιούσιον*[11] nor even *ὅμοιον* in respect of Him, but necessarily of a different essence (*ἐξ ἑτέρας οὐσίας*) and unlike (*ἀνόμοιον*) Him. The Son as generate or begotten, i. e. according to Eunomius, a creature, has, it may be, a moral resemblance[12] to the Father, but is essentially unlike Him. His prerogative consists in being the immediate work of the Father; whereas all the other creatures, including the Holy Spirit, are the work of the Son. So He is 'a creature of the Uncreate, not as one of the creatures; a thing made by Him who is not made, not as one of the things made'.[13] The main characteristic of this system was the elimination of all mystery;

[1] Soz. *H. E.* VII. xvii, § 1.
[2] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 245 sq.
[3] Soz. *H. E.* VI. xxvii, § 1; Philostorgius, *H. E.* iii, § 20 (*P. G.* lxv. 509 B).
[4] Socr. *H. E.* IV. vii, § 4.
[5] Philostorgius, *H. E.* viii. 568 B.
[6] Thdt. *Haer. Fab. Compend.* iv, § 3 (*Op.* iv. 356; *P. G.* lxxxiii. 420 B).
[7] Socr. *H. E.* IV. vii, § 6.
[8] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 134; J. Tixeront, *Hist. Dogm.* ii. 50.
[9] *Ἀγέννητον, ἄναρχον*, Eunomius, *Apol.*, § 26 (*P. G.* xxx. 864 A).
[10] Epiph. *Haer.* lxxvi, § 4 (*Op.* ii. 916; *P. G.* xlii. 521 C); cf. Thdt. *Haer. Fab. Compend.* iv, § 3 (*Op.* iv. 358; *P. G.* lxxxiii. 421 A); and Socr. *H. E.* IV. vii, §§ 13, 14.
[11] Epiph. *Haer.* lxxvi, § 11 (*Op.* ii. 925; *P. G.* xlii. 536 C).
[12] Eunomius, *Apol.*, § 24 (*P. G.* xxx. 860 C); and *Ἔκθεσις πίστεως*, § 3 (*P. G.* lxvii. 588 sq.).
[13] Eunomius, *Apol.*, § 28 (*P. G.* xxx. 868 B).

and here lay the difference between Anomoeanism and the original Arianism. Arius, by way of emphasizing the superiority of the Father, had spoken of the Son as 'unlike' the Father, and therefore as 'not fully understanding, the Father.[1] Aetius and Eunomius professed to know God entirely. So Arianism ended in rationalism; and it was the discovery of this, its true character, in 357, by the Christian world at large, that led to its ultimate decline. But, for the present, so long as Constantius reigned, Arianism, in one form or another, held the field.

The Arianizers pressed their advantage at the Councils of Sirmium, 357, Ancyra, 358, Ariminum and Seleucia, 359, and Constantinople, 360.

§ 2. The Anomoeans were the first to get a hearing.

In the West they took advantage of a visit of Constantius to Sirmium,[2] in August 357, to assemble the third Council of Sirmium. Hefele calls it 'great'[3]; but it was not large. Only Westerns were there: Valens of Mursa, Ursacius of Singidunum, Germinius of Sirmium, and Potamius of Lisbon. It was not so much a Council as a cabal of Court bishops. They put out the second Sirmian Creed, less of a creed than of a theological declaration; and it was drawn up in Latin[4] by Western bishops. In it they acknowledge one God and His only Son. But two Gods cannot and must not be preached. No mention shall be made henceforth of *οὐσία* and its compounds, *ὁμοούσιον* and *ὁμοιούσιον*. For the word is not found in Scripture, and the subject beyond our understanding. So far the character of the formulary is Homoean; but then it drifts into Anomoeanism, without, however, making actual use of the term *ἀνόμοιον*. For it goes on to place the superiority of the Father not in 'the Monarchy' but in 'honour, rank, glory, majesty, and the very name'. True, 'the Son is born of the Father, God of God,' &c.; but this is a confession of Godhead only in the secondary and titular sense. There was no mistaking language like this. Hilary calls this episcopal declara-

[1] The *Thalia*, as quoted in Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* i. § 6 (*Op.* ii. 323; *P. G.* xxvi. 24 A, B).

[2] Constantius was in Illyricum July to November 357; Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 418; Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 300; Goyau, *Chronologie*, 470.

[3] Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 899; *E. Tr.* ii. 226.

[4] It is given in Latin by Hilary, *De syn.*, § 11 (*Op.* ii. 464–6; *P. L.* x. 487–9), and in a Greek translation by Ath. *De syn.*, § 28 (*Op.* ii. 594 sq.; *P. G.* xxvi. 740–4), and Socr. *H. E.* II. xxx. §§ 31–41; Hahn[3], § 161; Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 161 sq., and Document No. 25.

tion 'the Blasphemy',[1] and says that Potamius was its author.[2] Gwatkin speaks of it as 'the Sirmian Manifesto' and 'the turning-point of the whole contest'[3]; for it unveiled the heresy as it had never been unveiled before. Opposition was certain; but before it could gather strength, Hosius, and, apparently, Liberius, succumbed to the pressure of the Court intriguers.

As for Hosius, the tragical interest of the 'Blasphemy' is that the aged Confessor, and Father of Councils, signed it. Hilary is unfair to his memory in making him its joint-author.[4] He was brought, though 'with difficulty',[5] to communicate with Valens and Ursacius. Yet he would not sign against Athanasius. 'He would have been honoured', says Tillemont, 'to the end of time, as one of the greatest saints of the Church if he had lived to be *only* a hundred years old.'[6]

Before a year was out his fall was followed by the lapse of Pope Liberius.[7] There was much that is attractive about Liberius. But he was impulsive, and 'lacking in endurance'.[8] Sometime after the Council of Milan, 355, he had been exiled to Beroea in Thrace.[9] While he was there Constantius came to Rome on his way to Sirmium, and stayed for a month[10] in the spring of 357. The Roman ladies begged for the restoration of their bishop, and were refused. But on learning that the assemblies of Felix were ill-attended, the Emperor promised to grant the request if Liberius and Felix might rule conjointly. 'One God, one Christ, one Bishop,'[11] was the answer of the indignant church; and, at length, Constantius agreed to recall Liberius unconditionally.[12] The Pope arrived 2 August 358.[13] But, in the interval, he had compromised himself; and the question is, To what extent?

The answer turns on some letters of Liberius, and on some independent testimony.

[1] Hilary, *De syn.*, § 11 (*Op.* ii. 464; *P. L.* x. 487 A).
[2] Ibid., § 3 (*Op.* ii. 460; *P. L.* x. 482 B).
[3] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 162.
[4] Hilary, *De syn.*, § 3, *ut sup.*
[5] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 45 (*Op.* i. 294; *P. G.* xxv. 749 A); Socr. *H. E.* II. xxxi, § 4.
[6] Tillemont, *Mém.* vii. 301.
[7] Ibid. vi. 419 sqq.; Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 908–28; *E. Tr.* ii. 231 sqq., 483 sqq.; Newman, *Arians*[5], 319 sqq.; Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 192–4.
[8] Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.*, § 89 (*Op.* i. 161; *P. G.* xxv. 409 A); *Hist. Ar.*, § 41 (*Op.* i. 291; *P. G.* xxv. 741 B).
[9] Soz. *H. E.* IV. xi, § 3.
[10] April 28 to May 29; Goyau, 469; Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], xxvi.
[11] For other cases of insistence on this rule of 'one bishop in a Catholic church' see vol. II, c. ii, § 8.
[12] Theodoret, *H. E.* II. xvii, and Document No. 219.
[13] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], xxvi.

Three letters of Liberius are preserved, and commented upon, by Hilary.[1] The first, beginning *Pro deifico timore*, is addressed to the Easterns; the second, *Quia scio vos*, to Ursacius, Valens, and Germinius; the third, *Non doceo sed admoneo*, to Vincent of Capua. The first is the most incriminating, for in it Liberius confesses to having, while in exile, approved, willingly and without making any opposition, a Creed made by Easterns at Sirmium. The difficulty, however, is to identify this Creed which Hilary calls a 'perfidia Ariana'.[2] Four views are, or have been, held about it. (*a*) The Creed is stated to have been 'made' and not only 'set forth and received' at Sirmium by the Easterns.[3] Is it, therefore, the 'Long' Sirmian of 351,[4] i. e. the *réchauffé* of the Fourth Antiochene,[5] with the addition of twenty-seven anathemas? But this is the Creed which Hilary himself defended in the *De synodis*[6]: he could not now call it a 'perfidia'. (*b*) Was it the 'Blasphemy'? This was certainly a 'perfidia', as not only Hilary but another Gallic bishop, Phoebadius of Agennum (now Agen in Guyenne), 350–†93, calls it[7]; but its authors were Westerns. (*c*) Some, therefore, suppose that it was a lost Sirmian Creed, of which no further trace remains.[8] (*d*) Others, following Sozomen, suppose that Liberius signed at Sirmium in 358 'a compilation in one document of the decrees against Paul of Samosata and Photinus, bishop of Sirmium, to which was subjoined the formulary of faith drawn up at Antioch at the Dedication'[9]; and this was done in the presence of Constantius and 'at the instigation of Basil, Eustathius, and Eleusius, who possessed great influence over the Emperor'.[10] But this digest of the semi-Arian leaders would not be in character such as to arouse the antipathies of Hilary. He was conciliatory towards the semi-Arians. Hefele cuts the knot by rejecting as spurious both the letters ascribed to Liberius, and also the comments of the Fragmentist; and, in

[1] Hilary, *Fragment*, vi, §§ 5–11 (*Op.* ii. 677–83; *P. L.* ii. 680–95); Jaffé, Nos. 217–19.
[2] Ibid. vi. § 6 (*Op.* ii. 678; *P. G.* x. 690 B).
[3] Ibid.
[4] Hahn[3], § 160.
[5] Ibid., § 156.
[6] Hilary, *De syn.*, §§ 39–63 (*Op.* ii. 488–99; *P. L.* x. 512–23).
[7] Phoebadius, *Contra Arianos*, § 4 (*P. L.* xx. 15 D).
[8] So R. Hussey, in his notes to Sozomen, *H. E.*, vol. iii. 122.
[9] This would naturally mean the Dedication Creed, i. e. the Lucianic Creed, of 341 [Hahn[3], § 154]; but Hefele prefers to interpret of the Fourth Antiochene [ibid.[3], § 156] as having been repeated at Philippopolis, 343 [ibid.[3], § 158], and Sirmium, 351 [ibid., § 160]: see *Conciles*, I. ii. 913, n. 4; *E. Tr.* ii. 234, n. 6.
[10] Soz. *H. E.* IV. XV, §§ 1, 2.

the main, he accepts Sozomen's account.[1] It is certainly difficult to fit in the Letters and the Comments with any Sirmian formulary of which we know. But to reject them is a bold stroke; and he 'does not make out any strong case against them'.[2]

The case, however, does not rest only upon them. Even if they were spurious, there is independent testimony: not, indeed, as is sometimes alleged, of Athanasius, who only says that Liberius 'under fear of death subscribed'[3] against Athanasius, but of other authorities. Thus, first, there is an implicit statement by Hilary. 'Constantius', he says, 'was not guilty of a greater impiety when he banished Liberius than when he sent him back.'[4] Second, Faustinus and Marcellinus, two presbyters of the party of Ursinus, who was elected by the friends of Liberius to succeed him, in 383 presented a *memorandum* to the Emperors Valentinian II, Theodosius, and Arcadius, in which they agree with the Fragments so far as to affirm that what Liberius signed was a 'perfidia'.[5] Third, Jerome, in his *Chronicle*, says that 'Liberius, wearied of exile', signed an 'heretical' creed[6]; but adds, in his *De viris illustribus*, that it was under pressure from Fortunatian, bishop of Aquileia.[7] Fourth, Philostorgius records that 'Liberius signed against the ὁμοούσιον and also against Athanasius'.[8] And, finally, Sozomen states that Liberius signed a composite creed, i. e. that, in any case, he deserted the Nicene. His lapse was not that of a private doctor, but of the bishop of Rome. At the same time, by signing a compromising creed under pressure and in exile, he did not technically do anything inconsistent with the Vatican doctrine of Papal Infallibility.[9]

So serious then were the defections of the Nicene leaders of the West at the end of 357. Early in 358 Leontius, the crypto-Arian bishop of Antioch, having died in the previous summer, Eudoxius

[1] According to Hefele, Liberius signed a third Sirmian formulary which was a compilation of three semi-Arian creeds, and the twelve of the eighteen anathemas brought from Ancyra to Sirmium and commented on by Hilary, *De syn.*, §§ 12–26 (*Op.* ii. 466–76; *P. L.* x. 489–500); *Conciles*, I. ii. 927; *E. Tr.* ii. 245.

[2] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 193.

[3] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, § 41 (*Op.* i. 291; *P. G.* xxv. 741 B).

[4] Hilary, *Contra Const. Imp.*, § 11 (*Op.* ii. 571; *P. L.* x. 589 A).

[5] *Faust. et Marc. Libellus Precum*, Praef., § 3 (*P. L.* xiii. 81 B); Tillemont, *Mém.* viii. 395.

[6] Jerome, *Chronicon ad ann.* 352 (*Op.* viii; *P. L.* xxvii. 685–6.)

[7] Ibid., *De viris ill.*, § 97 (*Op.* ii. 931; *P. L.* xxiii. 697 C).

[8] Philostorgius, *H. E.* iv, § 3 (*P. G.* lxv. 517 D).

[9] q.v. in H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion*[7], No. 1682, p. 400.

obtained the see.[1] He had been bishop of Germanicia some seventeen years, 340–57; was an Arian pure and simple; a friend of Aetius, and afterwards leader of the Anomoeans. His translation to the patriarchal throne of 'The East' was, of course, a triumph for the ultra-Arians; and they gained another point when Acacius, metropolitan of Caesarea, managed, about this time, to gratify his long-standing displeasure with his suffragan, Cyril of Jerusalem, by deposing him.[2] Acacius and Eudoxius then joined forces to carry their triumphs further.

In the East the Anomoeans and their friends gathered at the Council of Antioch,[3] 358. Eudoxius presided. They rejected both ὁμοούσιον and ὁμοιούσιον; and issued a letter of thanks to Valens, Ursacius, and Germinius for having brought the Westerns back, *sc.* by 'the Blasphemy', to the true faith.[4] But the Westerns themselves were of a different mind. The reaction against 'the Sirmian Manifesto'[5] was already astir in Gaul, where it could gather force, without fear of the Court-bishops of Constantius, owing to the protection afforded by the strong position of Julian after his victory at Strasbourg,[6] August 357. In the absence of Hilary, Phoebadius, bishop of Agennum, took the lead. A Gaulish synod condemned the 'Blasphemy'[7] about the same time that it was approved at Antioch; and Phoebadius followed up the condemnation with a pamphlet, written towards the end of 358, which ends with a reference to Hosius. 'They use his name against us like a battering-ram.' But 'if he has been wrong for ninety years, he is not likely to be right now'![8]

§ 3. The semi-Arians next took up the challenge, and showed no less zeal against the new phase of Anomoeanism. George, one of the original Arians, and among the ablest[9] and most learned[10]

[1] Soz. *H. E.* II. xxxvii, § 10; Soz. *H. E.* IV. xii, §§ 3, 4; Philostorgius, *H. E.* iv, § 4 (*P. G.* lxv. 520); Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 422 sqq. Philostorgius says that he was fond of pleasure: hence we may trust the account of his impieties given in Hilary, *Contra Const. Imp.*, § 13 (*Op.* ii. 573; *P. L.* x. 591 B), and in Socr. *H. E.* II. xliii, § 12, and Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxvi. § 1.

[2] Socr. *H. E.* II. xl, § 39; Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxv, §§ 1–4; Thdt. *H. E.* II. xxvi, § 7; Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 424 sq.

[3] Mansi, iii. 265; Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 903; *E. Tr.* ii. 228.

[4] Soz. *H. E.* IV. xii, §§ 5–7.

[5] The phrase is that of Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 161.

[6] Amm. Marc. *Res gestae*, XVI. xii.

[7] Hilary, *De syn.*, §§ 2, 8 (*Op.* ii. 459, 463; *P. L.* x. 481 A, 485 C).

[8] Phoebadius, *Contra Arianos*, § 23 (*P. L.* XX. 30 B, C).

[9] For his ability, Ath. *De Syn.*, § 17 (*Op.* ii. 584; *P. G.* XXVI. 712 C, D).

[10] For his learning, Philostorgius, *H. E.* viii, § 17 (*P. G.* lxv. 568 A).

of them, was now bishop of Laodicea in Syria, 335–†after 361. He was temporarily in alliance with the semi-Arians, having quarrelled with Eudoxius over the election to Antioch, on the ground that his rights as an elector had been ignored. He therefore wrote to bishops with whom, for the nonce, he found himself in agreement (for he reverted to Anomoeanism before his death [1]), bidding them take advantage of the consecration of a new church at Ancyra in Galatia, in order to act together.[2]

They met at the Council of Ancyra,[3] April 358, under the presidency of Basil, its bishop. Only twelve bishops were present. But Basil and Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste in Armenia I, were men of distinction ; and the Synod carried weight far beyond its numbers, because it represented the mind of the majority in the East. In this respect, as well as in its rejection of ultra-Arianism, it stands theologically on the same platform as the more celebrated Dedication Council of Antioch, 341.

Its proceedings include a formulary, anathemas, and a mission to Court.

The formulary was a Synodal Letter[4] in which they say that, § 2, for the sake of peace, they must add to the former confessions of Antioch, 341, Sardica [i. e. Philippopolis], 343, and Sirmium, 351, fuller and more precise definitions about the Trinity. The very expression, § 3, ' Father ', shows that He is ' the cause of an essence like Himself '—*αἴτιον ὁμοίας αὐτοῦ οὐσίας*. But this excludes the idea of the Son's createdness ; for the relation of Father and Son is quite different from that of Creator and creature. Rationalizing and materializing senses of ' Father ' and ' Son ' are then noticed, and set aside. Christ, § 5, is called ' Son ' in a sense quite other than those who are called sons by adoption. We must not, § 6, apply mere ' human wisdom ' to such a mystery as the Divine Sonship ; but it is not to be rejected on the ground of mysteriousness any more than the Cross because of the ' scandal ' connected with it. The teaching of the Apostles, § 8, about this Sonship is best represented by the term *ὁμοιούσιον*, certainly not, § 9, by *ὁμοούσιον*, for that identifies, after the manner of Sabellius,

[1] Thdt. *H. E.* II. xxxi, § 7 ; Gwatkin, *Arianism* [2], 187.

[2] Soz. *H. E.* IV. xiii.

[3] Mansi, iii. 265–90 ; Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 903–8 ; *E. Tr.* ii. 228–31 ; Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 430–6 ; Fleury, iii. 513–16 ; Gwatkin, *Arianism* [2], 164–7.

[4] Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxxiii, §§ 2–9 (*Op.* ii. 846–56 ; *P. G.* xlii. 403–20) ; and summary in Gwatkin, *Arianism* [2], 165 sq., and J. Tixeront, *History of Dogmas*, ii. 52.

the Son's personality with the Father's.[1] The interest of this long dogmatic exposition is that its authors appear to be still confident of the tenableness of their position.

They then go on to fortify it by nineteen anathemas,[2] aimed alternately at Aetius and Marcellus. Thus the first is directed against those who deny the *ὁμοιούσιον* and regard the Son as a creature of the Father[3]; the second, against those who deny the original personality of the Son.[4]

Some condemn maintainers of the *ἀνόμοιον*[5]; some, those who interpret the *ὅμοιον* as if it meant a mere likeness in action, not in essence.[6] The last denounces *ὁμοούσιον* as if it were the same as *ταὐτοούσιον*[7]—necessarily and simply Sabellian.

The Council then sent Basil and Eustathius, who took with them Eleusius, to the Court at Sirmium, with instructions to demand that Constantius should come to their aid against the ultra-Arians. They arrived in the nick of time. For the Emperor had just been induced to sign the ' Blasphemy ' ; and a priest of Antioch, Asphalius by name, had just managed to get from him letters for the promotion of Eudoxius to that see. Constantius allowed himself to be won over by the three semi-Arian envoys. Asphalius was made to give back his letters,[8] and received instead a missive denouncing Aetius and the Anomoeans.[9]

Not content with this, the Emperor organized a new synod, commonly reckoned the third, but really the fourth Council of Sirmium,[10] in the spring or early summer of 358, in which the three semi-Arian deputies and the bishops at Court took part. The former pursued their advantage, and secured their triumph by two steps.

First, they abbreviated the anathemas they had brought with them from Ancyra, striking out, in particular, the last, condemnatory of the *ὁμοούσιον*.[11] This done, they proceeded to draw

[1] Document No. 27.

[2] Epiph. *Haer.* lxxiii, §§ 10, 11 (*Op.* ii. 856–9; *P. G.* xlii. 419–26). Of these, twelve, viz. Nos. 6–17, are taken, and interpreted in an orthodox sense, by Hilary, *De syn.*, §§ 12–26 (*Op.* ii. 466–500). The nineteen are given in Hahn[3], § 162.

[3] Epiph. *Haer.* lxxiii. § 10 (*Op.* ii. 856; *P. G.* xlii. 421 A).

[4] Ibid. 421 B. [5] Nos. 5, 7, 9.

[6] Nos. 11, 12; ibid., § 11 (*Op.* ii. 857 sq.; *P. G.* xlii. 424 A, B).

[7] No. 19; ibid., § 11 (*Op.* ii. 858; *P. G.* xlii. 424 sq.).

[8] Sozomen, *H. E.* iv. xiii, §§ 5, 6. [9] Ibid. iv. xiv.

[10] Mansi, iii. 289; Hefele, *Conciles*, i. ii. 908; *E. Tr.* ii. 231; Soz. *H. E.* iv. xv; Philostorgius, *H. E.* iv, § 3 (*P. G.* lxv. 517 sq.).

[11] Hilary, *De syn.*, § 90 (*Op.* ii. 516; *P. L.* x. 542 B); Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 431.

up the digest from the decisions against Paul of Samosata, the Dedication Creed of Antioch, and the Long Sirmian which, according to Sozomen, Liberius, now recalled from Beroea to Sirmium, was induced to sign with the rest present.[1] This digest they commented upon in a letter 'from Eastern bishops of the semi-Arian party,' asserting the semi-Arian principle and rejecting the ὁμοούσιον (*a*) as involving materializing notions, (*b*) as having been rejected by the Council of Antioch in 269 because of its Sabellian implications, and (*c*) as not found in Scripture.[2]

They next followed up their success by procuring the banishment of the leading Anomoeans[3]: Eudoxius to his native Armenia; Aetius and Eunomius, lately ordained deacon at Antioch, to Phrygia; and Theophilus the Indian[4]—a native of Ceylon and an indefatigable Arian missionary who had lately effected a wonderful cure of the Empress Eusebia—to Heraclea in Pontus. The semi-Arians were thus, unfortunately, persecutors; the Nicenes were not.[5]

Thus encouraged, they ventured to hope that they might get rid at once both of Anomoean impieties and of Nicene embarrassments. They pressed for a really General Council.

§ 4. But it issued in the Homoean twin-synods of Ariminum and Seleucia, 359.[6]

(1) Constantius agreed to the proposal of the semi-Arians perhaps because, in view of a renewal of the war with Persia[7] in the summer of 358, he desired to restore peace[8] among the endless Arianizing parties. He first thought of Nicaea as the place of meeting. But Basil declined it, because of its associations with the ὁμοούσιον, and suggested Nicomedia. The Emperor agreed; but 24 August 358

[1] Soz. *H. E.* IV. xv, § 2.

[2] Hilary, *De syn.*, § 81 (*Op.* ii. 508 sq.; *P. L.* x. 534), and Document No. 8.

[3] Philostorgius, *H. E.* iv, § 8 (*P. G.* lxv. 522 B, C).

[4] For his story see ibid. iii, §§ 4–6; iv, §§ 1, 7, 8, v, § 4, vii, § 6, viii, § 2, and ix, §§ 1, 3, 18.

[5] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 167, n. 2.

[6] Mansi, iii. 293–326; Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 929–55; *E. Tr.* ii. 246–71; Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 170–9; Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 446–87.

[7] Early in 358 Sapor II sent an embassy to claim Armenia and Mesopotamia for Persia, Amm. Marc. *Res gestae*, XVII. v. He arrived at CP., 23 February, had an interview with Constantius at Sirmium a little later, and after 24 August the ambassadors of Constantius to Persia returned without having accomplished anything, ibid. XVII. xiv, § 2. Next year, Sapor crossed the Tigris and captured Amida, now Diarbekr, Ammianus himself being one of the garrison, ibid. XVIII. vii–x, XIX. i–viii.

[8] Socr. *H. E.* II. xxxvii, § 1.

Nicomedia was destroyed by an earthquake.[1] Thereupon Basil himself advised Nicaea, and the meeting was appointed for the following summer.[2]

Before it could assemble Basil and his friends were outwitted on two points.

First, as to the Synod. Valens and the Arianizers at Sirmium feared that, if a General Council should meet, it might end in a coalition of semi-Arians and Nicenes against the Anomoeans. The chamberlain Eusebius was one of this party. Secure in his support, they persuaded the Emperor that it would be both more convenient and less expensive[3] if the Western bishops were to meet at Ariminum (now Rimini) and the Easterns at Seleucia in Isauria. And so it was settled.[4] The Homoeans could now pursue the well-known policy of *Divide et impera*; while the semi-Arians, who had thus lost the ear of Constantius, as suddenly as they had gained it, were obliged to draw closer to the Nicenes.

It was at this juncture, toward the end of 358, and to promote the alliance that Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, since 356 an exile in Phrygia, composed his *De synodis*.[5] The occasion of it was a letter, §§ 1, 2, from his friends in Gaul, who said that the only reason why they had not written to him lately was that they did not know his address. He would, however, be glad to hear that they had refused to have anything to do with Saturninus, bishop of Arles, and had also condemned the 'Blasphemy'. Hilary, of course, §§ 3, 4, is pleased to hear that; and, §§ 5–9, he then refers to a request that he has received from his correspondents in Gaul for information about 'what the Easterns have said in their confessions of faith'. This leads him to the first, or historical part, §§ 10–63, of his treatise, on the Creeds drawn up, since the Council of Nicaea, in four divisions: (*a*) first among them are, §§ 10, 11, the 'Blasphemy'[6] and, §§ 12–28, twelve of the anathemas of Ancyra, on which he comments. But, § 28, these were the work of a few bishops only. His friends will therefore get a better idea of Eastern opinion from other formularies, viz. §§ 29–33; (*b*) the Dedication Creed of Antioch.[7] This, they will feel, is somewhat inadequate, specially in regard to the exact likeness of the Father

[1] Soz. *H. E.* IV. xvi, §§ 1–5. [2] Ibid., § 16.
[3] Ibid. IV. xvii, § 1. [4] Ibid. IV. xvi, §§ 19–22.
[5] Text in Hilary, *Op.* ii. 457–520 (*P. L.* x. 479–546); tr. in *N. & P.-N. F.* ix. 4; summary in ibid. 1–3, and Gwatkin, *Arianism* [2], 168–70.
[6] Hahn [3], § 161. [7] Ibid., § 154.

and the Son. The Synod, however, was held not to contradict Anomoean teaching, but teaching of a Sabellian tendency. Anyhow, the similarity of the Son's essence to that of the Father appears to him to be sufficiently guarded, § 33, by 'Deum de Deo, totum ex toto'. Thirdly, (*c*) the Creed of Philippopolis,[1] §§ 34–7, is an emphatic condemnation of genuine Arianism, for it asserts that the Son is 'Deus ex Deo'; while (*d*) the Long Sirmian,[2] with its twenty-seven anathemas, separately considered, §§ 38–61, is quite to be commended. If, §§ 62–3, the Westerns wonder at this multitude of definitions, they should remember that the Easterns are more troubled with heresies, and have no choice. 'Asia' presents a piteous contrast to the fidelity of the West. And so ends the first part of the *De synodis*. The second part, §§ 64–92, is theological, and begins, §§ 64–5, with a confession of his own belief. Hilary then passes, § 66, to a discussion of terms. And, first, §§ 67–71, of the ὁμοούσιον. Three wrong meanings may be attached to it; for it may be taken to imply (*α*) that there are no personal distinctions in the Trinity, (*β*) that the Divine Essence is capable of division, (*γ*) that the Father and the Son partake of a 'prior substance'. There are, of course, risks such as these; but there is no risk if we understand the term to mean that the Father is unbegotten and that the Son derives His being from the Father, and is like Him in power and honour and nature. The term then may be rightly used, and as rightly forborne. But, secondly, §§ 72–5, is not the ὁμοιούσιον equally open to a wrong, and a right use? 'Really like' means 'really equal'; and, § 76, the Western bishops should not forget that. But if so, § 77, it is for the Easterns, as well, to drop their suspicions. The semi-Arians, § 78, spoke out bravely at Ancyra. Let them, § 79, beware of Valens and Ursacius; but also, § 81, let them withdraw the letter they wrote at Ancyra, rejecting the ὁμοούσιον. There are but three grounds for such rejection: (*α*) that it implies a 'prior substance', (*β*) that it involves the teaching of Paul of Samosata, and (*γ*) that it is not in Scripture. But the first two grounds are mere illusions, and the third is as fatal to ὁμοιούσιον.[3] We, § 82, mean the same: why, then, §§ 83–4, decline the term which the Council of Nicaea adopted for an end admittedly good? Of course, § 85, ὁμοούσιον is capable of misconstruction: so are

[1] Hahn[3], § 158. [2] Ibid., § 160. [3] Document No. 26.

several interesting passages in Scripture. If, § 86, the eighty bishops at Antioch condemned the Samosatene abuse of the term, it was still open to the three hundred and eighteen at Nicaea to sanction its use in a true sense. Further, § 88, the Creed of Nicaea introduced no novelty; but only confirmed the faith I had before I heard of it, and what was not, § 91, till after I was baptized and consecrated bishop, and was just going into exile. Moreover, § 89, ὁμοιούσιον is not without its dangers, and it is both ambiguous and defective besides. I make no objection, § 90, to your having dropped certain of the Ancyran anathemas on your way to Sirmium—you, I mean, my friends Basil, Eustathius, and Eleusius; only, do not bring them up again. For, after all, § 91, you are not Arians, excuse my saying it: why not then adopt the one unequivocal term, and stand side by side with us in defence of the common faith? To this, § 92, you, my friends in Gaul, will also be true.

Basil and his friends, it may be supposed, were anxiously considering these advances when they were outwitted again.

Secondly, as to a Creed.[1] Fearing that the coming Synod or Synods would draw up a Creed, Valens and his party planned an ambiguous formulary which should do no harm to the Anomoeans and yet satisfy the Emperor and the semi-Arians. It would be better, they said, to have something prepared beforehand for the Synod. The semi-Arians fell into the trap; and Mark, bishop of Arethusa in Syria, who belonged to the 'left' wing[2] of their following, was chosen to draw it up.[3] Thus was produced the formulary incorrectly called the third, but better the fourth, Sirmian Creed; but better known still as the Dated Creed,[4] because of its preamble, 'The Catholic Faith was published in the presence of our Master, the most religious and gloriously victorious Emperor, Constantius Augustus, the eternal and august . . . in Sirmium A.D. xi kal. Iun.', i. e. on Whitsun-Eve, 22 May 359. It was, then, the work of a sort of preliminary committee for the Council of Ariminum; and it is remarkable for the following

[1] Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 444–5.

[2] Robertson, *Ath.* lv.

[3] So the letter of Germinius, bishop of Sirmium, in Hilary, *Fragm.* xv, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 708; *P. L.* x. 721 sq.).

[4] It was drawn up in Latin (ibid. Socr. *H. E.* II. xxxvii, § 17; Soz. *H. E.* IV. xvii, § 3), but the original is lost: for the Greek, see Ath. *De syn.*, § 8 (*Op.* ii. 576; *P. G.* xxvi. 692 sq.), and Socr. *H. E.* II. xxxvii, §§ 18–24, and Hahn [3], § 163. For its character see Gwatkin, *Arianism* [2], 170 sq.; tr. Document No. 28.

expressions descriptive of ' the Only-begotten Son '—' who before all ages and before all beginning . . . was begotten impassibly from God ' ; ' like (*ὅμοιον*) to the Father which begat Him, according to the Scriptures (*κατὰ τὰς γραφάς*) ' ; ' who descended into the parts beneath the earth, and regulated the things there, whom the gate-keepers of Hades saw and shuddered '.[1] The Creed concludes with a note in respect of the term ' essence ' (*οὐσία*). ' We have thought good to remove it . . . because the divine Scriptures nowhere use it of the Father and the Son ' ; and yet ' We say that the Son is like the Father in all things (*ὅμοιον . . . κατὰ πάντα*), as also the Holy Scriptures say and teach.' This last clause was a concession by the Arianizing members of the conference to the semi-Arians. But, on the whole, the Creed is Homoean. The semi-Arian assertion that ' the Son is . . . before all beginning ' is balanced by the Homoean protest against the term ' essence ' ; and the concession seemingly involved in *κατὰ πάντα*, as if a likeness in ' essence ' were thereby included, is limited, or, in fact, taken back by the qualifications of *κατὰ τὰς γραφάς* and ' *ὡς αἱ ἅγιαι γραφαὶ λέγουσι*, which, as the note to the Creed asserts, make no mention of essence '. The mention of the descent into Hades may point, like the Latin in which it was written,[2] to the Western origin of the Creed.

On the whole, then, though much of its language is conservative, the semi-Arians found, on reflection, that they had lost by the acceptance of this formulary. There were plenty of loopholes in it for Anomoeans. Basil, therefore, in signing it, added a note to the effect that by ' like ' he meant ' in all things, not only in will but in person and in existence and in essence '[3] ; and he followed up his signature by a minute, in his own name and in that of George, bishop of Laodicea, intended to remove all ambiguity. It is preserved by Epiphanius[4] ; and by the Nicenes in exile would be ' hailed as a surrender at discretion '.[5] Valens, on the contrary, wanted to sign to *ὅμοιον* without *κατὰ πάντα* ; but the Emperor compelled him to add these words. His reason, of course, was that *ὅμοιον* by itself—strange as it may seem—would have left room for his friends the Anomoeans ; for it might always be

[1] Job xxxviii. 17 (LXX).

[2] Socr. *H. E.* II. xxxvii, § 17 ; Soz. *H. E.* IV. xvii, § 3.

[3] *Κατὰ πάντα δέ, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν βούλησιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὕπαρξιν καὶ κατὰ τὸ εἶναι*, Epiph. *Haer.* lxxiii, § 22 (*Op* ii. 869 ; *P. G.* xlii. 444 B).

[4] Ibid., §§ 12–22 (*Op.* ii. 859–70 ; *P. G.* xlii. 425–44) ; summary in Gwatkin, *Arianism* [2], 172 sq.

[5] Gwatkin, *Arianism* [2], 173.

interpreted merely of that moral similitude which all granted. Indeed, ὅμοιον by itself, as Gregory Nazianzen observes of ὅμοιον κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, was 'a bait for simple minds', among them Ulphilas, bishop of the Goths 341–†81, and 'a boot that would fit either foot'.[1] Constantius himself was alive to this. He fancied himself as a theologian; and, at any rate, was never an Anomoean. So he forced Valens to put his hand to 'like in all things'.[2] Nevertheless, a substantial victory remained with Valens and his friends; for, under their management, the Emperor had drifted away from the semi-Arian side.[3]

(2) Things were now well in train for the Council of Ariminum.[4] It began well. In the summer of 359, 'over four hundred' bishops assembled,[5] including three from Britain, who were so poor that, rather than burden their brethren, they accepted the Emperor's offer of maintenance at the public cost—an offer which the others declined so as not to be beholden to him.[6] For, in spite of the persecutions of 355–6, a large majority were attached to the Nicene Faith: chief among them, Restitutus, bishop of Carthage, Phoebadius of Agen, and Servatius of Tongres. The Roman church was not represented; for there were, just now, two popes, and it would have been awkward to choose between them. The Arianizers mustered about eighty, Valens, Ursacius, Germinius, and Auxentius, bishop of Milan 355–†74, being the chief. Taurus, the Praetorian Prefect of Italy, represented the Emperor; and he was under orders not to let the bishops depart until they had agreed.[7] After completing the draft of the Creed, 22 May, Valens and his associates left the Court with an imperial missive, preserved by Hilary,[8] and addressed, under date of 27 May, to the prelates at Ariminum. It directs them, § 1, 'to treat,' before all things, 'on faith and unity'; and then, § 2, to send ten deputies to Court who might confer with ten from Seleucia (whither similar

[1] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxi, § 22 (*Op.* i. 400; *P. G.* xxxv. 1108 A).
[2] Epiph. *Haer.* lxxiii, § 22 (*Op.* ii. 869; *P. G.* xlii. 444 A).
[3] Newman, *Arians*[5], 343 sq.
[4] The authorities are: (1) Narrative: Socr. *H. E.* II. xxxvii; Soz. *H. E.* IV. xvii–xix; Thdt. *H. E.* II. vii; Sulpicius Severus, *H. S.* ii, §§ 41–5 (*P. L.* xx. 152–5); Jerome, *Adv. Luciferianos*, §§ 17, 18 (*Op.* ii. 188–91; *P. L.* xxiii. 170–2); (2) Documents in Hilary, *Fragm.* vii–ix (*Op.* ii. 683–93; *P. L.* x. 695–705); and Ath. *De syn.*, §§ 8–11 (*Op.* ii. 576–80; *P. G.* xxvi. 691–702).
[5] So Ath. *De syn.*, § 8, but the number is probably exaggerated; Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 174, n. 3. [6] Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sacr.* ii, § 41 (*P. L.* xx. 152 B).
[7] Ibid. [8] Hilary, *Fragm.* vii, §§ 1, 2 (*Op.* ii. 683 sq.; *P. L.* x. 695 sq.).

instructions had been dispatched[1]) in the imperial presence. 'It is not fitting', wrote the Emperor, in this model of Caesaropapism, 'that you', as Westerns, 'should take any decision whatever regarding Easterns; if you do, it will be of no effect.' The letter thus takes advantage of the growing separation between the Latin-speaking and the Greek-speaking portions of the Empire. It is evidence of the fatal cleavage to come. Strictly confined, then, within these limits, the Council, on 21 July, opened its proceedings: the majority in the church, the Arianizers in a separate building.[2] Valens and his friends proposed the adoption of the Dated Creed; recommending it as quite simple, as exclusively Scriptural in its terminology, and as already approved by the Emperor.[3] The majority replied by proposing an anathema against Arianism, and declaring any new formulary in place of the Nicene unnecessary. This was refused.[4] They therefore decided (*a*) to approve the Nicene Creed and the use of the word 'essence'[5]; and proceeded (*b*) to depose and excommunicate Ursacius, Valens, Germinius, and Gaius of Illyria as 'disturbers of the Church',[6] and (*c*) to anathematize the errors of Arians, Sabellians, and Photinians.[7] These decisions they communicated to Constantius in a letter,[8] important for its insistence on 'No innovations'. For it marks the principle on which this, and every other Catholic Council, proceeded; and is a cardinal instance of the fact that the demand for Council after Council and for definition after definition emanated from Arians and not from Catholics. The minority, on this occasion, true to its traditions, gave in its adherence to the imperial formulary. Each side then sent its deputation to the Emperor.[9] The Arianizers arrived first, and were better led.[10] He had left Sirmium, 18 June[11]; and they found him preoccupied

[1] Soz. *H. E.* IV. xvii, § 1.
[2] Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sacr.* ii, § 41 (*P. L.* xx. 152 C).
[3] Soz. *H. E.* IV. xvii, §§ 3–5; Thdt. *H. E.* II. xviii, § 2; Hilary, *Fragm.* viii, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 688; *P. L.* x. 700 B).
[4] Ath. *De syn.*, § 9 (*Op.* ii. 577; *P. G.* xxvi. 693 sq.).
[5] 'Placet ergo nihil novum fieri: substantiae quoque nomen et rem . . . obtinere debere sui firmitatem,' says their *Definitio Catholica*, *ap.* Hilary, *Fr.* vii, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 684 sq.; *P. L.* x. 697 B).
[6] Hilary, *Fr.* vii, § 4 (*Op.* ii. 685; *P. L.* x. 697 sq.).
[7] Ibid., § 4 (*Op.* ii. 686; *P. L.* x. 698 B, C).
[8] Given, in Latin, by Hilary, *Fr.* viii, §§ 1–3 (*Op.* ii. 687–9; *P. L.* x. 699–701); and, in Greek, by Ath. *De syn.*, § 10 (*Op.* ii. 577–9; *P. G.* xxvi. 695–700); Socr. *H. E.* II. xxxvii, §§ 54–74; Soz. *H. E.* IV. xviii.
[9] Hilary, *Fragm.* viii, § 4 (*Op.* ii. 689; *P. L.* x. 701 C).
[10] Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sacr.* ii, § 41 (*P. L.* xx. 152 D).
[11] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 301.

by the renewal of hostilities with Persia, and in a mood of irritation against the Council,[1] which had presumed to prefer its own to the imperial creed. Constantius detained the orthodox deputies,[2] and sent a cold letter to the bishops at Ariminum, explaining that he had directed them to await his return at Adrianople for, at present, he was too busy to attend to them.[3] But the Council replied that they would stand to their resolution ; let the Emperor therefore give them leave to go home before the winter set in.[4] And so ended the Catholic phase of the Council of Ariminum—the only phase known to Athanasius when he wrote his *De synodis* before 10 October 359.

(3) Meanwhile, the Council of Seleucia[5] assembled, 27 September —1 October 359, at the metropolis of Isauria. There were about a hundred and sixty bishops present[6] ; of whom a hundred and ten to twenty were semi-Arians, including Basil of Ancyra, absent from the first session, George of Laodicea, Eleusius of Cyzicus, Sophronius of Pompeiopolis in Paphlagonia, Silvanus of Tarsus, and Cyril of Jerusalem ; about forty were Arianizers, headed by the two intruded patriarchs, George of Alexandria and Eudoxius of Antioch, and led by Acacius of Caesarea with Uranius of Tyre in his following ; finally, a few were Nicenes, including Hilary of Poitiers (who, though an exile, was summoned thither), and some Egyptians who were friends of Athanasius, but, for this reason, helpless. The Arianizers were but a handful ; yet they had the advantage of a clear policy and of the Court being in their favour, and they were skilfully led by Acacius. Their adversaries, though in a majority, were under chiefs who had compromised themselves by signing the Dated Creed ; and the lead fell into the hands of men of the second rank—Silvanus, George, Eleusius, and Sophronius, instead of Basil. But Hilary, who says that he found at Seleucia ' as many blasphemers as it pleased Constantius to

[1] Socr. *H. E.* II. xxxvii, § 76.

[2] Ibid., § 77 ; Soz. *H. E.* IV. xix, §§ 1, 2 ; Thdt. II, xix, § 14.

[3] Ath. *De syn.*, § 55 (*Op.* ii. 613 ; *P. G.* xxvi. 792 A, B) ; Socr. *H. E.* II. xxxvii, §§ 78–81.

[4] Ath. *De syn.*, § 55 (*Op.* ii. 613–14 ; *P. G.* xxvi. 792 sq.) ; Socr. *H. E.* II. xxxvii, §§ 83–7 ; Thdt. *H. E.* II. xx.

[5] Ath. *De syn.*, § 12 (*Op.* ii. 580 ; *P. G.* xxvi. 761) ; Hilary, *Contra Const. Imp.*, §§ 12–15 (*Op.* ii. 571–5 ; *P. L.* x. 590–3) ; Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sacr.* ii, § 42 (*P. L.* xx. 152–3) ; Socr. *H. E.* II. xxxix, xl ; Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxii ; Thdt. *H. E.* II. xxvi, §§ 4–11 ; Mansi, iii. 315–16 ; Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 946–55 ; *E. Tr.* ii. 261–71 ; Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 466–79 ; Fleury, iii. 544–53 ; Newman, *Arians*[5], 345 sq. ; Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 176–9.

[6] Ibid.[2], note G, pp. 194–6.

assemble ',[1] was a host in himself ; and he made the most of his opportunity to cement the union of the majority with the Nicenes. They accepted his assurances that Gaul was not Sabellian,[2] and received him into communion on Sunday, 26 September 359.

Next morning the Council opened for its first session, 27 September, under the eye of the Quaestor Leonas, as moderator in the interest of the Government, and under the protection of the military commander Lauricius. It was convenient, so the Court party would think, to have troops at hand for other work than that of suppressing the Isaurian marauders.[3] At the outset, the question arose whether they should treat first of the Faith or of personal grievances : those, for instance, against Macedonius for his cruelties,[4] or of Cyril against his metropolitan Acacius. Leonas wished to begin with the Faith, and it was decided to take doctrine first. Two parties at once manifested themselves. The minority wanted the rejection of the word *οὐσία*, and a Homoean formulary like that which Mark had drawn up at Sirmium and Basil had signed. But the semi-Arians demanded the Dedication Creed, or even the Nicene Creed itself *minus* the *ὁμοούσιον*. To this they objected no longer on the ground that it was not to be found in Scripture, but only that ' it was obscure and so open to suspicion '[5] ; and they seem to have accepted *ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρός* without scruple. The dispute continued till late in the evening, till at last it was brought to a close by Silvanus declaring, in loud and peremptory tones, ' for no new confession but only the Creed of Antioch '. It was read, and the Acacians withdrew.

At a second session, 28 September, the majority met again and adopted the Lucianic Creed, with closed doors—a proceeding which drew a tart remark from Acacius that ' what was done in a corner was of no validity '. He and his friends protested in private to Leonas, who shared their view.

At the third session, 29 September, they presented themselves again. They refused to take their seats till certain accused bishops of the majority had withdrawn ; and, when they had thus thinned the ranks of their opponents by the exclusion of their leaders,

[1] Hilary, *Contra Const. Imp.*, § 12 (*Op.* ii. 572 ; *P. L.* x. 590 A).
[2] Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sacr.* ii, § 42 (*P. L.* xx. 153 B).
[3] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 176, n. 2.
[4] Socr. *H. E.* II. xxxviii.
[5] Ath. *De syn.*, § 12 (*Op.* ii. 580 ; *P. G.* xxvi. 761 C).

Leonas produced and read the document which Acacius had handed in by way of protest, the night before. It turned out to be a new 'Creed, with a preface'.[1] 'We have no objection', said their preface in effect, 'to the Lucianic formulary; but the time has come when we ought to reject both ὁμοούσιον and ὁμοιούσιον as not found in Scripture. As for the newly coined ἀνόμοιον, we utterly reject it. But we clearly confess the likeness—τὸ ὅμοιον—of the Son to the Father according to the Apostles' words: "Who is the image of the invisible God".' Then follows their Creed, 'the "Dated Creed," revised for Eastern acceptance'.[2] The purport of this document lay, no doubt, in the ambiguity latent in ὅμοιον.

For, next day, at the fourth session, 30 September, the semi-Arians wanted to know what 'likeness' meant, since here lay the dividing line between themselves and the Homoeans. Was it a moral or a substantial likeness? A likeness of will, or of essence as well? The Acacians meant, if they did not say, 'of will only'; and this is what Hilary rightly denounces in them as 'dishonest'.[3] 'What then', Acacius was asked, 'did he mean by his former ὅμοιον κατὰ πάντα. A whole day was spent over this altercation, and Leonas dissolved the Council.

Next day, 1 October 359, as the Quaestor refused to go near the Council again, and the Homoeans were satisfied with having prevented it from coming to a decision against them, the majority met by themselves. They went into the case of Cyril of Jerusalem against his metropolitan Acacius, and restored him. Acacius they deposed, with others of his party, including the two intruders, George of Alexandria and Eudoxius of Antioch. They even attempted to set Anianus on the throne of Eudoxius, but he was exiled by Count Leonas. So ended the last of the three notable semi-Arian synods (Antioch, 341; Ancyra, 358; and Seleucia, 359); and, by October 359, semi-Arianism had triumphed in the East, while orthodoxy was, so far, victorious in the West.

The scene now changes to the Court of Constantius; and its interest centres in the intrigues which ended in, 31 December 359, the breakdown of Western orthodoxy and Eastern semi-Arianism; January, 360, the Council of Constantinople, and the triumph of

[1] Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxii, § 14; preface and Creed are in Ath. *De syn.*, § 29 (*Op.* ii. 596; *P. G.* xxvi. 744 sq.), and in Hahn [3], § 165.

[2] Gwatkin, *Arianism* [2], 178.

[3] Hilary, *Contra Const. Imp.*, § 20 (*Op.* ii. 577; *P. G.* xxvi. 596 A).

the Homoeans ; before the last year and the death, 3 November 361, of Constantius.

(4) The breakdown of opposition to the Court theology took place both in West and East.

(*a*) It began with an assault on Western orthodoxy. Restitutus and the orthodox deputies of Ariminum had been kept waiting some time at Adrianople, when they received orders to meet the Arianizing deputation, under Valens and Ursacius, at the small town of Nicè in Thrace. It had been chosen in hope of confusion with Nicaea.[1] Here, on 10 October 359,[2] the orthodox envoys of Ariminum were induced ' through weariness of long delay ',[3] to sacrifice the decisions of their own Synod, and to sign a revision of the Dated Creed which was now put forth as ' Nicene '.[4] It rejects both *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις*, and adopts *ὅμοιον* but without *κατὰ πάντα* ; and the offensive heading, which had conceded the title ' eternal ' to the Emperor, while its authors denied it to the Son, was, with the date, omitted. The envoys then received permission to return, but the bishops at once disowned and excommunicated them. Meanwhile, the Prefect Taurus had received fresh orders to detain the members of the Council till those who declined the new ' Nicene ' Creed should be reduced to fifteen. They were then to be sent into exile.[5] With the Court thus at their back, and the Catholic bishops under pressure, the Arianizers plied them with misrepresentations and suggestions. ' The Easterns ', they said, ' would never accept the term *οὐσία*.' ' Was it right to stand out so stiffly for it, when, the moment they gave it up, divisions would be at an end ? All that was wanted was to say simply that the Son is like the Father.' [6] ' After all, is it Christianity you want, or only a formula ? Which do you worship —Christ or the *ὁμοούσιον* ? ' [7] In this way the greater number were deceived [8] without understanding the matter,[9] half-frightened and half-wearied into compliance.[10] But twenty bishops,

[1] Socr. *H. E.* II. xxxvii, § 96 ; Soz. *H. E.* IV. xix, §§ 7, 8 ; Thdt. *H. E.* II. xxi, § 1.

[2] Hilary, *Fragm.* viii, § 5 (*Op.* ii. 690 ; *P. L.* x. 702 A).

[3] Ibid., § 4 (*Op.* ii. 689 ; *P. L.* x. 701 C).

[4] Given in Ath. *De syn.*, § 30 (*Op.* ii. 596 sq. ; *P. G.* xxvi. 745 sqq.) ; Socr. *H. E.* II. xli, §§ 8–16 ; Thdt. *H. E.* II. xxi, §§ 3–7 ; Hahn [3], § 164.

[5] Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sacr.* ii, § 43 (*P. L.* xx. 153 C, D).

[6] Soz. *H. E.* IV. xix, § 9.

[7] Rufinus, *H. E.* i, § 21 (*P. L.* xxi. 494 A).

[8] Augustine, *Contra Maximinum*, II. xiv, § 3 (*Op.* viii. 704 E ; *P. L.* xlii. 772).

[9] Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sacr.* ii, § 43.

[10] See their piteous letter to the Emperor, asking him to let them go, Hilary, *Fragm.* ix (*Op.* ii. 691–2 ; *P. L.* x. 703–5).

headed by Phoebadius of Agen and Servatius of Tongres, all Gallic, still held out. The Prefect exerted fresh pressure, and urged them to consider the sufferings of their colleagues, who had already been shut up for more than six months in the town, and could now only look forward to winter and poverty. Then Valens and Ursacius tried to undermine their resolution with milder insinuations. Is the Creed so heretical as you think? Satisfy the Emperor's orders by signing it, and you can then add each what he likes. The twenty stalwarts began to consider, and then took the bait. Phoebadius and Servatius, representing the rest, set to work to draw up a series of 'professions', aided by the intriguers. Valens threw in one himself. 'Anathema to those who say that the Son is a creature like other creatures.'[1] And they all signed it without detecting the quibble. Thus the 'Nicene' Creed became the Creed of Ariminum, for the rest succumbed and accepted both Creed and anathemas, as they were read aloud in the church.[2] Valens and Ursacius headed a deputation, for the second time, to carry the news to the Emperor; and then, to quote Jerome's famous account of 'the shameful close of what had begun so well',[3] 'the whole world groaned in astonishment to find itself Arian'.[4] Nor was this mere Hieronymian rhetoric.

(*b*) For before their arrival, Eastern semi-Arianism had been broken down too. The majority at Seleucia returned to their sees, after having sent[5] the deputation of ten to report to the Emperor at Constantinople—Basil, Eustathius, Eleusius, Silvanus, and others.[6] They were accompanied by Hilary[7] who took advantage of his presence in Constantinople to write, and present in person, his second book *Ad Constantium*[8]—a request to be heard in defence both, § 3, of himself and, §§ 8–11, of the Faith. But the Acacian deputies from Seleucia had got to the capital first, and were already in possession of the ear of Constantius. It was for the semi-Arians to try to detach him from their rivals; and they

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sacr.* ii, § 44 (*P. L.* xx. 154 B, C).
[2] Jerome, *Dial. adv. Lucif.*, § 18 (*Op.* ii. 190; *P. L.* xxiii. 172 A), and Document No. 137.
[3] Sulp. Sev. *Hist Sacr.* ii, § 44 (*P. L.* xx. 154 D).
[4] Jerome, *Dial. adv. Lucif.*, § 19 (*Op.* ii. 191; *P. L.* xxiii. 172 C), and Document No. 137.
[5] Soz. *H. E.* iv. xxiii, § 1.
[6] Thdt. *H. E.* ii. xxvii, § 4.
[7] Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sacr.* ii, § 45 (*P. L.* xx. 154 D).
[8] Hilary, *Op.* ii. 543–50 (*P. L.* x. 563–72): for an analysis of it see *N. & P.-N. F.* ix. xxi–xxiii.

did so by drawing his attention to the blasphemies of Eudoxius.[1] Basil, indeed, was told to hold his tongue; but Eustathius produced an exposition of faith which he attributed to Eudoxius, and which was frankly Anomoean. This roused Constantius. He was quite unprepared for it and, turning to Eudoxius, asked what it meant. Eudoxius disowned it, and said that its author was Aetius. The Emperor sent for Aetius, who, knowing nothing of what had passed, immediately confessed to it. A sentence of banishment was prepared against him, and he was 'cast out of the palace'.[2] Thereupon Eustathius, having got rid of Aetius, was minded to finish off Eudoxius; and, pressing home his advantage, persisted that he was practically at one with his protégé Aetius. Eudoxius was at once commanded to disavow the paper which he had put off upon Aetius. To escape exile he did so, verbally and formally repudiating Anomoeanism.[3] But, quick to revenge himself, he demanded that the semi-Arians should give up the ὁμοιούσιον as unscriptural. They had the courage to defend it. But the Emperor, angry at their persistence, drove them into exile.[4] He would now say that he had rebuked both extremes. But the net result was that the Homoeans were left masters of the field; and that, both in East and West alike.

For now arrived the second deputation from Ariminum, headed by Valens and Ursacius, with the creed of Nicè as accepted in the West.[5] The semi-Arians urged them to have nothing to do with the virtual patrons of the Anomoeans, and let them know what had recently happened. Of course Valens ignored the advice, and made common cause with Acacius. The Homoean alliance at once retaliated by calling upon the semi-Arians to accept the Creed of Ariminum[6]; and the question was, Could they be deceived or browbeaten, as the Westerns had been, into so doing? At first they refused, objecting to the removal of 'essence'. But when Acacius assured them that he and his friends were no Anomoeans; when the Emperor insisted that, whereas ὁμοιούσιον was unscriptural, ὅμοιον was to be found in the Scriptures, and was really just as good[7]; when he went on to demand with threats that they also, like the followers of Valens and of Acacius, should

[1] Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxiii, §§ 4–8; and, specially, Thdt. *H. E.* II. xxvii, §§ 4–23. For the syllogism, constructed by Eudoxius, in favour of the ἀνόμοιον, see Thdt. *H. E.* II. xxvii, § 6.

[2] Ibid., § 13. [3] Ibid., § 16. [4] Ibid., § 21.

[5] Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sacr.* ii, § 45 (*P. L.* x. 154 D).

[6] Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxiii, § 5. [7] Ibid., § 7.

put their hand to this 'Nicene' Creed—their constancy at last gave way. On 31 December 359 Constantius, having discussed the matter far into the night, extorted their signatures [1]; he could now begin the new year, and the year of his tenth consulate, with the religion of his Empire at peace. It was a much-desired, but, when achieved under such pressure, a useless victory. For the time, till the Emperor's death, it seemed the triumph of the Homoeans. It did not bring about the peace of the Church.

§ 5. The Homoeans, at the Council of Constantinople,[2] January 360, stayed to follow up their success. The pretext was the approaching dedication, 15 February, of Constantine's great church,[3] afterwards rebuilt [4] by Justinian 527–†65. It was dedicated to our Lord as St. Sophia. The semi-Arians of the Hellespont prudently declined to attend; with the result that the synod, of seventy-two [5] bishops in all, was completely dominated by the Homoeans, largely from Bithynia.[6] Among those present, besides Acacius and Eudoxius, were George of Laodicea, who had now changed over to the winning side, Maris of Chalcedon, and Ulphilas, bishop of the Goths. Hilary, who was still in the capital, wanted to dispute with them [7]; but the Emperor sent him back, as the cause of all disturbance in the East.[8]

The proceedings of the Council covered four points.

First, they ratified the Creed of Nicè [9]; of course, without the anathemas of Phoebadius and his companions, which had now served their turn. Thus ὅμοιον alone became the official standard of the religion of the Empire. Strictly, it excluded only Catholics and semi-Arians; not, necessarily, Anomoeans. But as the Emperor abhorred the Anomoeans, prudence required the bishops to risk a schism in their ranks [10] by condemning the representative of these ultra-Arians.

Second, therefore, the Council made a scapegoat of Aetius.[11]

[1] Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxiii, § 8.

[2] Socr. *H. E.* II. xli; Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxiv; Thdt. II. xxviii; Mansi, iii. 325–36; Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 956–9; *E. Tr.* ii. 271; Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 487 sqq.; Fleury, iii. 562 sqq.; Gwatkin, *Arianism* [2], 184 sq.

[3] Socr. *H. E.* II. xliii, § 11.

[4] Paulus Diaconus [? 720–?†790], *Historia Langobardorum*, i. § 25, *ap. Scriptores rerum Langobardorum*, saec. vi–ix, ed. G. Waitz (Hannoverae, 1878). [5] Gwatkin, *Arianism* [2], 184, n. 2. [6] Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxiv, § 1.

[7] Hilary, *Ad Const.* ii, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 544; *P. L.* x. 565 B).

[8] Sulp. Sev. *H. E.* ii, § 45 (*P. L.* xx. 155 A).

[9] Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxiv, § 1.

[10] Thdt. *H. E.* II. xxviii, § 6; Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxv, § 5.

[11] The synodal letter deposing him is addressed to George, bishop of Alexandria, whose deacon he was. It is given in Thdt. *H. E.* II. xxviii.

Consistency also required this; and he was banished first to Mopsuestia[1] in Cilicia and afterwards to Amblada[2] in Pisidia.

Third, the Council put down the semi-Arians by charges not against their faith (for this was impossible, as they had signed the Creed of Nicè) but against their conduct. Irregularities of one kind or another were imputed—in some cases not unjustly—to Macedonius[3] of Constantinople, Basil, Eleusius, Eustathius, Cyril, Sophronius; and they were deposed and banished.[4] The vacancies were then filled by Homoeans, and even by Anomoeans—a clear indication of the veiled sympathies of the Council, nine of whose members had not been afraid to vote against the sentence on Aetius. Thus Eudoxius, in spite of his profanities,[5] became bishop of Constantinople 360–†70, and Eunomius[6] bishop of Cyzicus 360–†93.

The fourth and last measure was, true to the Arian tradition of making and enforcing new formularies,[7] to send the Creed of Nicè to all the bishops of Christendom with an imperial letter, commanding them to sign or suffer for it.[8] The greater number signed[9]: among them Gregory,[10] bishop of Nazianzus 330–†74, the aged father of St. Gregory Nazianzene; and Dianius,[11] bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia 341–†62, the friend and patron of St. Basil.

§ 6. The Triumph of the Homoeans was now, to all appearance, assured. The cause of the Nicene Faith had been, humanly speaking, desperate again and again; but never had the outlook been so dark as in the year 360. Yet the triumph was not for long. In the West the Homoean ascendancy could only be maintained by force; and force was out of the question when Julian was compelled to assume a position of independence by the mutiny at Paris in May 360. A reaction set in, beginning from Gaul.

[1] Philostorgius, *H. E.* v, § 1 (*P. G.* lxv. 528 B, C). [2] Ibid., § 2 (529 B).

[3] For his violence, see Socr. *H. E.* II. xxxviii. Probably it was this which, as it provoked the wrath of Constantius (ibid. II. xlii, § 3), lost the semi-Arians, as a whole, his favour at this juncture. The Homoeans made good use of their chance. [4] Socr. *H. E.* II. xlii, xliii; Soz. *H. E.* II. xxiv, xxv.

[5] Socr. *H. E.* II. xliii, § 12.

[6] Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxv, § 6; Philostorgius, *H. E.* v, § 3 (*P. G.* lxv. 529 B).

[7] 'Annuas atque menstruas de Deo fides decernimus, decretis poenitemus,' Hilary, *Ad Const.* ii, § 5 (*Op.* ii. 546; *P. L.* x. 567 B).

[8] Socr. *H. E.* II. xliii, § 9; Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxvi, § 2.

[9] 'Omnes paene toto orbe ecclesiae, sub nomine pacis et regis, Arianorum consortio polluuntur,' Jerome, *Chron.* sub anno 363 (*Op.* viii; *P. L.* xxvii. 691–2).

[10] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xviii, § 18 (*Op.* i. 341; *P. G.* xxxv. 1005 C).

[11] Basil, *Ep.* li, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 144; *P. G.* xxxii. 389 C).

In the East the ascendancy lasted longer—indeed for twenty years. It was interrupted, it is true, by the reigns of Julian, 361–†3, and Jovian, 363–†4; but it was maintained by the bishops of Constantinople, Eudoxius, 360–†70, and Demophilus 370–80, and supported by the whole influence of the Court under the last Arian Emperor, Valens, 364–†78. But in the East, too, there were symptoms of revolt against the Homoeans. The Eunomians broke loose from Homoean leading strings; and the Macedonians began to form a party of their own.

(1) In the West, in spite of the pressure put upon bishops to subscribe, Liberius and Vincent of Capua were eminent among those who stood firm.[1] The pope recovered his former stedfastness, and refused to sign. The bishops of Gaul met in Council at Paris,[2] probably on Hilary's return; and, as one may say, under the protection of Julian's now independent army, November 360. They addressed a Synodal Letter[3] to the semi-Arians. In it they complain, § 1, specially of 'the tricks of the devil' which had led to the division of the Council, and had falsely made use of the authority of the Easterns to secure the rejection of *οὐσία* by the majority at, and by the deputies of, Ariminum; and, § 2, they justify the use of *οὐσία* and its derivatives *ὁμοούσιον* and *ὁμοιούσιον*. It is this movement that Sulpicius Severus associates with the return of Hilary[4]; while Jerome characteristically exults in Gaul, at his instigation, 'condemning the tricks of the Ariminian perfidy'.[5] A monument to Hilary's zeal at this crisis still exists in his *Contra Constantium*.[6] There is a marked change of tone between it and the two earlier pamphlets, *Ad Constantium*,[7] of 355 and 360 respectively; not unlike the contrast observable, in the case of Athanasius, between the respectful remonstrances of his *Apologia ad Constantium*[8] and the fierce denunciations of his *Historia Arianorum*.[9] But, just at this crisis, Hilary had seen enough to drive him to despair; and 'if we drive men to despair',

[1] Damasus, *Ep.* i (*P. L.* xiii. 349 A); Jaffé, No. 232: see Soz. *H. E.* VI. xxii. § 12, and Thdt. *H. E.* II. xxii, § 9. For the pressure put upon them see Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxi, § 24 (*Op.* ii. 400; *P. G.* xxxv. 1109 A).

[2] Mansi, iii. 357–62; Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 959 sq.; *E. Tr.* ii. 275.

[3] Hilary, *Fragm.* xi (*Op.* ii. 697–700; *P. L.* x. 710–13).

[4] Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sacr.* ii, § 45 (*P. L.* xx. 154).

[5] Jerome, *Chron.* ad ann. 364 (*Op.* viii; *P. L.* xxvii. 691–2).

[6] Hilary, *Op.* ii. 561–86 (*P. L.* x. 577–606); analysis in *N. & P.-N. F.* IX. xxv–xxviii.

[7] Ibid. *Op.* ii. 535–50 (*P. L.* x. 557–72).

[8] Ath. *Op.* i. 234–53 (*P. G.* xxv. 595–642).

[9] Ath. *Op.* i. 271–312 (*P. G.* xxv. 691–796).

we ought to be prepared to hear them speak the language of despair '.[1] The pamphlet is addressed to the bishops of Gaul, and is a bitter invective against Constantius, who has become, in Hilary's eyes, § 3, an anti-Christ. There is, § 4, much to be said for the days of open persecution. They nerve men to resist; and, if need be, to die for the truth. But now, § 5, the truth is perishing not under torture, but under the blandishment of bribes, good dinners, and invitations to Court. Hilary was, perhaps, too busy relieving his feelings to notice that the reaction against the Homoean ascendancy was really making head not only at home, but in the East as well.

(2) In the East two movements contributed to its progress.

First, the revolt of Eunomius[2] from Homoean tutelage. He had just been put in, by the Homoeans, as bishop of Cyzicus, 360–†93; and Eudoxius, their leader, advised him to be reserved.[3] It was against his nature, and he soon got tired of it. No sooner did he let his real sentiments appear than the people of Cyzicus raised a riot. They denounced him to Eudoxius, but he put them off. Then they went to the Emperor in person, who told Eudoxius to investigate the matter at once, or else he would banish them both.[4] Eudoxius, therefore, sent him a formal citation to appear, but gave him a hint in private to make himself scarce; and Eunomius was condemned in absence. Thus free, Eunomius avenged himself by breaking loose altogether from the Court party, and forming a sect of his own.[5] They were frankly Anomoean and ultra-Arian. For, whereas Arius had asserted of the Son that He does not fully understand the Father, who is thus ineffable and incomprehensible,[6] Eunomius, starting from the premiss of the absolute simplicity of the Divine Being, maintained not only that the Son is not ignorant of the Father, but that neither are we. In fact, there is no mystery at all about the Godhead. Yet, in spite of this difference between Anomoeanism and original Arianism, in that the latter clung to an apprehension of God by faith, while Eunomius and his followers taught a comprehension of God by science, there is, nevertheless, a development and a kinship between them. The rationalism that was latent in Arianism[7] from the first was openly taught by the ultra-Arians

[1] *D. C. B.* iii. 63. [2] Thdt. *H. E.* II. xxix. [3] Ibid., § 2.
[4] Ibid., §§ 7, 9. [5] Ibid., §§ 11, 12.
[6] So Arius in the *Thalia*, *ap.* Ath. *De syn.*, § 15 (*Op.* ii. 582; *P. G.* xxvi. 708 B). [7] W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo* [2], 139.

in the end. In answer to the question, 'Can man know God?' they said, 'Yes, absolutely'; and they put a counter-question to Catholics, by way of pouring contempt on their Creed, 'Do you worship that which you know, or that which you know not?' Basil met the dilemma by pointing to the ambiguity latent in the word 'know'; and he distinguished between that comprehension of God's essence which is unattainable, and the salutary knowledge of His moral attributes and of His operations which is open to all men.[1] In so replying, Basil did a service not only to Christianity but to theism; for it was by raising such questions that Arianism spread itself out beyond the Christian, into the general, doctrine of God. Theism suffered at the hands of Eunomius; for, by him and his school, the nature of God was reduced to something which the human mind could grasp. But, on looking at his *Expositio Fidei*,[2] 383, one would not, at first, think so. It begins: 'Our God and Saviour Jesus Christ.'[3] Soon, however, it becomes clear how little he meant by 'God'. For not only does it go on, almost in the language of the Koran, 'There is no companionship in the Godhead . . . God is one and alone[4] . . . and God has no Son',[5] but 'the Son is before all creation, Himself not uncreate',[6] 'begotten of the goodness of the Father,'[7] not of His essence, and 'created in order to create'.[8] And so we get back to another offence of the original Arianism in the eyes of a theist—its doctrine of a gradation of Gods. As if to mark its denial of a Trinity and completely cut itself off from all who confessed to the Trinitarian creed, whether Homoeans or others, Eunomianism adopted a baptism, by single immersion, into the death of Christ.[9]

Secondly, and about the same time, the other party, which had been roughly handled by the Homoeans at the Council of Constantinople, 360, began to manifest its independence of them; for Macedonianism[10] was a development of semi-Arianism which

[1] Basil, *Ep.* ccxxxiv. § 1 (*Op.* iv. 357; *P. G.* xxxii. 868 c); W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo* [2], 212, and Document No. 63.

[2] Given in the note of Valesius on Socr. *H. E.* v. x (iii. 375–8, ed. R. Hussey; or *P. G.* lxvii. 587–90).

[3] *P. G.* lxvii. 587 c. [4] Ibid. 587 D. [5] Ibid. 588 B.

[6] Ibid. 588 C. [7] Ibid. 588 C. [8] Ibid. 588 C.

[9] Socr. *H. E.* v. xxiv, § 6; and 'the seventh canon' of CP., 381; W. Bright, *Canons* [2], xxiv and 121.

[10] W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo* [2], 213, and *Later Treatises of St. Ath.* 5, note n (*L. F.* xlvi); H. B. Swete, *The early history of the doctrine of the H. S.* 51 (ed. 1873); and J. Tixeront, *History of dogmas*, ii. 58 sq.

took shape at this date. Athanasius, during his third exile, 356–62, wrote the four extant *Letters to Serapion* on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit; being moved to do so because he had lately 'heard with pain that some, who had left the Arians on account of their blasphemy against the Son of God, were beginning to entertain false notions against the Holy Spirit, and were saying that He was not only a creature but one of "the ministering spirits",[1] differing, indeed, from the angels only in degree'.[2] The theory had been anticipatorily excluded by St. Cyril of Jerusalem[3]; and we may reserve the consideration of it till it comes up in connexion with the revision of the 'Nicene' Creed, associated with the Council of Constantinople in 381. That its first appearance should be noted now, and its first adherents Macedonius and other semi-Arian victims of the Homoeans at Constantinople in 360, most of them prelates near the Hellespont[4]—these are indications of its historical, as distinguished from its subsequent theological, importance. We do not know how far Macedonius, after whom the Macedonians were called, professed the doctrine; but the appearance of the sect is a second symptom of growing opposition, even in the East and under the very eyes of Constantius, to the Homoean domination.

§ 7. At last this dominance came to an end with the last year and the death of Constantius, 361.

While Julian was spending Epiphany[5] at Vienne, and taking part there, for the last time, in Christian worship, Constantius was watching the business of the Persian War from Antioch,[6] till he set out, early in May, for the Persian frontier. The see of Antioch was now vacant, owing to the translation of Eudoxius to the capital. It was a difficult place to fill, for the Eustathians, ever since 331, had steadily maintained the Nicene Faith and ignored the crypto-Arian bishops; while the majority of the Catholics, under a sense of the primary obligation of unity, had kept in com-

[1] Heb. i. 14.

[2] Ath. *Ep. ad Serapionem*, i, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 517 sq.; *P. G.* xxvi. 529 sqq.), and Document No. 49.

[3] Cyril, *Cat.* viii, § 5 (*Op.* 123; *P. G.* xxxiii. 629 B).

[4] Socr. *H. E.* II. xlv; Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxvii; Thdt. *H. E.* II. vi.

[5] Amm. Marc. *Res Gestae*, XXI. ii, § 5. For the history and meaning of Epiphany, see J. Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*,[2] 401 sqq.

[6] Amm. Marc. XX. xi, § 32. He was at Edessa (Urfa) in the summer (ibid. XXI. vii, § 7); thence to Hierapolis (Mabug) in Euphratensis (ibid. XXI. xiii, § 8), returning in the late autumn to Antioch, and so by Tarsus to Mopsucrenae, at the foot of the Taurus (ibid. XXI. xv, § 2).

munion with them. The Emperor therefore summoned a Council,[1] 360–1, to make the appointment. The Homoeans were in the ascendant, and the choice fell on Meletius [2]—a man of beautiful character and of intellectual gifts—in every way likely to heal the dissensions [3] among the Christians of Antioch. Meletius had originally been bishop of Sebaste in Armenia I. He was now translated from Beroea (now Aleppo) in Syria.[4] But the Arianizers only remembered that he had filled the place of the semi-Arian Eustathius of Sebaste, and had signed their creed at Seleucia. That was enough. On reaching Antioch, he was escorted to the Cathedral, and bidden to preach (in succession to George of Laodicea, who had now gone over to the Court party and to its leader Acacius) on the crucial text, from *Proverbs* viii. 22. The sermon of Meletius is extant.[5] He practically confessed the ὁμοούσιον, though he did not use the term. The archdeacon rushed forward and clapped his hand over the bishop's mouth. But Meletius was equal to the occasion; and, by extending first three fingers and then one, repeated his discourse in dumb show.[6] His patrons, of course, were wholly unprepared for this development. They avenged themselves by procuring his banishment; and appointing in his place Euzoïus,[7] an intimate of Arius, whom Alexander had deposed from the diaconate.[8] An important advantage resulted to the orthodox from the elevation of Euzoïus. Catholic and heretic were no longer united in one communion; the Arians being thrown into the position of schismatics who had rejected their own bishop. Yet even so the Eustathians would not unite with the Meletians, i. e. the minority of the Catholics with the majority: they repudiated Meletius because he had been appointed by Arians, and they regarded the baptism of some of his adherents as invalid because it had been bestowed by Arians.[9] The Meletians accordingly continued to worship in the church

[1] Mansi, iii. 335 sq.; Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 960; *E. Tr.* ii. 275; Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 517; Fleury, iii. 592–9.

[2] Tillemont, *Mém.* viii. 341–78.

[3] Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxviii, §§ 3, 4; Thdt. *H. E.* II. xxxi, §§ 1–4.

[4] Socr. *H. E.* II. xliv, §§ 1, 2.

[5] Preserved in Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxxiii, §§ 29–33 (*Op.* ii. 876–82; *P. G.* xlii. 458–66).

[6] Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxviii, §§ 5–7; Thdt. *H. E.* II. xxxi, § 8, and Document No. 221.

[7] Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxviii, § 10; Thdt. *H. E.* II. xxxi, § 12; Philostorgius, *H. E.* v, § 3 (*P. G.* lxv. 531 A), and Document No. 222.

[8] *Depositio Arii*, § 2; Ath. *De syn.*, § 31 (*Op.* ii. 597; *P. G.* xxvi. 749 A).

[9] Tillemont, *Mém.* viii. 349 sqq.; Fleury, iii. 596–7.

of the Old Town,[1] and Euzoïus kept the sore open among his opponents by allowing the Eustathians to meet in a little church of their own [in the New Town], ostensibly out of regard for the high personal character of their leader, the priest Paulinus.[2]

Euzoïus, now bishop of Antioch, 361–†78, next held a synod,[3] 361, which promulgated one more Arian creed.[4] It was the last and the worst. It frankly called the Son a creature, ' made out of nothing ', and ' altogether unlike (*ἀνόμοιον*) the Father ' ; but yet went on to say that He is ' God of God '. Then, to justify this, they fell back on the wretched quibble invented by George of Laodicea that ' all things are of God '. But it covered them with such shame and reproach that they had to withdraw their creed, and content themselves with reaffirming the ' Nicene ' version of the Dated Creed adopted at Constantinople the year before.

No sooner was this done, than Euzoïus was sent for to the death-bed of Constantius. He baptized him as he lay *in extremis*[5] ; and on 3 November 361 the Emperor died, at the early age of forty-four, at Mopsucrenae in Cilicia.[6] His death was a momentous event, not only for its overthrow of the ascendancy of the Homoeans, but for its reversal of the relations of the Empire to Christianity. For a generation Tertullian's long-hoped-for marvel[7] had been attained, and the Caesars had been Christians. With what feelings, then, would the Christian world receive the startling tidings of the accession of Julian ? They could not have foreseen that, after a reign of two brief years, paganism would be found wanting, and the triumph assured not of Christianity only but of the Nicene Faith.

[1] Thdt. *H. E.* II. xxxi, § 11. [2] Socr. *H. E.* III. ix, § 4.

[3] Mansi, iii. 337–8; Socr. *H. E.* II. xlv, §§ 10–14, and Document No. 201; Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxix ; Ath. *De syn.*, § 31 (*Op.* ii. 597 ; *P. G.* xxvi. 748 sq.) ; Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 519 ; Fleury, iii. 597.

[4] For a list of the Arian creeds see Ath. *De syn.*, §§ 15–32 (*Op.* ii. 582–98 ; *P. G.* xxvi. 705–50). Tillemont reckons eighteen in all, and gives his list in *Mém.* vi. 521 sq. ; W. Bright reckons twenty, see *Hist. Wr. of St. Ath.* lxxxvii–xc.

[5] Ath. *De syn.*, § 31 (*Op.* ii. 597 ; *P. G.* xxvi. 749 A).

[6] Socr. *H. E.* II. xlvii ; Soz. *H. E.* V. i, § 6 ; Amm. Marc. XXI. xv, §§ 2, 3.

[7] Tert. *Apol.*, § xxi.

CHAPTER VII

JULIAN, 361–†3

CONSTANTIUS was succeeded, as he had intended[1] and at the invitation of his army,[2] by his first cousin, Julian,[3] the youngest son of Constantine's half-brother, Julius Constantius and his wife Basilina.[4] We may consider, first, the life and policy of Julian: and, next, the internal affairs of the Church during his reign.

I

§ 1. Julian was only thirty when he became Emperor, and his early life falls naturally into three periods—his youth as a Christian, 331–51, his conversion to heathenism, 351–5, and his career as Caesar, 355–61.

(1) Julian was born at Constantinople, 6 November 331, and while he would have no memory of his mother who died the next year,[5] his earliest recollections would be of horror at the murder of his relatives on the accession of Constantius. His father and his eldest brother, his father's brother, and his cousins, the Caesars Dalmatius and Hannibalian, with a sixth prince of the House of Constantine whose identity is uncertain, fell in the massacre, 337. Only Gallus and Julian escaped[6]: Gallus because he was ill, and Julian because of his youth.[7] They were but thirteen and six years old respectively; and they owed their safety to Mark, bishop of Arethusa.[8] Julian had a loveless childhood, with the martinet Mardonius, a family eunuch of his

[1] Amm. Marc. *Res Gestae*, XXV. xv, § 2. [2] Ibid. XXI. xvi.

[3] Our authorities are (1) Julian's own works, including eight *Orations*, *Letters* (reckoning therewith *Ad Themistium*, *Ad Athenienses*—the most valuable for his autobiography—and the *Fragment*), and *Books*, viz. *The Caesars*, *The Beard-hater*, and *Against the Christians*; all, save the last, in *Iuliani quae supersunt*, ed. F. C. Hertlein (Teubner, 1875–6); and text and tr. in W. C. Wright, *Julian* (Loeb Library, Heinemann, 2 vols. 1913). His laws are in *Cod. Theod.*; (2) Contemporaries: the heathen Ammianus Marcellinus and Libanius to be set off against Greg. Naz. *Orat. c. Iul.* i and ii (= *Orat.* iv and v; *Op.* i. 78–176; *P. G.* xxxv. 531–720). For modern books, see Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs*, iv. 483–576; Gibbon, cc. xxii–xxiv; J. Wordsworth in *D. C. B.* iii. 484–525; G. H. Rendall, *The Emperor Julian* (1879); Alice Gardner, *Julian* (1895), an apology for him; T. R. Glover, *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century*, c. iii (1901); Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], c. vi. [4] For a genealogical table see Rendall, 280.

[5] *Misopogon*, 352 B (ii. 454, ed. Hertlein).

[6] *Ep. ad Athen.* 270 C, D (ii. 348 sq.). [7] Soz. *H. E.* v. ii, § 9.

[8] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* iv, § 91 (*Op.* i. 125; *P. G.* 621 C).

mother's, for a tutor [1]; and for an instructor in religion the unlovely Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, with whom, on his mother's side, he was distantly connected.[2] After six years of this dull routine, Julian and his half-brother Gallus were removed from Constantinople, owing to the suspicions of Constantius, and sent,[3] 344, to the castle of Macellum in Cappadocia.[4] Here they were kept under surveillance; and great pains were taken to make them Christians, so far as tutors and outward observance could do it. But it was a poor sort of Christianity, forced upon its victims by 'the fear of Constantius',[5] whom Julian always shunned [6] and hated as 'the butcher of his family', and commended to them by slaves and bishops of the imperial Court. Gallus and Julian were not trained but drilled into it. Soon, however, Gallus escaped. For in 351 Constantius, finding his hands full with the revolt of Magnentius in the West, wanted a defender of the East. He made Gallus Caesar, 15 March 351; gave him to wife his sister Constantina the widow of the Caesar Hannibalian; placed him in authority at Antioch where he proved himself 'incapable of reigning' [7]; and then, as soon as the Civil War was over, had him put to death,[8] December 354. Julian, meanwhile, had been recalled to Constantinople, 350, where he studied under Hecebolius, who was, at that time, a zealous Christian.[9] But Constantius, fearing his popularity, removed him to Nicomedia, 351. Here the distinguished heathen orator, Libanius, 314–†*c.* 395, was lecturing; and Julian, forbidden to attend his lectures,[10] was, of course, the more busy with his books.[11]

(2) Under these influences began Julian's conversion to heathenism, 351–5, though it was not completed there. For the fame of an aged Neoplatonist, Aedesius, †355, a disciple of Iamblichus, †330, attracted him to Pergamus; and, through two of his disciples and what looks like a plot on their part to capture the young prince, Julian became acquainted with Maximus the Ephesian[12]—a combination of philosopher, magician,[13] and political

[1] *Misopogon*, 352 A–C (ii. 454). But M. brought him up on Homer, whom he always loved. [2] Amm. Marc. XXII. ix, § 4. [3] Ibid. XV. ii, § 7.
[4] *Ep. ad Athen.* 271 B (i. 349). [5] Thdt. *H. E.* III. ii.
[6] He speaks of the λυκοφιλία between them, *Ep.* lxviii (ii. 591).
[7] Gibbon, c. xix (ii. 248, ed. Bury). [8] Amm. Marc. XIV. xi, § 23.
[9] Socr. *H. E.* III. i, § 10. [10] Ibid., § 13.
[11] Libanius, *Orat.* xviii, § 13 (*Op.* ii. 242, ed. R. Förster: Teubner, 1904).
[12] Socr. *H. E.* III. i, § 16. The story is given by Eunapius, *Βίοι φιλοσόφων*, 85 (Antwerpiae, 1568), and tr. in C. Bigg, *Neoplatonism*, 311.
[13] Thdt. *H. E.* III. xxviii, § 2; T. R. Glover, *Life and Letters*, 58, on magic.

schemer, who exercised at once a great fascination over him.[1] His 'sacrilegious curiosity',[2] as Augustine calls it, got the better of him. What then, we may ask, were the attractions of paganism to a mind like that of Julian?

(*a*) He confessed himself to a bias in favour of it,[3] a bias due it would seem, to two tendencies in his nature.

The one was his vein of unhealthy mysticism; for 'he was a weak man, by nature inclined to a sentimentalism',[4] to which the supernaturalism of the Gospel appeared too reserved and too grand. He wanted something more enthralling, something to minister to 'superstition'[5] and to satisfy curiosity. Christianity was silent on the very points on which Julian was impatient; and he turned away from it to magic and theosophy, as Augustine turned, for a while, to Manichaeism, on just the same grounds.[6] Christianity made demands on Faith,[7] and was so reserved that it would give no answer. Instead, he found in Neoplatonism, decadent and corrupt, as it left the hands of Iamblichus,[8] just the response that he was looking for.

The other tendency that gave Julian a bias in favour of paganism was his intensely Hellenic temperament.[9] He hated Latin[10] and loved Homer; and, like the men of the Renaissance, he found in the graceful fictions of Greece a charm which Christianity, and, least of all, conventional Christianity, could not supply. Further, there was its severe side. Paganism appealed to beauty and art in a way which Christianity, as yet, had not been able to do. As yet, in fact, it was too cold; there was nothing picturesque and no glow about it. Certainly, ceremonial splendour in the

[1] Ammianus was much annoyed by Julian's public attentions to this quack; they were, in his view, an 'ostentatio intempestiva', Amm. Marc. XXII. vii, § 3.

[2] Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, v, c. xxi (*Op.* vii. 138 F; *P. L.* xli. 168).

[3] *Orat.* iv. 130 C, D (i. 68); Amm. Marc. XXII. v, § 1; with the remarks in Rendall, 41 sqq., and Glover, *Life and Letters*, 56 sq.

[4] Glover, *Life and Letters*, &c., 56.

[5] Julian was 'superstitiosus magis quam sacrorum legitimus observator', Amm. Marc. XXV. iv, § 17, and Document No. 93.

[6] The most attractive offer of these rival cults was, 'We can explain to you "unde malum?"' Aug. *Conf.* iii, § 12 (*Op.* i. 92 D; *P. L.* xxxii. 688); W. Bright, *Lessons*, &c., 143, n. 2.

[7] Aug. *Conf.* v, § 12 (*Op.* i. 112 D; *P. L.* xxxii. 711).

[8] C. Bigg, *Neoplatonism*, 305.

[9] Yet, though Greek in sympathies, Julian was in many ways more Roman than Greek: see J. B. Bury, *The later Roman Empire*, i. 127, n. 4.

[10] Glover, 50, n. 3.

services of the Church was growing, and at this very time; but it attained full expression only by 'the end of the fifth century' and among Syriac-speaking Christians of the far East.[1] Natures, like Julian's, are a justification of it. But, in the main, Christian feeling was still puritanical in its attitude to art,[2] for art was still pagan and therefore vicious[3]; and generations had to pass before the Church first redeemed the arts and then, by making them her servants, carried them to their perfection.

(*b*) But, apart from these impulses to paganism from within, Julian was driven to it by an aversion to Christianity only too easy to understand, in his case. He had been drilled into Christianity but had never assimilated it; and the very name of Christ was bound up, to Julian, with that of Constantius.[4] As a child, Julian had been brought up without the gentle influences of home; and as a boy without the free discipline of school. Then, as a youth, he spent his days in seclusion and under suspicion; and what he did see of Christianity—plenty of which was thrust upon him—was the Christianity of the Court of Constantius whom he looked upon not only as his jailor but as the murderer of his nearest relatives. The Emperor himself, the palace favourites, the sycophant Arian prelates, the alternate timidity and cruelty of the administration, the tutors and governors put over him—all these contributed to make him loathe the Faith of Christ. Instead of coming to regard it as 'truth and grace'[5] sufficient to sustain the whole man, he came to look upon it as a set of rules and *formulae* with no influence upon character except, perhaps, a bad one, for no one was ever more morally in earnest than Julian.

We cannot be surprised then that he succumbed to the attractions of paganism; but he had, for some years, to dissemble his inclination. In December 354 Gallus came into collision with

[1] Dom R. H. Connolly, *The liturgical Homilies of Narsai* [†502], app. 88, by E. Bishop.

[2] e. g. 'Placuit picturas in ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur et adoratur in parietibus depingatur,' *Conc. Illib.*, c. 36 (Hefele, i. 131); the letter of Eusebius to Constantia, the sister of Constantine and wife of Licinius (*Ep.* ii [*Op.* ii; *P. G.* xx. 1548 B]), and Epiphanius's destruction of a curtain 'bearing a fanciful image of Christ or some saint', Epiph. *Ep. ad Ioann. Hier.*, § 9 (*Op.* iii. 263; *P. G.* xliii. 393 C).

[3] B. F. Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John*, 339, q.v. for 'The relation of Christianity to art'.

[4] Whence the Antiochene joke about the X and the K (Christ and Constantius) never having done their city any harm, *Misopogon*, 357 A (ii. 460); Glover, 56.

[5] John i. 17.

the jealousy of Constantius and perished; and, owing to the Emperor's suspicions, Julian was confined first to Como [1] and then to the neighbourhood of Milan,[2] December 354–June 355, just at the time when Constantius and his episcopal intriguers—how he must have scorned them!—were holding the Council there. At last, by the intercession of the beautiful and gentle Empress Eusebia, 352–†60, he was released,[3] and received permission to return to his studies, this time at the University of Athens,[4] July–November 355. Here he became, not avowedly but secretly, the hope of the pagan party. He visited with devotion the Eleusinian sanctuary.[5] Basil and Gregory Nazianzen were his fellow-students; and Gregory assures us that he already detected in Julian, at that early period, 'an air of wildness and unsteadiness, a wandering eye, an uneven gait, a nervous agitation of the features, an unreasoning and disdainful laugh, an abrupt and irregular way of talking which betrayed a mind ill-at-ease with itself'.[6] We might doubt these as *ex post facto* and hostile impressions, but that they are confirmed by the description of Julian given by Ammianus Marcellinus.[7] All his contemporaries noticed his agitation and his restlessness, his intensely Greek character so wholly unlike the conventional Roman Emperor, his disputatiousness, excitability, and curiosity. But there were reasons for his uneasiness; and he had not been at Athens six months when an imperial summons reached him to return to Milan.[8]

(3) He started, a prey to grief [9] and fear [10]; and, on his arrival, he received the *insignia* of Caesar,[11] 6 November 355–3 November 361, and the Emperor's sister, Helena, to wife, with a commission to undertake control of the Praefecture of Gaul and the defence of the frontier of the Rhine. On 1 December he set out for his new duties,[12] surrounded by Christians and with all his personal friends removed from his retinue save two, the slave Euhemerus,

[1] Amm. Marc. xv. ii, § 8.
[2] *Ep. ad Athen.* 274 A (i. 353).
[3] Ibid. 272 D–273 A (i. 351 sq.); Glover, 59 sq.
[4] Amm. Marc. xv. ii, § 8; for a sketch of University life there in Julian's day, see W. W. Capes, *University life in ancient Athens*.
[5] For initiation see Greg. Naz. *Orat.* iv, §§ 55, 56 (*Op.* i. 102; *P. G.* xxxv. 577 C); Gibbon, c. xxiii (ii. 440 sq.), and Document No. 78.
[6] Ibid. *Orat.* v, § 23 (*Op.* i. 161 sq.; *P. G.* xxxv. 692 B); quoted in Socr. *H. E.* III. xxiii, § 23. Gregory's picture has been called 'a coarse caricature', but there is truth in it: see Glover, 53; Document No. 80.
[7] Amm. Marc. xxv. iv, § 17.
[8] Ibid. xv. viii, § 1.
[9] *Ep. ad Athen.* 275 A (*Op.* i. 354).
[10] Amm. Marc. xv. viii, § 17.
[11] Ibid. xv. viii, §§ 3 sqq.
[12] Ibid., § 18.

his confidant in religious matters and keeper of the library [1] which his benefactress Eusebia had just given him,[2] and Oribasius,[3] his physician. So Constantius took the step that proved fatal to his throne and his life. Julian's Gallic administration brought out his highest abilities. The scholar and devotee became not only a popular ruler but also a strenuous and successful general. His great victory at Argentoratum (now Strasbourg),[4] August 357, checked the inroads of the Germans for many years to come; and Paris first appears in history as Julian's 'dear Lutetia',[5] or the mud-town of the borderers, his head-quarters and favourite abode. But, at last, the crisis came which embroiled him with Constantius. On 6 October 359 the Persians captured Amida [6] [now Diarbekr]; and early in 360 the Augustus sent to demand the flower of Julian's troops for service against them.[7] They mutinied at Paris, May 360, and forced their commander to assume the title of Augustus.[8] Negotiations ensued.[9] On 6 January 361 Julian attended Christian worship for the last time at Vienne [10]; and then, as he marched eastward, to meet Constantius whose humiliating terms he had no choice but to refuse, he threw off the mask. He was at Sirmium [11] in October; and on arriving at Naissus [12] (now Nish, in Serbia), he wrote his *Epistola ad Athenienses*,[13] which is so important for his autobiography. Here he 'offered his first public sacrifice',[14] as he wrote to Maximus with 'a pervert's excess of devotion'. And here he received the news of the death of Constantius,[15] 3 November. Then he pushed on, and, 11 December, entered Constantinople [16] as Emperor.

§ 2. Julian was the reigning Augustus from 3 November

[1] *Ep. ad Athen.* 277 B (*Op.* i. 357). [2] *Orat.* iii. 123 sq. (*Op.* i. 159).
[3] *Ep. ad Athen.* 277 C (*Op.* i. 357). [4] Amm. Marc. xvi. xii.
[5] *Misopogon*, 340 D (*Op.* ii. 438); for a description of it in Julian's time, see Gibbon, c. xix (ii. 287). [6] Amm. Marc. xix. viii.
[7] Ibid. xx, iv, § 2. Julian says he sent τετταρας ἀριθμοὺς τῶν κριτίστων τ. ἑζων, *Ep. ad Ath.* 280 D (*Op.* i. 361). The *numeri* of the Roman army in the second century were regiments of tribal levies, of 200 to 300 apiece, outside the regular *auxilia*: see G. L. Cheesman, *The auxilia of the Imperial Roman Army*, 85–90. Hence *numerus* is suitably applied to 'the Christian prophets', as to irregulars, in Cyprian, *De mortalitate*, § 26 (*C. S. E. L.* III. i. 313 sq.), and in the *Te Deum*, verses 7–9.
[8] Amm. Marc. xx. iv, §§ 14–18; Julian, *Ep. ad Athen.* 284 B (*Op.* i. 366).
[9] Amm. Marc. xx. ix, § 6. [10] Ibid. xxi. ii, § 5.
[11] Ibid. xxi. ix, § 6. [12] Ibid. xxi. x, § 5.
[13] *Op.* 268–87, and Document No. 29 (i. 346–70, ed. Hertlein).
[14] *Ep.* xxxviii. 415 C (*Op.* ii. 536). [15] Amm. Marc. xxii. ii, § 1.
[16] Ibid., § 4.

361–†26 June 363. He remained at Constantinople for the winter, till [1] May 362. During June he was travelling through Asia.[2] From July 362 to 5 March 363 he was at Antioch.[3] Then he started [4] for the Persian War, and was killed in battle [5] on the Tigris, 26 June 363. This is the setting of his policy, as Emperor, in the matter of religion.

(1) Julian did both formally and sincerely adopt the principles of toleration. In a letter to the Christians of Bostra he contrasts his own treatment of Christians with that meted out to them by his Christian predecessors, as witness to his leniency [6]; and he then goes on to 'charge all votaries of the true worship to do no wrong to the Galilaean masses.... Those who go wrong in matters of the highest import deserve pity, not hatred; for religion is verily the chiefest of goods, and irreligion the worst of evils'.[7] And toleration on principle would commend itself to him.[8] He was neither cruel [9] nor vindictive.[10] His theology repudiated the notion that the gods were intolerant.[11] His familiarity with former persecutions [12] taught him that 'the hand which sacrifices under compulsion is often belied by the thought and will',[13] and that 'the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church'.[14] But, if it was his sincere belief that only tolerance was right, it was no impartial toleration that he meant to practise. He would be just towards his Christian subjects—just, but no more. And he quoted the *Odyssey*, in support of his practice:

> No law requires that they my care should prove
> Or pity, hated by the gods above.[15]

Further, he was not always loyal to this policy of a niggard toleration. He may, therefore, be called a persecutor in a lax sense, as Socrates and Sozomen [16] designate him. But the best summary of his system is that of St. Jerome, who says that 'he

[1] Amm. Marc. XXII. ix, § 2. [2] Ibid., §§ 3 sqq.
[3] Ibid., §§ 14 sqq.; for the date, see Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 226 sq., note K.
[4] Amm. Marc. XXIII. ii, § 6. [5] Ibid. XXV. iii.
[6] Julian, *Ep.* lii. 436 (*Op.* ii. 559), and Document No. 32.
[7] Julian, *Ep.* lii. 438 B (*Op.* ii. 562).
[8] He gives his view of it in *Ep.* vii. 376 C, D (*Op.* ii. 485), and Document No. 33. [9] Amm. Marc. XXV. iv, § 8.
[10] Socr. *H. E.* III. xii, §§ 1–5. [11] Rendall, 100; Glover, 59 sqq.
[12] Socr. *H. E.* III. xii, § 6; Soz. *H. E.* V. iv, § 6, xv, § 8.
[13] Libanius, *Orat.* xviii, § 122 (*Op.* ii. 287); and Soz. *H. E.* V. xv, § 8.
[14] Tert. *Apol.* c. l.
[15] *Od.* x. 73, quoted in Julian, *Ep.* xlix. 432 A (*Op.* ii. 155), and Document No. 34. [16] Socr. *H. E.* III. xii, § 6; Soz. *H. E.* V. v, § 6.

employed a gentle violence which strove to win and not to drive '.[1] A difference is noticeable between the early days of his reign when he was 'indulgent to all alike', and the later period when he 'began to display partialities'.[2] It is probable that Julian was spoilt by power[3]; but he was also embittered by misunderstanding and failure, and was persecuted himself by his own subjects. Nor was the misunderstanding and opposition from Christians only. The heathen themselves were quite out of sympathy with the project that lay nearest to his heart.

(2) This project of his was the reformation of paganism.[4] Two long reigns had almost killed it; though, in the West, it retained the advantage of numbers in the country districts and of social prestige in Rome. But paganism was inherently weak. It was an affair of custom[5]; and had no creed, no code of conduct, no hierarchy, no catechumenate. Julian tried to build up a Holy Catholic Church[6] of Hellenism[7]—his new name for paganism—after the manner of Maximin Daza. To provide it with a body of divinity was the object of his homilies, knocked off in a night or two, from time to time, 'as the Muses can testify'.[8] Then, in his character of Pontifex Maximus—a title which gave him more pleasure than to be called Emperor[9]—he set himself to organize a hierarchy and to infuse into it a high moral tone.[10] Priests must not frequent theatres or taverns, nor read erotic novels or infidel books like those of Epicurus.[11] Their wives and families must go to the temples with them; and not, as he hears they do, to church instead. Gravity in conduct, purity in life, and, above all, active benevolence, like that which the Galilaeans show to the poor and the wayfarer, should distinguish the votaries of the gods as well. All this is splendid testimony both to the average level of the Christian priesthood and to the pure lives and good works of ordinary Christians: testimony the more valuable when

[1] 'Iuliano ad idolorum cultum converso, blanda persecutio fuit, illiciens magis quam impellens ad sacrificandum,' Jerome, *Chron.* ad ann. 365 (*Op.* viii; *P. L.* xxvii. 691 sq.).

[2] Socr. *H. E.* III, xi, § 1.

[3] Glover, 75, n. 1. He contrasts Constantine: truly 'the Great', because he was improved by it.

[4] Rendall, 250 sqq.

[5] Julian, *Orat.* vi. 196 D (*Op.* i. 255).

[6] Rendall, 251.

[7] Ibid. 243.

[8] Julian, *Orat.* vi. 203 C (*Op.* i. 263).

[9] Libanius, *Orat.* xii, § 80 (*Op.* ii. 37, ed. Förster).

[10] Cf. his 'pastoral letter' to 'Arsacius, high-priest of Galatia', *Ep.* xlix. 429 C (*Op.* ii. 552), quoted in Soz. *H. E.* v. xvi, §§ 5–15, and Document No. 34, and a Fragment on the requirements of priestly conduct, *Ep.* lxii. 450 B (*Op.* ii. 583), and Document No. 36.

[11] *Fragm. Ep.* 301 C (*Op.* i. 386).

the history of the Fourth Century is so largely taken up with Court-bishops, theological controversy, and a lowering of Christian standards whether of worship or of morals. It was a living Christianity that Julian wanted to import into his pagan Church—the order, the discipline, the regularly graduated hierarchy, sermons, instructions, daily services, monasteries, hospitals, the penitential system, the letters of commendation, above all the splendid and systematic charity of the Christian Church.[1] But Julian was an enthusiast. He spent his days in bending over a corpse and trying to breathe new life into it. His own co-religionists observed his zeal, but could not understand it.[2] The attempt was a pathetic failure; the more pathetic in that Julian, like other fanatics, must have been entirely lacking in a sense of humour if he imagined that he could uplift paganism and introduce into it his own practice of personal purity[3] and his own moral earnestness. As if reformation could ever be expected of paganism: at its best so merry, self-contented, and frivolous,[4] and, at its worst, so sensual and foul.[5] Julian was a pedant and a visionary. If he misconceived Christianity, he misconceived paganism too. The most that the ordinary pagan would do was to come to stare at an Emperor officiating in person at a sacrifice.[6]

(3) Closely connected with his desire to resuscitate one declining rival of Christianity was his attitude to another. He gave his patronage to the Jews. He had a liking for them because their God, according to him, is, like the gods of the nations, 'in charge of a race',[7] and because they once had a system of material sacrifices.[8] By restoring it Julian could increase the number of the gods whose favour he could claim. So 'Why do you Jews not sacrifice?'[9] was a favourite question with him. Moreover,

[1] Soz. *H. E.* v. xvi, §§ 1–3; Greg. Naz. *Orat.* iv, § 111 (*Op.* i. 138 sq.; *P. G.* xxxv. 648 c), and Document No. 79.

[2] e. g. Amm. Marc. xxii. i, § 1, xii. 6 sqq., xxv. iv, § 17.

[3] Ibid. xxv. iv, § 2.

[4] e. g. the pictures of life in Rome given by ibid. xiv. vi, § 26; xxviii. iv, § 28, and Document No. 89.

[5] e. g. the Maiuma festival at Antioch; the essence of which, according to Libanius, was 'not to abstain from any abomination', Rendall, 255. See, too, Julian, *Ep.* lviii. 443 (*Op.* ii. 567); Amm. Marc. xxii. xii, § 6, xiv, § 3.

[6] Libanius, *Orat.* xii, § 82 (*Op.* ii. 38).

[7] Julian, *Contra Christianos*, 185 (ed. C. J. Neumann: Teubner, Lipsiae, 1880) = Cyril Al. *Contra Iulianum*, iv (*Op.* ix. 143 A; *P. G.* lxxvi. 720 B).

[8] Julian, *Contra Christianos*, 207 sq. = Cyril. *Op.* ix. 238 B (*P. G.* lxxvi. 864 B).

[9] Socr. *H. E.* iii. xx, § 3.

he hoped to use the Jews against *the* Christians.[1] Hence his celebrated attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem,[2] 362–3. He committed the task to Alypius of Antioch.[3] It came to nothing; for, from whatever cause, fire broke out from beneath the foundations, and rendered the undertaking impossible.[4] Such is the simplest account, and it is beyond dispute. Afterwards, it was much improved upon.[5] The coincidence, at any rate, not unnaturally suggested the Divine Hand.

(4) We have now to consider his attitude toward the Christian Church. He employed two weapons against it, administrative and literary. First (*a*) he set himself officially to discourage the profession of Christianity. Then (*b*) he entered upon an express polemic against it.

(*a*) Julian's two predecessors had set themselves to encourage Christianity. Not without a genuine delight in pulling down what Constantius had set up, Julian, just as he had his cousin's minions, Eusebius[6] and Paul Catena,[7] put to death and cleared out the minor menials of the palace,[8] set himself from the first and steadily to make it difficult to be a Christian. Some of his subordinates, of course, bettered his policy; and a few Christians suffered death at their hands. But among these were Christian zealots who rushed upon their fate, and were not martyrs. Julian usually confined himself to minor expedients, some of them mean and petty, but none the less characteristic for that.

Thus, from Constantinople, early in 362, he issued a series of edicts, directly, or indirectly, affecting Christians.

The first, of 9 February, was a religious amnesty.[9] Bishops were recalled from banishment, and heretics of all shades were summoned back from exile. His objects were, it has been said, to gain credit for liberality,[10] and to damage the Church by giving

[1] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* v, § 3 (*Op.* i. 149; *P. G.* xxxv. 668 A); Socr. *H. E.* III. xx, § 5; Soz. *H. E.* v. xx, § 2.

[2] Julian, *Epp.* xxv. 396 D, lxiii. 452 (*Op.* ii. 512, 585).

[3] Amm. Marc. xxiii. i, § 2. [4] Ibid., § 3, and Document No. 92.

[5] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* v, §§ 4–7 (*Op.* i. 149–51; *P. G.* xxxv. 667–721); Socr. *H. E.* III. xx; Soz. *H. E.* v. xxii; Thdt. *H. E.* III. xx.

[6] Julian, *Ep. ad Athen.* 272 D (*Op.* i. 351); Socr. *H. E.* III. i, § 49; Soz. *H. E.* v. v, § 8; Rendall, 153. [7] Amm. Marc. xxii. iii, § 11.

[8] Ibid. xxii. iv; Socr. *H. E.* III. i, § 50. He filled their places with sophists and quacks, ib., § 56, and III. xiii, § 11.

[9] Amm. Marc. xxii. v, § 3; Socr. *H. E.* III. i, § 48; Soz. *H. E.* v. v, § 6; Thdt. *H. E.* III. iv, § 1; Rufinus, *H. E.* i, § 27 (*P. L.* xxi. 498 A); Rendall, 171, and Document No. 202.

[10] Socr. *H. E.* III. i, § 48.

fresh scope to bickerings and controversy.[1] But it is hardly fair to impute these sinister motives to one who was a believer in toleration, and who invited both Aetius [2] and St. Basil [3] to Court. Julian's political sagacity may have anticipated a gain to his own cause from Christian divisions. But if so, he was disappointed, save in the case of the Donatists, who returned and chased the Catholics from the churches.[4] Elsewhere Christians moderated their animosities, and closed their ranks against the common foe: specially under the leadership of Athanasius, who returned,[5] 21 February, from his third exile.

The second, of 22 February, was *Quoniam cursum publicum*,[6] which restrained the free use, by 'prefects, magistrates, and consulars', of the public postal service. Bishops had been the worst offenders, under Constantius,[7] in thus burdening the public purse. But there is no mention of their misdoings; and it was only an incident of this wise reform, not its purpose, that they should be the chief losers under it.

Third, a direct attack was made by, 13 March, *Decuriones qui ut Christiani*,[8] ordering that all who, as Christians [*sc.* clerics], claimed exemption from public burdens should be restored to the tax-roll. In no other edict of the Theodosian Code are the Christians mentioned by name. Here they are singled out. But it was not persecution. Privileges which the State gave, such as immunity from taxation and exemption from serving on the *Curia*, or Town Council, the State had a right to take away. And if Julian took the gilt off his credit for impartiality, by bestowing on the pagan priesthood immunities [9] for themselves and allowances [10] to be administered by them in charity to their flocks, it was no more than his predecessors had done for *their* side, in the way of preferential dealing.[11]

[1] Amm. Marc. XXII. v, § 4. [2] Julian, *Ep.* xxxi. 404 B (*Op.* ii. 522).
[3] Julian, *Ep.* xii. 381 A (*Op.* ii. 492).
[4] Aug. *Contra Litt. Petil.* ii, §§ 184, 205 (*Op.* ix. 269 A, 278 F; *P. L.* xliii. 316, 326); Optatus, *De sch. Don.* ii, § 16 (*Op.* 41; *P. L.* xi. 968 A).
[5] *Hist. Aceph.*, § 10; *Festal Index*, § 34; for others who returned—Meletius of Antioch, Eusebius of Vercellae, Lucifer of Cagliari, Cyril of Jerusalem, and the semi-Arians who, as soon as they got home, became Macedonians: see Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 526, and Fleury, iv. 9.
[6] *Cod. Theod.* VIII. v. 12; Rendall, 161 sq.
[7] Amm. Marc. XXI. xvi, § 18.
[8] *Cod. Theod.* XII. i. 50; Rendall, 159, and Document No. 30.
[9] Soz. *H. E.* v. iii, § 2.
[10] Julian, *Ep.* xlix. 430 C (*Op.* ii. 553 sq.), and Document No. 34.
[11] Julian, *Ep.* vii. 376 C (*Op.* ii. 485), and Document No. 33.

Nor can it be said that, fourth, ? 13 March, *Possessiones publicas*,[1] ordering municipal property which had passed into private hands to be restored, was in itself other than equitable. But it was an enactment impossible to execute without involving many hardships and exciting fierce resentment. Much of this property consisted of temples turned into churches.[2] It was one thing to order that the original owners should be compensated: that may have been fair enough. But it was quite another to require the existing owner to pay the compensation. He may have come by his property quite legitimately. Cases in point are those of Theodulus, a Christian gentleman of Antioch, who lost all—site and improvements; and Basiliscus, only saved from bankruptcy under this edict by the forbearance of his creditors.[3] When, however, it came to the forced restitution by one religious body of property alienated to it from another, a sense of injustice was kindled; and when bishops had not only to give back what they had so acquired but to rebuild thereon what they had destroyed, the passions of the heathen populace were quickly aroused, if they refused. Churches in Africa were handed over to the Donatists, and Eleusius, bishop of Cyzicus, had to rebuild the church of the Novatianists which had been destroyed either by Euzoïus[4] or by Eleusius himself.[5] There was no great ado about these proceedings. But Mark, bishop of Arethusa, refused to rebuild a temple which he had destroyed. He was nearly murdered by the pagan mob; and, at last, smeared with treacle and hung up in a net for bees and wasps to sting. But not one penny, he cried, should a Christian bishop contribute to the cost of a heathen shrine. Julian connived at the outrage, though Mark had saved his life as a child.[6] At the same time, it was probably for fear of Julian's wrath that the mob had stopped short of putting Mark to death. Similar outbreaks of the pagan populace Julian overlooked at Heliopolis,[7] Ashkelon,[8] and Gaza,[9] though he visited his wrath on Christians concerned in party outbreaks—

[1] *Cod. Theod.* x. iii. 1; Rendall, 165 sqq.
[2] Libanius, *Orat.* xviii, § 126 (*Op.* 564; ii. 290, ed. Förster); Soz. *H. E.* v. v, § 5, and Document No. 101.
[3] Rendall, 166.
[4] Socr. *H. E.* III. xi, § 3.
[5] Soz. *H. E.* v. v, § 10.
[6] Soz. *H. E.* v. x, §§ 8–14; Thdt. *H. E.* III. vii, §§ 6–10; Greg. Naz. *Orat.* iv, §§ 88–91 (*Op.* i. 122–5; *P. G.* xxxv. 616–22).
[7] Soz. *H. E.* v. x, §§ 6, 7; Thdt. *H. E.* III. vii, §§ 2, 3; Rendall, 177.
[8] Thdt. *H. E.* III. vii, § 1.
[9] Soz. *H. E.* v. ix. Sozomen was himself of Gaza, *H. E.* v. xv, § 14.

on Titus, bishop of Bostra, whom he embroiled with his fellow-citizens merely on a trumped-up charge[1]; on the wealthy Arians of Edessa, whose church he confiscated for their attacks upon the Valentinians[2]; and on Caesarea in Cappadocia, whose citizens he fined and otherwise penalized for taking advantage of his edict of toleration in order to destroy the last remaining heathen shrine.[3] But the most notable example of Julian's indulgence towards pagan mobs occurred at Alexandria. George,[4] the intruding Arian bishop, oppressed pagans and Christians alike; and was well hated by both. Carrying the habits of a successful pork-contractor[5] into the administration of his bishopric, 'he showed himself in the light of a keen grasping man of business, enriching himself by vexatious and ignoble monopolies, "buying up the nitre works, the marshes of papyrus and reed, and the salt-lakes, and even keeping in his own hands . . . the management of funerals, so that it was not safe even to bury a corpse without employing those who let out biers under his direction" '.[6] At the same time, he had his merits. He was a lover of books, and collected a splendid library. Julian had had the use of it in Cappadocia; and he showed himself less anxious, after George's death, to avenge his murder than to have his library sent to him.[7] After a brief exile,[8] 2 October 358, at the end of the reign of Constantius, George was reinstated[9] 26 November 361. He resumed his career of insolence. 'How long is this sepulchre to stand?'[10] he shouted, in the hearing of a pagan crowd, and pointing to the temple of the Genius of Alexandria, as he passed by. They nursed their wrath; and, no sooner had George committed his last outrage by exhibiting skulls and grotesque paraphernalia taken from a temple of Mithra which he was converting into a church, than news reached Alexandria, 30 November, of the accession of an Emperor who worshipped the gods.

[1] Soz. *H. E.* v. xv, §§ 11–13; Julian, *Ep.* lii. 436–8 (*Op.* ii. 559–62); Rendall, 189. [2] Julian, *Ep.* xliii. 424 D (*Op.* ii. 547).

[3] Soz. *H. E.* v. iv, §§ 1–5. It is interesting to notice that, while some towns, such as Caesarea in Cappadocia and Edessa, were distinctively Christian, others, like Heliopolis, Ashkelon, and Gaza, were as distinctively heathen.

[4] For 'George' see W. Bright in *D. C. B.* ii. 638–40; and for the end of his career, Amm. Marc. xxii. xi; Socr. *H. E.* iii. ii, iii; Soz. *H. E.* v. vii; Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxi, §§ 21, 26 (*Op.* i. 398–403; *P. G.* xxxv. 1105–14).

[5] Ath. *Hist. Ar.*, §§ 51, 75 (*Op.* i. 296, 307; *P. G.* xxv. 753 C, 784 C).

[6] Epiph. *Haer.* lxxvi, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 913; *P. G.* xlii. 517 B); *D. C. B.* ii. 639.

[7] Julian, *Ep.* ix. 378 (*Op.* ii. 487 sq.).

[8] *Hist. Aceph.*, § 6. [9] Ibid., § 7. [10] Amm. Marc. xxii. xi, § 7.

They seized him, and, on Christmas Eve, they lynched him.[1] Julian was apprised of the outrage, but he contented himself with a mild reprimand.[2] To these cases, in which the Emperor lent a sort of indirect and *ex post facto* patronage to popular fury, must be added others in which provincial governors allowed themselves to outrun his mind, whether to gain his favour or to win popularity—at Dorostolus (now Silistria on the lower Danube) in Thrace,[3] at Merus in Phrygia,[4] and at Ancyra,[5] June 362. The magistrates displayed a savage zeal; but the action they took may be classed as punishment for destroying property or disturbing public order.[6] So far Julian, though hardly impartial, had not descended to the level of a persecutor.

But at Antioch, where he was soured and mortified, he condescended to meaner expedients.[7]

His treatment of Christians in the army is a case in point. Many soldiers, no doubt, conformed as soon as he began to exert pressure, for the Emperor was a commander both successful and beloved. Julian took advantage of this to remove the monogram of Christ from the *Labarum* and substitute the old S.P.Q.R.,[8] and to set up images of the gods near his own image and the standards.[9] So, since ' with the Romans the whole religion of the camp was a worshipping of the standards ',[10] it became difficult for the troops to pay the Emperor the usual respect without appearing to salute an idol. Similar difficulties arose in the camp of the Praetorians at Constantinople, in connexion with the offering of incense usual at the distribution of the Imperial bounty. Some who complied were jeered at by their comrades, and threw down their money. Julian, therefore, dismissed all Christians from his bodyguard.[11] Three officers—Jovian, Valen-

[1] *Hist. Aceph.*, § 8; Epiph. *Haer.* lxxvi, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 912; *P. G.* xlii. 516 C).

[2] Julian, *Ep.* x. 378 sq. (*Op.* ii. 488 sqq.), *ap.* Socr. *H. E.* III. iii, §§ 5–25.

[3] Aemilian: Thdt. *H. E.* III. vii, § 5; Rendall, 180.

[4] Macedonius, Theodulus, and Tatian: Socr. *H. E.* III. xv; Soz. *H. E.* v. xi, §§ 1–3; Rendall, 181.

[5] Basil: Soz. *H. E.* v. xi, §§ 10–12.

[6] ' There is no recorded instance of official persecution of the Christians on the score of religion, without aggressive provocation on their part,' Rendall, 182, n. 3.

[7] Thdt. *H. E.* III. xv, § 1.

[8] Soz. *H. E.* v. xvii, § 2; Greg. Naz. *Orat.* iv, § 66 (*Op.* i. 107; *P. G.* xxxv. 588 B).

[9] Soz. *H. E.* v. xvii, §§ 3, 4; Greg. Naz. *Orat.* iv, §§ 80, 81 (*Op.* i. 116 sq.; *P. G.* xxxv. 605 sqq.).

[10] Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. xvi.

[11] Soz. *H. E.* v. xvii, §§ 8–12; Thdt. III. xvi, §§ 6 sq. and xvii; Greg. Naz. *Orat.* iv, §§ 83 sq. (*Op.* i. 118 sqq.; *P. G.* xxxv. 608 sqq.), and Document No. 158.

tinian, and Valens, the future Emperors—preferred disgrace to conformity[1]; and two legionaries who were Christians—Juventinus and Maximin by name—suffered death for mutinous language.[2] It is difficult to be sure that Julian's new regulations were traps to catch his soldiers. If so, they were about on a level with his exclusion of civilians at Antioch, who were 'Galilaeans', from government offices[3]; with his causing meat in the markets there to be sprinkled with lustral water[4]; and with his imposition of a tax on those who declined the worship of the gods.[5] Possibly, the soldiers resented what they thought was trickery; though the Emperor was, of course, within his rights in regulating the religious ceremonial of his army. At any rate, they avenged themselves by electing Jovian to succeed him.

There is less doubt about the educational oppression,[6] which was most characteristic of Julian. It was the cleverest of those expedients by which he proposed 'to obtain the effects, without incurring the guilt or reproach, of persecution'.[7] On 17 June 362, from some place between Constantinople and Antioch, he issued an edict *Magistros studiorum* requiring all professors and schoolmasters, before teaching, to obtain a certificate of approval from the municipal authorities, countersigned by himself.[8] It says nothing about Christians; unless, perhaps, the requirement that teachers should be of sound morals covered an attack upon their religion. And there is nothing about dismissal of Christian teachers already in office. But Julian was nervously impatient. He could only wait six months or so, as it would seem; and then, perhaps[9] early in 363, he eclipsed this edict by a rescript in Greek (not an Imperial Law promulgated in Latin for the whole empire, and not embodied therefore in the Theodosian Code) which struck openly at the Church. Socrates says that it forbade Christian youths to be taught heathen literature.[10] But this is inaccurate. Jerome says that it forbade Christians to be teachers of the liberal

[1] Socr. *H. E.* III. xiii, §§ 1–5; Soz. *H. E.* VI. vi, §§ 4–6; Thdt. *H. E.* III. xvi, §§ 1–5; Rufinus, *H. E.* ii, § 27.

[2] Thdt. *H. E.* III. xv; Chrysostom, *In Iuv. et Maxim. Mart. Homilia* (*Op* ii. 578–83; *P. G.* l. 571–8).

[3] Soz. *H. E.* V. xviii, § 1.

[4] Thdt. *H. E.* III. xv, § 2.

[5] Socr. *H. E.* III. xiii, § 9.

[6] Gibbon, c. xxiii (ii. 461 sqq., ed. Bury); *D. C. B.* iii. 504; Rendall, 203 sq.; Glover, 68.

[7] Gibbon, c. xxiii (ii. 476).

[8] *Cod. Theod.* XIII. iii. 5, and Document No. 31.

[9] Rendall, 207, n. 1.

[10] Socr. *H. E.* III. xvi, § 1.

arts,[1] and Augustine that they were prohibited from giving lectures in literature and rhetoric.[2] Ammianus condemns it, and says that Julian hindered Christians from teaching grammar and rhetoric.[3] The rescript is preserved among Julian's letters[4]; and its motive is obvious, to deprive Christians of the prestige attaching to University distinction.[5] But it effects more than this; for it forbids any Christian, whether holding such a Government lectureship or not, to teach the classics. Julian's principle is that the teacher must believe what he teaches; for 'whosoever thinks one thing but teaches his scholars another, falls short from an educational, no less than from a moral, point of view. . . . Now that the gods have granted us liberty, it is monstrous for men any longer to teach what they do not believe to be sound. If they acknowledge the wisdom of those whose writings they interpret, let them first of all imitate their [*sc.* Homer, Hesiod, &c.] piety towards the gods. But if they feel that these have gone astray concerning the gods . . . then let them go to the churches of the Galilaeans to expound Matthew and Luke. . . . None that desire to attend lectures are debarred from so doing. . . .' The Emperor is thus careful to maintain a distinction between teachers and learners. How is it then, we may ask, that Socrates and other Christian writers[6] have exaggerated the terms of his rescript as if it forbade Christian students to attend lectures on the classics? The exaggeration is only apparent. Christians considered the decree practically to exclude them from the schools. For Julian expressly orders all teachers to insist on the religious side of their authors. Grammar schools, under his rescript, were to become seminaries of paganism. 'The Christians', says Gibbon, 'were directly forbid to teach: they were indirectly forbid to learn; since they would not frequent the schools of the pagans.'[7] Thus the law was unwise for its own purposes. For, if it resulted in driving Christian lads away from the centres of education, they were deprived of the one possible cure, from its author's point of view, of their infatuation. And, further, it was short-sighted.

[1] Jerome, *Chron.* ad ann. 366 (*Op.* viii; *P. L.* xxvii. 691 sq.).
[2] Aug. *Conf.* viii, § 10 (*Op.* i. 148 F; *P. L.* xxxii. 753).
[3] Amm. Marc. xxii. x, § 7; cf. xxv. iv, § 20.
[4] Julian, *Ep.* xlii. 422 sq. (*Op.* ii. 544); tr. Rendall, 207 sq. and Document No. 35.
[5] Gibbon, c. xxiii (ii. 461).
[6] Socr. *H. E.* iii. xvi, § 1; Soz. *H. E.* v. xviii, § 1; Thdt. *H. E.* iii. viii; Rufinus, *H. E.* i, § 32; Greg. Naz. *Orat.* iv, § 5 (*Op.* i. 79; *P. G.* xxxv. 536 A).
[7] Gibbon, c. xxiii, n. 91 (ii. 462).

Had Julian lived to enforce it, the displacement of Christian teachers would have been the signal for the setting up of unnumbered Church schools, which would have wrested from heathenism its one weapon of offence. As it was, the attempt to combine Christian teaching with a training in *litterae humaniores* was quickly made. The two Apollinares, of Laodicea in Syria, both zealous Athanasians, composed works on the model of the classical authors. The father prepared a Christian grammar, turned the Pentateuch into an epic and the 'Former Prophets' into tragedies: while his no less versatile son elaborated Gospels, Acts, and Epistles into a collection of Platonic Dialogues![1] Apropos of these wonderful achievements, Socrates has an interesting discussion of the relation of Christians to the classics.[2] And the educational oppression by Julian is rendered memorable, also, by its challenge to distinguished Christian teachers. It required tests of teachers; and they chose to surrender their profession rather than their Faith. Gaius Marius Victorinus gave up his office at Rome[3]; while Julian's former tutor, Proaeresius, the doyen of the professoriate at Athens, resigned his chair there.[4] But, after all, Christian professors did not attack the religion of the classical authors. It was so futile that they could safely let it alone, and concentrate attention on their writings as models of style or eloquence.

(*b*) It was this attitude of indifference, on their part, to Julian's religion that was so annoying to him; and hence, it may be, his express polemic against Christianity.[5]

We know of it, partly, from his *Orations* and *Letters*; but, chiefly, from the fragments of his *Contra Christianos*,[6] in seven books, of which three survive embedded in their refutation by St. Cyril,[7] archbishop of Alexandria 412–†44. The work was written at Antioch, in the winter of 362–3; and, as Socrates, in his criticism of it, observes, it was mainly destructive.[8] Three lines of assault are discernible in his general attack upon Christianity.

[1] Socr. *H. E.* III. xvi, §§ 1–5; Soz. *H. E.* V. xviii.
[2] Socr. *H. E.* III. xvi, §§ 8–27.
[3] Aug. *Conf.* viii, § 10, *ut sup.*
[4] Jerome, *Chron.* ad ann. 366 *ut sup.*
[5] John Wordsworth in *D. C. B.* iii. 521–3; Rendall, 228 sqq.; Glover, 74 sq.
[6] Pieced together in C. J. Neumann, *Iuliani contra Christianos* (Teubner: Lipsiae, 1880). He gives references to the pages of Cyril.
[7] Cyril. Al., *Contra Iulianum* (*Op.* ix. 1–362; *P. G.* lxxvi. 503–1064). It was written in 433, and dedicated to Theodosius II.
[8] Socr. *H. E.* III. xxiii, § 7.

First, an assault upon the monotheism of the Old Testament. Starting with the Platonic theory of creation by intermediate agents, Julian finds that it makes the conception of Creation easier[1]; and contrasts the Creation-doctrine of the *Timaeus*[2] with the abrupt 'God said'[3] of *Genesis*. One might almost suppose, he urges,[4] that God created nothing incorporeal, neither angel nor spirit, no intermediaries at all, but Himself directly organized matter. Julian also, as a Neoplatonist, accepted the Manichaean belief in the eternity of matter and so of evil; and that would lead him to reject the Biblical doctrine both of Creation and of the Fall.[5] Moreover, he objected to pure monotheism, i. e. to the conception of God as not merely Supreme but Only. Such a God is exclusive of other gods, and His exclusive choice of Israel is absurd.[6] The more so as the Jews are an inferior race; they have always been in slavery,[7] and have invented nothing.[8] And as in arts, so in morals. The worst of our generals never treated subject nations so cruelly as Moses treated the Canaanites.[9] They may boast of their Decalogue, but their doctrine of a 'jealous God' is as offensive[10] as their own jealous and exclusive behaviour towards other nations; and, after all, there are but two commandments which other nations do not accept—the second and the fourth—and these are both ceremonial, not moral. The true view, according to Julian, is that the God of the Hebrews is a secondary, or national, god.[11] As such, He is a legitimate object of worship. He has a sacrificial system,[12] like other gods; and, while that entitles the Jews to the Emperor's respect and even to his favour,[13] the 'Galilaeans', who had abandoned it, only come in for his reproaches. But there remain the Jewish Scriptures. Julian seized on their anthropomorphisms. 'God', for instance, 'is represented by them as meanly envious: He forbade man to take of the tree of wisdom, and yet more reprehensibly tried to deny him the knowledge of good and evil.'[14] Then, he held up the Christians to scorn for their superstitious literalism too! And he makes various rationalistic objections to the credibility of the Hebrew Scriptures, as 'In what language,

[1] Neumann, 170 (49 A). [2] N. 173 (58 B). [3] N. 172 (57 E, 58 A).
[4] N. 171 (49 D, E). [5] Rendall, 232. [6] N. 177 (106 A).
[7] N. 200 (209 D). [8] N. 193 (176 A, B). [9] N. 194 (184 B, C.).
[10] N. 190 sq. (160 E, 161 A) with reference to Phinehas in Num. xxv. 11.
[11] N. 184 sq. (141 C). [12] N. 207 sq. (238 B, C).
[13] N. 185 (143 A). [14] N. 168 (93 E).

I should like to know, did the serpent talk to Eve?'[1] not to mention their literary inferiority to the masterpieces of the Greeks.[2]

Julian's second assault was directed against Christianity as a novel and revolutionary religion. The 'Galilaeans', of whom he never can speak without bitterness, whether of Jewish or of Gentile origin, had deserted the ancestral customs of their respective peoples. In particular, they had abandoned what was worthy of respect in Hebraism. 'As it is, you are like the leeches: you suck all the worst blood out of Hebraism and leave the purer behind!'[3] Naturally, from this point of view, St. Paul is the special object of Julian's detestation. 'He surpasses all the impostors and charlatans who have ever existed.'[4] Moses declared the Law to be eternal[5]; and even Jesus declared that He came to fulfil the Law.[6] St. Paul is the real author of the Christian creed, for he taught that 'Christ is the end of the Law'.[7] Elsewhere Julian evinces his dislike for the appeal of Christianity to all classes.[8] He thought that this ministered to anarchy. And whereas, like a pagan, he imagined that religion is for the few, like a philosopher he regarded it as only for the educated. We mark his aristocratic hauteur.

The third, and greatest, object of his assault is the worship of Jesus as God and the adoration of the Martyrs. Thus Moses, he says, never speaks of 'the only-begotten . . . Son of God', though he does speak of 'the sons of God', i.e. the angels.[9] Even if the prophecy of *Isa.* vii. 14 refers to Jesus, it gives you Christians no right to call his mother Θεοτόκος as you so constantly do; for how could she bear God who was but a human creature like ourselves.[10] The exaltation of humility offended him, and the idea of religious submission to a Divine teacher who had come in the flesh. He could not understand the Incarnation, nor could he tolerate the thought of the humiliation of God Himself. So he commended Photinus for not bringing his God into the womb[11]: and that, barely a generation before Niceta, bishop of Remesiana †414, in the *Te Deum*, ranks this among the most glorious of the Divine condescensions that God 'did not abhor the Virgin's womb'. Julian prefers to look upon Jesus as a mere

[1] N. 168 (86 A). [2] N. 204–6 (229 C–230 A). [3] N. 198 sq. (202 A).
[4] N. 176 (100 A). [5] N. 221 (319 E). [6] N. 229 (351 B, C).
[7] N. 221 (320 A). [8] *Ep.* lxxix (*Op.* ii. 606).
[9] N. 215 (290 D). [10] N. 214 (276 E). [11] *Ep.* lxxix (*Op.* ii. 606).

man, or rather, to look down upon Him as a Galilaean peasant and one of the subjects of his predecessor Augustus.[1] So he would call Jesus only, 'the dead man'. No wonder then that Christians honour other 'dead men', i. e. the martyrs. It was John who began this worship of a 'dead man'. 'Neither Matthew, Luke nor Mark called Jesus God, but this excellent John . . . first dared to assert it.'[2] Here Julian anticipates one of the extreme positions of those who to-day exaggerate the contrast between the Gospel of St. John and the Synoptic Gospels. He knew his Bible well, as many unbelievers have done since. Then he proceeds, with an eye to incipient extravagances of Christian worship in his own day, 'John then began this evil. You have gone on, and added the worship of other "dead men" to that of the first "Dead Man". You have filled all things with tombs and sepulchres.'[3] Finally, he turns to picking holes, in the style of vulgar rather than 'scientific' criticism. 'It is hardly three hundred years ago since Jesus began to be talked about. During the whole of His life, He did nothing worth recording—just a few cures in a few Syrian towns.'[4] Julian, it will be noticed, 'takes no exception to the records of miracles in Scripture', as we might to-day. His line, and that of his contemporaries, was rather that miracles are 'hardly worth notice, much less evidence of divine agency'.[5] The Emperor also mocked at Christians for taking as their spiritual guides a lot of fishermen.[6] He took the maxims of the Sermon on the Mount in their naked literalism, and argued, after the manner of modern opponents of Christian ethics who would substitute for Christianity the religion of Valour, that they made men effeminate, incapable, and servile.[7] He fastened on Scriptural difficulties, e. g. the two genealogies of our Lord.[8] He carped at Christian customs: baptism, for instance, which 'cannot cure leprosy, gout or dropsy, but which is said to remove all the transgressions of the soul'.[9] Nor does he forget to make melancholy use of the all too destructive argument drawn from the inconsistent lives of Christians. 'They imitate', he said, 'the Jews in their "atheism" and the Gentiles in their low lives.'[10]

[1] N. 201 (213 A). [2] N. 223 (327 A).
[3] N. 225 (335 B). [4] N. 199 (191 E).
[5] Rendall, 237. Hence the difference between the task of the Christian apologist of the fourth century and his task to-day, for which see J. B. Mozley, *Miracles*, Lect. I, note 3, p. 195. [6] *Ep.* lxxix (*Op.* ii. 606).
[7] *Ep.* xliii, 424 D (ii. 547); Socr. *H. E.* III. xiv. § 8.
[8] N. 212 (253 E). [9] N. 209 sq. (245 C, D). [10] N. 164 (43 B).

Constantius was his stumbling-block here : the more so as Constantius had showered favours on Christians till they had reached a distinction for which they were never intended. ' Jesus and Paul never taught you this. They never expected that Christians would fill so important a place, and were satisfied with converting a few servant girls and slaves, so as by their means to get hold of their mistresses and of men like Cornelius and Sergius.' [1]

On the whole, it was a moral defect rather than any intellectual preconception that evoked this bitter polemic. Julian had no sense of sin. It was a moral impossibility, therefore, for him to appreciate the need of redemption, or the contrast between Christian and heathen life. Moreover, this contrast was getting obscured in his day. The exaggerated devotions of men, just emerging from heathenism, to martyrs as to demi-gods, made Christianity offensive to men of intelligence. The depravity or the frivolity of heathenism which still clung to converts scarcely lifted out of contact with it, made Christianity no less obnoxious to men of moral earnestness. Julian was both intellectual and austere : and hence, in the absence of compassion and of a fellow-feeling for human sinfulness, his tone of contempt. But whether this contempt sprang from his superior enlightenment, his personal piety, or his aristocratic pride, Julian's language indicates that it was largely that sort of contempt which is allied to fear. ' His primary misconception of Christianity was in regarding it as a sheer contrivance,[2] a kind of mutual benefit society set up solely in the interest of the managers. He had found so much hypocrisy among Christians that he assumed it of them all.' [3] Thus, St. John's attribution of Divinity to our Lord was a clever fraud [4] ; the whole fabric of sacerdotalism was so much ingenious mechanism; the clergy were ambitious schemers [5] ; the monks no better ; their self-renunciation was a sham.[6] And, as for Christian alms—giving and charities—to which, by his own confession, the Church owed her ever-increasing hold,[7] and which he paid her the tribute of adopting for his reconstituted Hellenism—these were really but devices for supporting the ascendency of a ruling caste.[8]

[1] N. 199 (206 A).
[2] N. 163 (39 A, B).
[3] Rendall, 230.
[4] N. 224 (333 C).
[5] *Ep.* lii. 436, 437 A (*Op.* ii. 560 sq.), and Document No. 32.
[6] *Fragm. Ep.* 288 B (*Op.* i. 371).
[7] *Ep.* xlix. 429 D (*Op.* ii. 553) ; *ap.* Soz. *H. E.* v. xvi, § 6, and Document No. 34.
[8] *Fragm. Ep.* 305 C (*Op.* i. 391), and Document No. 36.

When sinister motives are discovered or imputed on so large a scale, it means, as a rule, that the critic's judgement is really inspired not by the evidence but by fear. But much may also be accounted for by the place and the circumstances under which Julian wrote his *Contra Christianos*. They are eloquent not only of the memory of Constantius but of misunderstandings with the Antiochenes.

(5) Julian's relations with the city of Antioch lasted from July 362 to 5 March 363.

In June[1] 362 he left the capital for the birth-place of the Christian name. 'His eight months there left him much more bitter against the Church—in fact, countenancing persecution even to the death, though, in word, still forbidding it and proclaiming toleration.'[2] A gradual growth of disappointment with his subjects at Antioch is enough to account for this. He was much too serious, much too morally elevated for the frivolous and voluptuous, though Christian, capital of the East. Like Chrysostom,[3] he complains that its citizens had a passion for the circus and the theatre[4]: they were wanting in self-control.[5] He was disappointed to find so much resistance on the part of the Christians, and so little enthusiasm on the part of the heathen. Both sides disliked him, and regretted the previous reign. Neither Christ nor Constantius, 'neither the X nor the K', they said, 'did our city any harm'.[6] It became a saying about town: mortifying, indeed, to Julian, but poor testimony to the level of Christianity to which Antioch had attained after three centuries of it. Pagans could not understand the Emperor's cynical asceticism, and his dislike of the theatre; and they laughed when they saw this untidy, diminutive, and long-bearded fellow marching pompously in procession on the tips of his toes, swaying his shoulders from side to side, and surrounded by a mob of abandoned characters.[7] All this, and particularly his beard, they thought incompatible with Imperial Majesty. Julian not only bore with

[1] Goyau, 492; Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 301. [2] *D. C. B.* iii. 506.

[3] Chrysostom similarly complains of the people of Constantinople that they spent Good Friday at the circus and Easter Even in the theatre, *Hom. contra ludos et theatra*, § 1 (*Op.* vi. 272 sq.; *P. G.* lvi. 264 sq.): for the licentious character of the theatre, see ibid., § 2 (*Op.* vi. 274 sq.; *P. G.* lvi. 266 sq.); and *In* 1 *Thess.* c. iv, *Hom.* v, § 4 (*Op.* xi. 464 F); *P. G.* lxii. 428).

[4] *Misopogon*, 345 sq. (*Op.* ii. 445); Gibbon, c. xxi (ii. 482).

[5] *Misopogon*, 342 D, 343 A (*Op.* ii. 441 sq.).

[6] Ibid. 357 A (*Op.* ii. 460).

[7] Amm. Marc. XXII. xiv, § 3, and Document No. 91: see, too, Greg. Naz. *Orat.* v, § 22 (*Op.* i. 161; *P. G.* xxxv. 692 A); and Chrysostom, *De S. Babyla*, § 14 (*Op.* II. ii. 559; *P. G.* l. 555).

their treatment of him—to be called ' Goat ' [1] and ' Slaughterer ',[2] to be regaled with abusive psalms and damnatory prayers,[3] to be the butt of squibs, lampoons, and libels [4]—but he made generous, if economically unsound, attempts to better the condition of the people who so treated him.[5] Pagan and Christian combined against him ; and this was all the thanks he got. He took his revenge about February 363, with the *Misopogon* [6] or *Beard-hater*—as undignified a satire as ever was penned by a monarch, [7] which Gibbon aptly describes as ' an ironical confession of his own faults and a severe satire on the licentious and effeminate manners of Antioch '.[8] In this latter respect its counterpart is to be found in St. Chrysostom's *Homilies to the people of Antioch* [9] ; and it is valuable alike for the study of Julian's character and of Antiochene Christianity. Such was the general situation during his stay there. We must now turn to the events which created it.

A good deal of irritation between the Emperor and the city had sprung up in connexion with the suburban temple at Daphne.[10] The local cult had been the worship of Apollo at the Castalian stream, and the place was formerly a lounge for the gay, the luxurious, and the vicious.[11] Gallus had transformed it [12] by taking the relics of the martyred St. Babylas [13] there, and the worship of Apollo all but ceased. In August 362 Julian went to keep his festival, and found no one there and no sacrifice but a goose which one poor priest, with his son to serve him, had provided at his own expense.[14] Julian rated the Town Council,[15] set up the

[1] *Misopogon*, 339 A (*Op.* ii. 435).

[2] Amm. Marc. XXII. xiv, § 3, and Zonaras [12 cent.], *Annales*, xiii, § 12 (*P. G.* cxxxiv. 1152 B).

[3] *Misopogon*, 344 A (*Op.* ii. 443) ; Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xviii, § 32 (*Op.* i. 353 ; *P. G.* xxxv. 1025 sqq.) ; Soz. *H. E.* VI. ii, § 6.

[4] *Misopogon*, 364 B, C (*Op.* ii. 470).

[5] Socr. *H. E.* III. xvii, § 2 ; Soz. *H. E.* V. xix, §§ 1, 2 ; *Misopogon*, 350, 368 C–370 B (*Op.* ii. 476 sqq.) ; Gibbon, c. xxiv (ii. 484) ; Glover, 71 sq.

[6] *Op.* 337–71 (ii. 433–79, ed. Hertlein).

[7] Glover, 72 ; cf. Socrates, *H. E.* III. i, § 58, and Amm. Marc. XXII. xiv, § 2.

[8] Gibbon, c. xxiv (ii. 485, ed. Bury).

[9] Chrysostom, *Op.* II. i. 1–224 (*P. G.* xlix. 15–222).

[10] Socr. *H. E.* III. xviii ; Soz. *H. E.* V. xix, xx ; Thdt. *H. E.* III. x, xi ; Gibbon, c. xxiii (ii. 465 sq., ed. Bury).

[11] Soz. *H. E.* V. xix, § 8.

[12] Ibid., §§ 12, 13.

[13] Babylas was bishop of Antioch *c.* 236–†*c.* 50, and was martyred in the Decian persecution : see Gibbon, c. xxiii, n. 113 (ii. 467, ed. Bury) ; J. B. Lightfoot, *Ap. F.*[2] II. i. 40–4 ; and H. H. Milman, *The Martyr of Antioch*, 83 (London, 1822), i. e. St. Margaret, patroness of St. Frideswide, of Binsey, and of St. Margaret's, Oxford.

[14] *Misopogon*, 362 B (*Op.* ii. 467).

[15] He gives us his speech in ibid. 362 B–363 C (*Op.* ii. 467–9), and Document No. 37.

shrine of Apollo again, and unstopped the stream. After a time, however, he heard that the oracle was silent. It was all due to 'the dead man',[1] Babylas. The Christians eagerly seized his relics, and carried them in triumph for five miles to Antioch. They chanted as they went:

> Confounded be all they that worship carved images,
> And that delight in vain gods:
> Worship Him all ye gods.[2]

The Emperor took it as, no doubt, it was meant for, a personal insult. The Prefect of the East, Sallustius,[3] had a young Christian named Theodore put to the torture[4]; and Julian caused Publia, the abbess of a small community, who sang some similar verses in his face, to have her ears boxed in court.[5] It was hardly persecution, and there was much provocation; but he was losing his temper. Scarcely were the relics translated than on 22 Oct. 362 the temple at Daphne was burnt to the ground.[6] Julian put it down to Christian incendiaries; the Christians, to the judgement of God. Torture was employed to discover the perpetrators; but to no avail. In revenge, Julian closed the Golden Church, or Cathedral, of Antioch; while his uncle Julian, *Comes Orientis*, and Felix, *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, both renegade Christians, carried off the sacred vessels. They were themselves carried off by sudden death.[7] This the populace took as a prophecy of the Emperor's coming doom; and they let him know what they thought, or hoped, by shouting the Imperial titles in the streets, with a sinister meaning to them: *Felix Iulianus Augustus*—as if to say, Felix and Julian are gone, it will be the turn of Augustus next.[8] Such were the events that led Julian, in January–February 363, to write his *Contra Christianos* in answer to a recent brochure of Diodore, afterwards bishop of Tarsus 378–†94, against the return to paganism.[9] They are full of spitefulness, and indicate, as we have seen, a consciousness that Christianity would be too

[1] Chrysostom, *De S. Babyla*, § 15 (*Op.* II. i. 560; *P. G.* l. 555).
[2] Ps. xcvii. 7.
[3] Gwatkin, *Arianism* [2], 289.
[4] Socr. *H. E.* III. xix; Soz. *H. E.* v. xx; Thdt. *H. E.* III. xi; Rufinus, *H. E.* i, §§ 35–6 (*Op.* 260–2; *P. L.* xx. 503 sq.).
[5] Thdt. *H. E.* III. xix. The verses were 'Their idols are silver and gold', &c., Ps. cxv. 4, 5, and 'Let God arise', &c., Ps. lxviii. 1.
[6] Soz. *H. E.* v. xx, § 5; Thdt. *H. E.* III. xi, § 4.
[7] Amm. Marc. XXII. xiii, § 2; Soz. *H. E.* v. viii; Thdt. *H. E.* III. xii.
[8] Amm. Marc. XXIII. i, § 5.
[9] Whence Julian's allusion to him, in his letter to Photinus, as 'Nazaraei magus', *Ep.* lxxix (*Op.* ii. 606).

strong for him. With this and the *Misopogon*, February 363, he concluded a winter clouded with misfortunes: famine [1] and earthquake,[2] as well as persecution by the martyrdom at Antioch, 25 January 363, of the younger soldiers Juventinus and Maximin.[3] On 5 March he turned his back on 'the city full of all vices',[4] as he called it when he left. Julian and Antioch were disappointed with each other.

(6) He manifested an equal distaste and resentment in his dealings with Athanasius.[5] 'He honoured Athanasius', says Gibbon, 'with his sincere and peculiar hatred'[6]—no doubt, because in him he saw incarnated the power which he both loathed and feared.[7] On 30 November 361 the accession of Julian was formally proclaimed in Alexandria [8]; and a month later George came to his untimely end. After his murder the Arian party had a possible candidate for the vacant throne in the person of their local leader,[9] Lucius. Socrates says they now put him forward,[10] but Sozomen corrects the statement.[11] At any rate, when the edict of 9 February 362, permitting the exiled bishops to return, became known, Lucius, if he had entered upon the contest, abandoned it. And very wisely. For Athanasius at once took advantage of the edict, and reappeared in Alexandria, 21 February, to the joy of his people.[12] His return was an ovation. When Julian heard of it, he sent off an angry letter to the Alexandrians, March 362, to say that he never meant to recall the bishops to their sees; it was enough for them not to be in exile. Athanasius, who had been banished by so many decrees of so many Emperors, should have had the decency to wait for permission to resume 'what is called the episcopal throne'.[13] He must forthwith depart. This was, as Gibbon says, to raise an 'arbitrary distinction'[14] between returning from exile and re-entering upon possession, purely for the benefit of Athanasius. Accordingly, Athanasius declined to go; and, instead of going, dared to baptize some Greek ladies of high rank.

[1] Amm. Marc. XXII. xiv, § 1; Libanius, *Orat.* xviii, §§ 195–6 (*Op.* 587 sq. [ii. 321 sq., ed. Förster]). [2] Amm. Marc. XXII. xiii, § 5.
[3] Thdt. *H. E.* III. xv.
[4] Libanius, *Orat.* xv, § 55 (*Op.* 469 [ii. 141, ed. Förster]).
[5] *D. C. B.* i. 197, iii. 510; Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxi, §§ 32–3 (*Op.* i. 407–8; *P. G.* xxxv. 1119–24). [6] Gibbon, c. xxiii (ii. 474, ed. Bury).
[7] 'The man who seemed to unite in himself all the force of Christendom,' Glover, 67. [8] *Hist. Aceph.*, § 8. [9] W. Bright, in *D. C. B.* iii. 753.
[10] Socr. *H. E.* III. iv. [11] Soz. *H. E.* VI. v, § 2.
[12] *Hist. Aceph.*, § 10. [13] *Ep.* xxvi. 398 D (*Op.* ii. 515).
[14] Gibbon, c. xxiii (ii. 474, ed. Bury).

The news of this audacity brought a letter, October 362, addressed to Ecdicius, the governor of Egypt, peremptorily ordering the bishop to go; and there was a postscript in Julian's own hand—'Persecute him'.[1] But the Alexandrians took their bishop's part, and remonstrated. They even sent a deputation to apply for the revocation of the edict. It was in reply to this deputation that Julian sent a third missive, November–December 362, the well-known dispatch[2] in which he contrasts the fatuity of the words of Jesus with the deeds of Alexander and the Ptolemies; cries shame on the Alexandrians for having come to be but a sect of Judaism under the leadership of that 'common little fellow Athanasius', and repeats the order for his expulsion not only from Alexandria but from all Egypt. On receiving the order Athanasius had no choice but to depart—for his fourth exile, 23 October 362–14 February 364. 'Be of good cheer,' he said, 'it is but a cloud; it will soon pass.'[3] Starting up the Nile, he was pursued by some Government agents anxious to execute Julian's implied orders. They met a boat coming down the river, and asked for news of Athanasius. 'He is not far off,' was the reply. The boat was his own, and he himself it was who thus outwitted the police.[4] They hurried on up stream; and Athanasius, clear of his pursuers, made for Memphis, where he wrote the Festal Letter for 363, and thence to the Thebaid.[5]

The cloud was soon passed. On 5 March 363 Julian set out from Antioch for the Persian campaign[6]; and on 26 June he met his death[7] in battle on the Tigris. A cavalry-man's spear, from an unknown hand, grazed his arm and lodged in his right side. He fell from his horse, fainting; and some said that he threw up his own blood toward heaven with the bitter words, 'Vicisti, O Galilaee'.[8] The story is doubtful[9]; but, if invented, it represents what was the effect of his career and the impression it made upon his contemporaries. There is another story of him, better authenticated, to the same effect. 'Well,' said the heathen

[1] *Ep.* vi. 376 B, C (*Op.* ii. 484 sq.).
[2] *Ep.* li. 432–5 (*Op.* ii. 556–9), and Document No. 38.
[3] Socr. *H. E.* III. xiv, § 1; Soz. *H. E.* v. xv, § 3; Thdt. *H. E.* III. ix, § 2.
[4] Socr. *H. E.* III. xiv, §§ 1–5; Thdt. *H. E.* III. ix, § 4.
[5] *Festal Index*, 35; *Hist. Aceph.*, §§ 11, 13.
[6] Gibbon, c. xxiv (ii. 479–530).
[7] Amm. Marc. xxv. iii; Socr. *H. E.* III. xxi; Soz. *H. E.* VI. i, ii; Thdt. *H. E.* III. xxv.
[8] Thdt. *H. E.* III. xxv, § 7.
[9] Contrast Amm. Marc. xxv. iii, § 15; Gibbon, c. xxiv (ii. 515 sqq.); J. H. Newman, *The scope and nature of University Education*[2], Discourse vii, 282 sq., 308 sq. (London, 1859).

Libanius to a young Christian friend at Antioch, as Julian rode out, in high hopes, for the Persian Wars, 'What is the Carpenter's Son about now?' 'Sophist,' was the reply, 'He is making a coffin.'[1] For Julian's character, the *locus classicus* is the well-known contrast of his virtues and failings in Ammianus Marcellinus.[2] Humour and pathos lie close together in Julian's case. We may smile at him, and we must be sorry for him. But we cannot condemn him. One thing, among many contrasts in the man, stands out clear about him: it was his isolation[3] that caused his failure. 'He turned his face to the past, and his back upon the future.'[4] He stood where the old and the new world met; and all that he attempted came to nothing, for he belonged to neither.

II

It is now time to turn to the internal affairs of the Church during the reign of Julian. Briefly, they may be described as a well-sustained effort on the part of the Christians to close their ranks against the heathen Emperor. These efforts were successful at, § 3, the Council of Alexandria; unfortunate in regard to, § 4, the schism at Antioch; yet, except for, § 5, the Luciferian schism, they were brought to a happy conclusion, § 6, in the West.

§ 3. The Council of Alexandria[5] met shortly after, 21 February 362, the return of Athanasius from his third exile. His first effort was to assemble the Council, apparently at the suggestion of Eusebius, bishop of Vercellae, ?340–?†371–5, who was now returning from banishment in the Thebaid, in order to restore unity among Christians in face of the renegade Emperor. It met in August 362. Only twenty-one bishops[6] were present, most of them returning from exile: Athanasius, Eusebius, and Asterius of Petra 344–62 being the most conspicuous among them. The firebrand Lucifer, who had also been in exile in the Thebaid, is mentioned as represented in the Synod by two deacons. He had hurried

[1] Soz. *H. E.* VII. ii, § 9; Thdt. III. xxiii.

[2] Amm. Marc. xxv. iv. See also *D. C. B.* iii. 516 sqq.; Rendall, 264 sqq., and a review in *Guardian* of 19 January 1881; Glover, 76; *C. Q. R.* xi. 24 (October 1880).

[3] Gwatkin speaks of his 'awful loneliness', *Arianism*[2], 215, n. 3.

[4] F. R. Chateaubriand, *Études historiques*, ii. 57 (1831).

[5] Mansi, iii. 343–58; Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 963–9; *E. Tr.* ii. 276–80; Tillemont, *Mém.* viii. 204–13; Fleury, iv. 56–65; Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 209–11; and the historians, Socr. *H. E.* III. vii; Soz. *H. E.* v. xii; Thdt. *H. E.* III. iv; Rufinus, *H. E.* i, §§ 28–9 (*Op.* 255–6; *P. L.* xxi. 498–9).

[6] For their names, see their Synodal Letter, i. e. Ath. *Tomus ad Antiochenos*, §§ 1, 10 (*Op.* ii. 615, 619 sq.; *P. G.* xxvi. 796 A, 808 sq.).

off to Antioch to do what, in his view, would settle matters there, but really what prevented a settlement. Paulinus, too, was represented by two deacons; and Apollinaris, now bishop of Laodicea (Latakia) in Syria, 361–77, by 'certain monks'.[1] Apart from the general situation, it was clearly the divisions and the theological questions now arising in the church of Antioch that occupied the attention of the Council; and, if its decisions met with an acceptance out of all proportion to its numbers, this was due to the sobering of Christian partisanship under Julian, but also to the wise moderation of Athanasius who presided: not, as Gibbon says, like a 'dictator',[2] but in his congenial capacity of arbiter and peacemaker.

Four topics claimed the consideration of the bishops; and we may take them in order as they are dealt with in the Synodal Letter which the Council addressed to Paulinus of Antioch and his flock and to Eusebius, Lucifer, and three other prelates. It is commonly known as the *Tomus ad Antiochenos*,[3] 'Tome' being the name for a doctrinal letter. It was evidently drafted by Athanasius, for it conveyed the decisions of the Synod in terms which could only have proceeded from a man of his insight and forbearance. Eusebius was chosen to carry it to Antioch.

(1) The first business was to unite the Meletians at Antioch with the Eustathians—the majority of the orthodox with the minority which Athanasius had steadily recognized. Euzoïus, the Arian bishop of Antioch, had allowed this minority under Paulinus to worship unmolested in their little church in the New Town, on an island in the river.[4] But now, by Julian's decree of 9 February 362, Meletius had returned. He occupied the church of the Apostles, the Golden Church, or cathedral of Antioch in the Old Town, or principal part of the city which lay on the left bank of the Orontes. Meletius had suffered exile for disappointing the expectations of the Arians who had procured his appointment. He and his flock, by far the larger proportion of the orthodox at Antioch, were entitled to recognition if only for this, by the unbending few, now led by Paulinus, who for thirty years had

[1] Ath. *Tomus ad Antiochenos*, § 9 (*Op.* ii. 619; *P. G.* xxvi. 808 A).
[2] Gibbon, c. xxiii (ii. 473, ed. Bury).
[3] Text in Ath. *Op.* ii. 615–20 (*P. G.* xxvi. 785–810); tr., with notes, by W. Bright, in Athanasius, *Later Treatises*, 1–16 (*L. F.* xlvi), and *N. and P.-N. F.* iv. 482–6.
[4] Socr. *H. E.* III. ix, § 4.

made no concessions. The Council directed that Paulinus should offer his communion to Meletius on the sole condition of his adherents 'professing the Nicene Faith' and 'anathematizing the Arian heresy', whether in its older form or as now applied to 'the Holy Spirit' by 'those who say that He is a creature and separate from the essence of Christ'.[1] The allusion is probably to Acacius,[2] for Athanasius in his fourth *Letter to Serapion* couples together Acacius and Patrophilus as Pneumatomachi.[3] The decision marks a new turn in the controversy.[4]

(2) The second business was the reception of the Arians who were coming over to the Nicene side. The stricter party would have put them to penance. That would have excluded them permanently from clerical office; and, as they were so many, a schism might have followed. They were, in fact, members of the Council of Ariminum who now regretted their weak or thoughtless concessions; and, so far, were entitled to generous treatment. It was readily accorded. All were to be received on the same terms as the Meletians at Antioch. Only the Arian wire-pullers were to be reduced to lay communion.[5]

(3) Theological differences, arising out of the variable use of the word *ὑπόστασις*, were the third topic for discussion. We have already looked into the history of the term, in dealing with the correspondence that passed between Dionysius, bishop of Rome, and Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, just a hundred years before this Council.[6] The present question concerned its use. A considerable number, including those who had emerged from semi-Arianism,[7] were in the habit of speaking of *τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις* in the Godhead. Meletius and his friends did so. It was the common usage of the East, which here followed Origen's use of the term [8] in the sense of *Persona*. Athanasius himself occasionally conformed [9] to this use of *ὑπόστασις*. But the majority, including

[1] Ath. *Tom. ad Ant.*, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 616; *P. G.* xxvi. 797 sqq.).
[2] Gwatkin, *Arianism* [2], 210, n. 2.
[3] Ath. *Ep. ad Serap.* iv, § 7 (*Op.* ii. 560; *P. G.* xxvi. 647 B).
[4] H. B. Swete, *The early history of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit*, 47 sqq.
[5] Rufinus, *H. E.* i, § 28 (*Op.* 255; *P. L.* 498 sq.).
[6] Vol. i, c. xvii.
[7] The reason why the sense of 'Person' or 'Subsistence' was attached to *ὑπόστασις* by them, and why the use of the phrase, 'Three hypostases' was more common with the semi-Arians, was that this language definitely excluded any taint of Sabellianism or Marcellianism, Robertson, *Ath.* 482.
[8] e. g. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, viii, § 12 (*Op.* i. 750; *P. G.* xi. 1333 B).
[9] Ath. *In illud 'Omnia'*, &c., § 6 (*Op.* i. 86; *P. G.* xxv. 220 A), where he uses *τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις*, *Orat. c. Ar.* iv, § 25 (*Op.* ii. 504; *P. G.* xxvi.

Paulinus, adhered to the older phrase Μία ὑπόστασις in the sense of *Substantia*; and this was the common usage not only of the West, as illustrated by Jerome's statement, in a letter of 376, to Damasus that he thought 'tres substantiae' or 'three *hypostases*' spelt tritheism,[1] but of Athanasius who ordinarily employed ὑπόστασις in this sense.[2] It is the sense in which it appeared in the Nicene anathema,[3] and in the phrase τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις as affirmed by Arius himself.[4] There was, therefore, much room for misunderstanding, and it was easy to take offence. Westerns who spoke of *Una substantia* or Μία ὑπόστασις regarded the Eastern τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις or *tres substantiae* as tritheistic, and all who used it as Arians: while the Easterns in their turn suspected Μία ὑπόστασις as Sabellian. In this difficulty, Athanasius was the fittest person to mediate; for he knew both East and West, and himself used the word in question now in one sense and now in another. The decision was characteristic of him. Gregory tells us that he went into the meaning of both parties, and found them really at one.[5] And this is borne out by the *Tome*. The Council asked those who maintained 'three *hypostases*' whether they meant 'three Gods'. 'Far be it from us,' they replied: 'we simply mean to assert our belief in a Trinity, not in name but in truth, i.e. to safeguard the true personal subsistence of Father, Son and Holy Spirit.'[6] 'We accepted these men's interpretation,' says the *Tome*. Athanasius then turned to those who spoke of 'One *hypostasis*', and asked them 'whether they used the expression in the sense of Sabellius'. 'Certainly not: we use ὑπόστασις as the Nicenes used it for "substance" [essence], and we mean to assert the consubstantial [co-essential] Unity.'[7] It was a memorable effort at peacemaking, so to go down below phrases to the ideas which they were meant to convey.[8] In effect,

505 C). This use would have come down to him from Origen, through Dionysius and Alexander, his predecessors: for the last, see Thdt. *H. E.* I. iv, § 38.

[1] 'Tota saecularium literarum schola nihil aliud ὑπόστασιν nisi οὐσίαν novit. Et quisquam, rogo, ore sacrilego, "tres substantias" praedicabit?' Jerome, *Ep.* xv, § 4 (*Op.* i. 40; *P. L.* xxii. 357).

[2] Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* iii, § 65, iv, §§ 1, 33 (*Op.* ii. 487, 490, 509; *P. G.* xxvi. 461 A, 468 C, 520 A).

[3] Socr. *H. E.* I. viii, § 30.

[4] Ath. *De syn.*, § 16 (*Op.* ii. 583; *P. G.* xxvi. 709 B).

[5] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxi, § 35 (*Op.* i. 410; *P. G.* xxxv. 1125 B).

[6] Ath. *Tom. ad Ant.*, § 5 (*Op.* ii. 617; *P. G.* xxvi. 801 A, B), and Document No. 51.

[7] Ibid., § 6 (*Op.* ii. 617; *P. G.* xxvi. 801 C), and Document No. 51.

[8] J. M. Neale, *Patriarchate of Alexandria*, i. 194.

both sides accepted the position afterwards formulated in the *Quicunque vult*: 'The Catholic Faith is this that we worship the one God as a Trinity and the Trinity as an Unity'; and, for the practical purpose of reconciliation at the moment, misunderstanding was removed and a good purpose served. But, so far as the history of theological terminology goes, the Council was not on what ultimately proved the winning side. What stage then, in the growth of terminology, do its decisions represent? It did not say, as Gregory reports,[1] that the term ὑπόστασις might be used in either sense; nor is Socrates right in saying that the Council proscribed the use of the term altogether.[2] What it did was to throw its weight on to the side of the Nicene use of the term,[3] and to tolerate the other. But the other prevailed. Didymus, the blind scholar of Alexandria, 314–†94, uses ὑπόστασις for 'Person'[4]; and 'Hypostatic Union'—the great Christological phrase[5] of the days of Cyril, archbishop of Alexandria 412–†44—shows that, within a generation, ὑπόστασις had come to be generally accepted in the non-Nicene sense of 'Person'.

(4) The fourth subject of debate has reference to Christological questions[6] now rising, for the first time, into prominence, and specially in the neighbourhood of Antioch. Here Diodore,[7] afterwards bishop of Tarsus 378–†94, was, *c.* 360, Head of the Catechetical School; but was watched with some suspicion by the younger Apollinaris,[8] who became bishop of the neighbouring

[1] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxi, § 35 (*Op.* i. 410; *P. G.* xxxv. 1125 B).
[2] Socr. *H. E.* III. vii, § 14.
[3] Ath. *Tom. ad Ant.*, § 6 (*Op.* i. 617 sq.; *P. G.* xxvi. 804 A).
[4] Didymus, *De Trin.* i, § 11 (*Op.* 14; *P. G.* xxxix. 293 B).
[5] For which see W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo* ², 128 sq.
[6] Ath. *Tom. ad Ant.*, § 7 (*Op.* ii. 618; *P. G.* xxvi. 804 sq.), and Document No. 51.
[7] For Diodore and his works, see *P. G.* xxxiii. 1560–1628; Bardenhewer, 315–18.
[8] For (*a*) the fragments of Apollinaris, see H. Lietzmann, *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule* (Tübingen, 1904); for (*b*) the authorities, and the Catholic criticism of Apollinaris, Ath. *Contra Apollinarium* (*Op.* ii. 736–62; *P. G.* xxvi. 1093–1166); Epiph. *Haer.* lxxvii, esp. §§ 2, 24 (*Op.* ii. 995–1033; *P. G.* xlii. 641–700); Greg. Nyss., *Antirrheticus adv. Apoll.* (*Op.* ii; *P. G.* xlv. 1124–1269), and *Ad Theophilum adv. Apoll.* (*Op.* ii; *P. G.* xlv. 1269–77); Basil, *Epp.* cxxix [A. D. 373], and cclxiii [A. D. 377], § 4 (*Op.* iii. 220 sq., 406 sq.; *P. G.* xxxii. 557 sq., 980 sq.); Greg. Naz. *Epp.* ci, cii, ccii (*Op.* 83–97, 166–9; *P. G.* xxxvii. 175–202, 329–34); Theodoret, *Eranistes* (*Op.* iv. 1–279; *P. G.* lxxxiii. 27–336), and *Compendium*, iv, § 8 (*Op.* iv. 362 sq.; *P. G.* lxxxiii. 425 C), and Vincent of Lerins, *Commonitorium*, § 12 (*P. L.* l. 654); and for (*c*) modern accounts, Tillemont, *Mém.* vii. 602–37; J. H. Newman, *Church of the Fathers*, c. xi, and *Tracts theol. and eccl.* 303–27 (ed. 1899); W. Bright, *Later Treatises*, 79 sqq.; *Sermons of St. Leo* ²,

Laodicea in Syria, 361–77, and died 392. Both were vigorous opponents of Arianism; but, while Diodore taught the Christology traditional in Antioch, i.e. that Christ was a man indwelt by God, Apollinaris saw the rationalistic, humanitarian, or rather psilanthropic basis of this theory; and, further, Apollinaris, with characteristic versatility and daring, conceived the plan of taking the Arian Christology and turning it against them. This doctrine of Christ's Person derived from Paul of Samosata and Lucian, and taught that 'God was incarnate but not made man: for He did not take a human soul (ψυχή) but became flesh, in order that through flesh, as through a veil, He might consort with us men. He had not two natures, since He was not complete man; but God was in flesh instead of a soul.'[1] It was easy for the Arians, as in this extract from the Creed of Eudoxius, bishop of Antioch 357–60, to think of the Godhead as able to discharge the functions of the immaterial part of human nature. This 'Godhead' was to them but titular, and might easily act in that capacity. Such was the Arian Christology: dichotomist in its analysis of human nature into body (σῶμα) or flesh (σάρξ) and soul (ψυχή), and proportionately simple and ostensibly Scriptural[2] in its doctrine of the Person of our Lord as 'God in flesh'. Apollinaris, at first, adopted this dichotomy. But, being 'primarily an exegete',[3] he afterwards exchanged it for the trichotomist[4] analysis of human nature into body, soul, and spirit (πνεῦμα) of St. Paul in 1 *Thess.* v. 23.[5] With this modification, he set out to build up a Christology in conformity with the Nicene Creed which taught that our Lord 'was' not only 'incarnate' but 'was made man'. He would allow an 'animal' or 'irrational soul'[6] (ψυχὴ ἄλογος = 'anima') to exist in the Incarnate along with 'body'. Indeed, it was included in corporeity.[7] By the Incarnation, therefore, according to Apollinaris, God took both body and

156 sq.; *Waymarks*, 114–24; J. Tixeront, *Hist. of Dogmas*, ii. 94–111; Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 242 sq.; J. Hastings, *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, i. 606 sqq.

[1] A. Hahn, § 191. [2] John i. 14.

[3] O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 243, from Jerome, *De vir. illustr.*, § 104 (*Op.* ii. 936 sq.; *P. L.* xxiii. 703 A). [4] Socr. *H. E.* II. xlvi, § 10.

[5] Fragment 88 (Lietzmann, 226); cf. Fr. 23, 89.

[6] Which we share with the animals: 'living soul' of Gen. ii. 7 and 1 Cor. xv. 45 is used of 'four-footed beasts and creeping things' in Gen. i. 24, and contrasted with 'life-giving Spirit' in 1 Cor. xv. 45.

[7] As in 'a natural body' (σῶμα ψυχικόν) of 1 Cor. xv. 44. The sense passes from 'natural' or 'animal' to sensual in Jas. iii. 15. The process of salvation consists in rescuing 'the soul' from the service of 'the body' and securing it for the purposes of 'the spirit', Heb. x. 39.

soul, both a material and an immaterial part. But He did not take 'rational soul' (ψυχὴ λογική = 'anima rationalis'),[1] mind (νοῦς, 'mens') or 'spirit' (πνεῦμα). 'Christ,' said Apollinaris, when his theories had taken their final shape by 374, 'having God for spirit, i.e. for mind, together with soul and body, is rightly called "the Man from heaven".'[2] And the reason for this exclusion of mind was that it could not, as he thought, be included in the Christ without involving (*a*) what Diodore taught, in effect, when he conceived of the Incarnate as united with a man, i.e. a dual personality,[3] and (*b*) what Arianism had taught, i.e. His liability to sin.[4] For mind is the seat both of personality and of sin[5]; and Christ, according to Apollinaris, who was jealous both for the singleness of His Person and for His sinlessness, could not, in that case, have taken a human mind. 'The absence of mind, then, from His manhood was the characteristic tenet of Apollinaris,'[6] in the ultimate development of his system. But the Council of Alexandria dealt with it only in its first stages. Apollinaris had been intimate[7] with Athanasius in 346; he was still unsuspected by Basil[8] in 355; he would hardly have been promoted to a bishopric when the Arians were all powerful in 361 had his peculiar position been known then. But he thought it worth while to send delegates to the Council[9] when the current negation of a human soul in the Saviour was to come before it, as well as the opinion of Diodore, which he had set out to combat, that the Word of God dwelt in Jesus as it came to the Prophets. The Council handled the difficulty in the same way as before, and satisfied itself that the two schools—afterwards connected with the names of Diodore and Apollinaris—were, so far, really at one. The school of Antioch disclaimed any sort of sympathy with the

[1] *Quicunque vult*, vv. 32, 37. [2] Fr. 25 (l. 210), and 1 Cor. xv. 47.

[3] Fr. 2 (l. 204); and the phrase of Theodore, which he apparently owed to Diodore, 'Adoramus purpuram propter indutum et templum propter habitatorem, formam servi propter formam Dei', Marius Mercator [†452 ?], *Excerpta Theod. Mops.* v, § 10 (*P. L.* xlviii. 1062 B).

[4] His τρεπτότης or moral mutability: see Arius in the *Thalia*, in Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* i, § 5 (*Op.* ii. 322; *P. G.* xxvi. 21 C), and as reported and condemned by Alexander in his Encyclical (Socr. *H. E.* I. vi. § 2); and in his letter to Al. of Byz. (Thdt. *H. E.* I. iv, § 11); and in the Nicene anathema (Socr. *H. E.* I. viii, § 45); and in Ath. *Epist. ad episc. Aeg.*, § 12 (*Op.* i. 222; *P. G.* xxv. 564 C); and Fr. 76 (l. 22).

[5] Ath. *Contra Apoll.* i, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 736; *P. G.* xxvi. 1096 B).

[6] J. H. Newman, *Tracts*, &c., 308.

[7] Soz. *H. E.* VI. xxvii, § 7.

[8] Basil, *Ep.* ccxxiii, § 4 (*Op.* iv. 330; *P. G.* xxxii. 828 B).

[9] Ath. *Tom. ad Ant.*, § 9 (*Op.* ii. 619; *P. G.* xxvi. 808 A).

notion that 'the Word, as it came to the prophets, so dwelt in a holy man at the consummation of the ages': while the school of Laodicea 'acknowledged this that the Saviour had not a body without a soul, nor without perception nor without a mind'.[1] Whether the Apollinarians had not yet taken in the real issues of their position, or whether their acknowledgement was equivocal,[2] it is difficult to say. We may give them the benefit of the doubt, as did the Council, where all was charity and equity under the guidance of Athanasius.

§ 4. Having thus concluded its efforts for peace, the Council sent Eusebius and Asterius,[3] with its Synodal Letter, to Paulinus and his flock. They had instructions to effect, on the spot, a reconciliation between the two orthodox parties in schism at Antioch. But they arrived only to find their fellow-exile Lucifer there before them. With characteristic impetuosity he had consecrated the priest Paulinus[4] to be bishop, 362–†88; and, though Paulinus now added his signature to the Synodal Letter which Eusebius brought,[5] all hope of settling the dissensions at Antioch was, for the present, gone. Lucifer, by acting on his own authority, turned the dispute into a long and weary schism that was not healed for fifty years.[6] Happily, Eusebius left in communion with both the orthodox parties. Athanasius and Egypt inclined, at first, to hold communion with Meletius[7]; but he compromised himself[8] by associating with Acacius, bishop of Caesarea, 340–†65, at the Council of Antioch, October 363.[9] So Athanasius, on receiving a paper[10] from Paulinus, fell back

[1] Ath. *Tom. ad Ant.*, § 7 (*Op.* ii. 618; *P. G.* xxvi. 804 B), and Document No. 51.

[2] The last words quoted are probably those of the two delegates of Apollinaris. But, if so, they do not represent actually (though they do verbally) what Apollinaris himself wrote, 377, to the bishops in Diocaesarea (Sepphoris, now Safouri) in Palestine, for which see Fr. 163 (l. 256). In other words His νοῦς was, in fact, His Godhead: W. Bright, *Later Treatises*, 10, note i, 11, note k.

[3] Ath. *Tom. ad Ant.*, §§ 2, 10 (*Op.* ii. 615, 619 sq.; *P. G.* xxvi. 797 A, 809 sq.).

[4] Jerome, *Chron.* ad ann. 366, 'Accitis duobus aliis confessoribus, Paulinum . . . episcopum facit' (*Op.* viii; *P. L.* xxvii. 691); Socr. *H. E.* III. ix, §§ 1–3; Soz. *H. E.* v. xiii, §§ 1–3; Thdt. *H. E.* III. v, § 1.

[5] Ath. *Tom. ad Ant.*, § 11 (*Op.* ii. 620; *P. G.* xxvi. 810 A).

[6] It lasted, in all, eighty-five years, 329–414, and was healed by Alexander, bishop of Antioch, 413–†c. 420–2; Thdt. *H. E.* III. v, § 2.

[7] Basil, *Ep.* cclviii, § 3 (*Op.* iv. 394; *P. G.* xxxii. 952 A).

[8] Socr. *H. E.* III. xxv, § 14.

[9] Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 971 sq.; *E. Tr.* ii. 281–3.

[10] Ath. *Tom. ad Ant.*, § 11 (*Op.* ii. 620; *P. G.* xxvi. 809 A–C) and

upon his traditional alliance with him and his orthodox minority at Antioch. The West also acknowledged Paulinus. The East recognized Meletius.[1] 'Henceforth the rising Nicene party of Pontius and Asia was divided from the older Nicenes of Rome and Egypt by this unfortunate personal question.'[2]

§ 5. Returning to the West, Lucifer entered upon a course of action which led to the Luciferian schism.[3] He would not consent to the mild treatment for Arians which had been decided upon at Alexandria; and he therefore renounced all communion with Eusebius and Athanasius.[4] It was the history of Novatianism and Donatism over again. The offence was the tenderness of the Church: in those instances, to the lapsed; in this, to backsliders in doctrine. But Lucifer exhibited the same temper as Novatian and Donatus; and, as Augustine has it, 'he fell into the darkness of schism, through loss of the light of charity.'[5] He died in 371; but the rigid little sect of Luciferians became worse than Lucifer in their rigorism. Lucifer disallowed Arian ordination, but acknowledged Arian baptism.[6] His followers rebaptized even converts from the Church.[7] Jerome wrote against them, 379, in his *Dialogus adversus Luciferianos*,[8] 'small number' as they were. They exercised little influence, and, early in the fifth century, they returned to the Church. But, in the meanwhile, from their founder's death, they were headed by that Hilary the deacon who had been his colleague[9] as legate of Liberius at the Council of Milan, 355. In the *Dialogue* 'Orthodoxus' argues that, being but a deacon, his following had no priest and no sacrament, and was therefore a sect for 'ecclesia non est quae non habet sacerdotes'.[10] The temper of the sect is well illustrated by the *Libellus precum* addressed by two Luciferian presbyters, Faustinus and Marcellinus, to the Emperors Valentinian II, Theodosius, and Arcadius. They spoke of the Council of Alex-

Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxxvii, § 21 (*Op.* ii. 1015; *P. G.* xlii. 672): see Tillemont, *Mém.* viii. 221; W. Bright, *Later Tr. of St. Ath.* 15, note k.

[1] Basil, *Ep.* cclviii, § 3, *ut sup.* [2] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[2], 211.

[3] Tillemont, *Mém.* vii. 514–29; Fleury, iv. 65–7.

[4] Socr. *H. E.* III. ix, §§ 5–8; Soz. *H. E.* v. xiii. § 4; Thdt. *H. E.* III. v, § 4; Rufinus, *H. E.* i, § 30 (*Op.* 257 sq.; *P. L.* xxi. 500 sq.).

[5] Aug. *Ep.* clxxxv, § 4 (*Op.* ii. 661 F; *P. L.* xxxiii. 513).

[6] Jerome, *Dial. c. Lucif.*, § 6 (*Op.* ii. 176 sq.; *P. L.* xxiii. 160 sq.).

[7] Ibid., § 26 (*Op.* ii. 199 sq.; *P. L.* xxiii. 180 sq.).

[8] Jerome, *Op.* ii. 171–202 (*P. L.* xxiii. 155–82).

[9] Hilary, *Fr.* v, § 6 (*Op.* ii. 674; *P. L.* x. 686 A).

[10] Jerome, *Dial. c. Lucif.*, § 21 (*Op.* ii. 194; *P. L.* xxiii. 175 C).

andria as a synod of ' weary Confessors ' [1] who made unwarranted concessions ; ' cloaking impiety under the name of peace, and contaminating the whole body of Church-people with heresy.' [2] But zeal without equity defeated its own ends.

§ 6. Far happier were the efforts of Eusebius, bishop of Vercellae, 340–†74, and Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, 350–†68, as peacemakers in the West.[3] On returning to Italy, Eusebius found Hilary ready to co-operate with him ; and together they ' irradiated Italy, Illyricum and Gaul '.[4] By the help of the Synod of Alexandria and by other Synods held in Italy,[5] Achaia,[6] Gaul, and Spain,[7] they got the bishops out of ' the wiles of Ariminum ' in which they had been ' entangled ',[8] by inducing them to sign the Nicene Creed. Liberius made full profession of his belief in a letter to Athanasius,[9] and urged the prelates of Italy to clear themselves. ' Repentance ', he said, as if with an eye to his own past, ' effaces the fault of inexperience.' [10] They were glad to repent ; and Jerome tells of the joy with which they seized the opportunity to protest that they had been deceived.[11] But, all the same, it was no easy task to destroy the prestige of the Council of Ariminum. The greater part of the *Letter to the bishops of Africa*,[12] written by Athanasius six years later, 369, is taken up with the attempt. In Africa efforts had been made to represent that Synod as a final settlement of the Faith, and so to set aside the authority of Nicaea. And one of the last survivors of the victory of Ariminum, Auxentius, bishop of Milan, 355–†74, was still, to the surprise of Athanasius, in possession of his see as the last champion of Arianism in the West. So lasting was the prestige of Ariminum : very difficult to destroy, as Eusebius and Hilary found. It would be argued that this Council was both numerous and authoritative ; more numerous than the Council of Nicaea, more authoritative

[1] Faust. et Marc. *Libellus Precum*, § 14 (*P. L.* xiii. 93 B).
[2] Ibid., § 15 (*P. L.* xiii. 93 D).
[3] Tillemont, *Mém.* vii. 557 sq. ; Fleury, iv. 67–9.
[4] Rufinus, *H. E.* i, § 31 (*Op.* 258 ; *P. L.* xxi. 501 A).
[5] Liberius, Letter, 363, to the bishops of Italy—*Imperitiae culpam—ap.* Hil. *Fragm.* xii, §§ 1–2 (*Op.* ii. 702 sq. ; *P. L.* x. 714–16) ; Jaffé, No. 223.
[6] Ibid., § 1 (*Op.* ii. 702 ; *P. L.* x. 715 A).
[7] Ath. *Ep.* lv (*Op.* ii. 768 ; *P. G.* xxvi. 1180 B).
[8] Jerome, *Dial. c. Lucif.*, § 19 (*Op.* ii. 191 ; *P. L.* xxiii. 173 A), and Document No. 137.
[9] Liberius, *Ep. ad. Ath. Haec igitur* (*P. L.* viii. 1395–8), and Jaffé, No. 229.
[10] *Imperitiae culpam, ut sup.*, Liberius, *Ep.* viii, § 1 (*P. L.* viii. 1372 B).
[11] Jerome, *Dial. c. Lucif.*, § 19 (*Op.* ii. 191 ; *P. L.* xxiii. 173 A).
[12] Ath. *Ad Afros* (*Op.* ii. 712–18 ; *P. G.* xxvi. 1029–48) ; tr. and notes in W. Bright, *Later Tr. of St. Ath.* 23–42.

than the Council of Alexandria. Such was its authority that it was imposed as the governmental religion in Africa by the edict [1] of the Vandal king Huneric, 25 February 484; and, as late as 589, its authority had still to be reckoned with in Spain. For when, in that year, the Spanish Church passed over to Catholicism, it was even then requisite to anathematize all who should not repudiate *ex toto corde* the Council of Ariminum.[2]

But owing to the influence of Athanasius in the East, and the zeal for conciliation displayed by Eusebius and Hilary in the West, peace was restored; and, on the death of Julian, the condition of the Church was happier than it had been for many years. Donatism, indeed, reared its head again in Africa. In response to a petition of Rogatian, Pontius, and other Donatist clerics, Julian restored their *status quo ante*,[3] the 'Union' enforced by Macarius and Paul. The Donatists returned; and, under the leadership of Pontius, an outburst of violence ensued which Optatus exhausts his resources of language to describe. But Arianism, in the West, had no such vitality: it was fast disappearing. In the East many returned to the Faith: so that, on the accession of Jovian, Athanasius was able to point, perhaps with pardonable exaggeration, to the Nicene doctrine as the Faith of the Christian world.[4] The Anomoeans, however, under Euzoïus, Aetius, and Eunomius, were tolerably strong in the East; but they served to break down the tyranny of the Homoeans by bringing them into suspicion, as Julian himself had broken it down by depriving them of Court support. It would be felt, therefore, that on the issue of the Persian campaign much would depend for the tranquillity of the Church. Julian, if he returned victorious, might forget his supercilious toleration and turn persecutor. The dream of Didymus gives us a glimpse of Christian apprehensions [5]; and Gregory of Nazianzus has left us a sketch of the exultation of the populace when the news of his death arrived in Antioch.[6]

[1] Victor Vitensis, *De persecutione Vandalica*, iv, c. ii (*Op.* 33 sqq.; *P. L.* lviii. 235 sqq.).

[2] Third Co. of Toledo, c. xvii; Mansi, ix. 986; Hefele, *Councils*, iv. 418.

[3] His rescript is quoted in Aug. *Contra litt. Petil.* ii, § 224 (*Op.* ix. 286 A; *P. L.* xliii. 331); and for an account of what followed, Optatus, *De sch. Don.* ii, §§ 16 sqq. (*Op.* 40; *P. L.* xi. 968 sqq.); and Tillemont, *Mém.* 130 sqq. Pontius seems to have been the moving spirit, Aug. *Contra litt. Petil.* ii, § 205 (*Op.* ix. 278 sq.; *P. L.* xliii. 327).

[4] Ath. *Ep. ad Iov.*, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 623; *P. G.* xxvi. 816 c).

[5] Soz. *H. E.* vi. ii, § 7.

[6] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* v, § 25 (*Op.* i. 163; *P. G.* xxxv. 693); cf. Thdt. *H. E.* iii. xxviii.

CHAPTER VIII

JOVIAN, 363–†4

JULIAN died of his wound at midnight ; and, at a hasty meeting of his generals, Jovian[1] was elected, 27 June 363, to succeed him.[2]

§ 1. His first task was to conduct a retreat and to make peace with Persia.

Hailed by the troops as Augustus, Jovian stated boldly that he was a Christian ; and tried, on that ground, to back out of the dignity.[3] Whether the soldiers committed themselves, as Socrates says,[4] to the declaration that they were Christians too, is open to doubt ; though it may have been only their way of saying that their religion was that of their commander. But the sacrifices were gone through and auguries taken in the morning,[5] to decide upon the movements of the army. At the time of his unexpected elevation Jovian was in his thirty-third year ; of no great distinction, but in command of the Imperial body-guard.[6] He was a man of colossal stature,[7] and, in disposition, a frank, kindly, and straightforward soldier. Ammianus is inclined to disparage him, as 'zealous for the Christian law' ; but he adds that he was of genial bearing.[8] Not pure in life like Julian, he had the merit of being a baptized man. He was therefore the first Christian Emperor ; he was also the first thoroughly Catholic Emperor ; and the first consistently tolerant Emperor. For his policy of toleration, however, Jovian does not deserve much credit. The crisis at which he came to the throne was such that he could not afford to offend any one. For he had to conduct a perilous retreat,[9] 27 June to 1 July 363 ; and then to conclude an 'ignoble peace'[10] with Persia by the treaty of Dura, 12 July. Its terms included a thirty years' truce, and the cession to Persia not only of all the five districts[11] on the Upper

[1] Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* iv. 576–93.
[2] Amm. Marc. xxv. v, § 4 ; Gibbon, c. xxiv (ii. 518, ed. Bury).
[3] Socr. *H. E.* III. xxii, § 4 ; Soz. *H. E.* VI. iii, § 1 ; Thdt. *H. E.* IV. i.
[4] Socr. *H. E.* III. xxii, § 5. [5] Amm. Marc. xxv. vi, § 1.
[6] Ibid. xxv. v, § 4. [7] Ibid. xxv. x, § 14 ; Thdt. *H. E.* IV. ii, § 2.
[8] Amm. Marc. xxv. x, § 15. [9] Gibbon, c. xxiv (ii. 519).
[10] Amm. Marc. xxv. vii, § 13.
[11] Arzanene, Moxoene, Zabdicene, Sophene, Corduene.

Tigris which had been tributary to the Romans since they were acquired from Persia, 297, in the days of Diocletian,[1] but of the great fortresses of Nisibis and Singara.[2] Jovian then hurried back westward,[3] and reached Antioch 23 October 363.

§ 2. At Antioch, 23 October to 21 December,[4] he took measures for the peace of the Church.

In an edict of toleration he declared that all his subjects should enjoy liberty of worship, though he forbade magic.[5] When Socrates says that the temples were shut,[6] this cannot mean by the Emperor's orders but by a popular movement; though Jovian's Corcyrean inscription boasts that he destroyed pagan temples.[7]

He wrote letters to the provincial governors ordering that the assemblies for worship should be held in the churches.[8]

He restored the immunities of the clergy, with grants to widows and virgins, and the allowance of corn which Julian had taken away.[9] The *Labarum*[10] of Constantius had already become the standard again: and it appears on Jovian's coins, where he is represented holding the *Labarum* in one hand and, in the other, a globe surmounted by a Victory.[11]

He had then to deal with the various parties who sought his support. He would not interfere with any one on the score of his belief, but he preferred and favoured the Catholics.[12]

First of the various parties to secure the ear of the Emperor were the semi-Arians or Macedonians. They could scarcely have asked, as Sozomen reports,[13] for the maintenance of the decisions of Ariminum and Seleucia. Jovian sent them off, saying that he hated contentiousness; and refused to banish the Anomoeans as they requested.[14] Anomoeanism, at this time, was reaching the limit. One of its representatives, Theodosius, bishop of Philadelphia in Lydia, who had been deposed, 359, at the Council of Seleucia,[15] gave out that Christ was by nature morally mutable,

[1] Gibbon, c. xiii (i. 375).
[2] Amm. Marc. xxv. vii, §§ 9–14; Socr. *H. E.* III. xxii, § 7; Thdt. *H. E.* IV. iii, § 3.
[3] Amm. Marc. xxv. x, § 1.
[4] Gwatkin, *Arianism*[4], 302.
[5] Gibbon, c. xxv (iii. 4, ed. Bury); but it is doubtful whether the edict was actually issued, ibid., n. 10.
[6] Socr. *H. E.* III. xxiv. § 5.
[7] Gibbon, c. xxv, n. 2 (iii. 2, ed. Bury).
[8] Soz. *H. E.* VI. iii. § 3.
[9] Ibid., § 4; Thdt. *H. E.* IV. iv, § 1.
[10] For a description of it, Eus. *V. C.* I, c. xxxi.
[11] H. Cohen, *Monnaies de l'Empire romain*, viii. 77.
[12] Socr. *H. E.* III. xxv, § 19.
[13] Soz. *H. E.* VI. iv. § 4.
[14] Socr. *H. E.* III. xxv, §§ 2–5.
[15] Ibid. II. xl, § 43.

but, by His pre-eminent practice of virtue, had been lifted up into a condition of moral security.[1] His history was, in fact, that of the Angels. Thus Arianism had come round, in effect, to the position of Paul of Samosata.

Second, the Acacians,[2] still acute and crafty, were minded once more to come out on the winning side. Taking their cue from the Emperor's preference for the Nicene Faith, they observed that he showed respect for Meletius; and entered into negotiations with him, professing their readiness to accept the Creed of Nicaea.

Meletius agreed; and, at a Synod of Antioch,[3] toward the end of 363, in company with Acacius and twenty-five other bishops, formally acknowledged the Nicene Creed. But, in their synodal letter[4] to Jovian, Acacius took care to leave a loophole for himself and his friends by glossing the ὁμοούσιον to mean that 'the Son is born of the essence of the Father and, in respect of essence, is like Him'.[5] The gloss was an interpretation, in the semi-Arian sense, by Acacians, of a Nicene term! Of course, this gave a handle to Paulinus and his friends against Meletius. They would, at once, exclaim: 'Noscitur a sociis': 'We told you so', and so on. It also explains the coolness of Meletius towards the advances of Athanasius, who once more threw in his lot with Paulinus. It did not mend matters that, in the letter, the Acacians followed the semi-Arians in denouncing the Anomoeans.

Third, it was the turn of Athanasius to treat with Jovian. The news of the death of Julian reached him without delay, and he returned to Alexandria, probably in August 363. After his arrival, which was kept secret,[6] he received letters from Jovian:

[1] Philostorgius, *H. E.* viii, § 3 (*P. G.* lxv. 557 B); Epiph. *Haer*, lxxiii, § 26 (*Op.* ii. 874; *P. G.* xlii. 453 B). [2] Socr. *H. E.* III. xxv, §§ 6–10.

[3] Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 971–3; *E. Tr.* ii. 282.

[4] Socr. *H. E.* III. xxv, §§ 10–17; Soz. *H. E.* VI. iv, §§ 7–10.

[5] Ὁμοούσιος, they say, = ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας + ὅμοιος κατ' οὐσίαν, § 14. This was no more than to take Athanasius at his word; he had said so in *De syn.*, § 41 (*Op.* ii. 603; *P. G.* xxvi. 765 B). Probably, the majority signed in good faith, thinking the explanation a safeguard against the Sabellianism which, as says Hilary, *De syn.*, § 71 (*Op.* ii. 502; *P. L.* x. 527 B), might attach to ὁμοούσιος. But Ath., no doubt, suspected some of the signatures, e. g. that of Acacius.

[6] *Hist. Aceph.*, § 13; *Festal Index*, § 35. According to these authorities, Ath. went to meet Jovian near Edessa, and only returned to Alexandria on 14 February 364. In that case, the account of the Synod, opposite, which is based on Thdt. *H. E.* IV. ii, § 5, is a mistake. For this view see Robertson, *Ath.* lxxxiv.

the first, still extant, bidding him to resume his functions[1]; and a second, now lost, desiring him to draw up for the Emperor a statement of the Catholic Faith. Athanasius at once assembled a Council at Alexandria,[2] August 363, and framed a synodal letter *Ad Iovianum*.[3] In this, § 1, commending the Emperor's desire to learn, the bishops, § 2, assure him that the Faith, as confessed at Nicaea, was that which had been preached from time immemorial. The churches in every quarter, Britain included, confess it. Indeed, it is the Faith of the whole world. They then, § 3, give the Nicene Creed; and, § 4, conclude by explaining that the term ὁμοούσιον was adopted because it expresses just this, that 'the Son is a geniune and true Son, truly and naturally from the Father'. They add a note, maintaining the coequality of the Holy Spirit in terms which partly anticipate the expansion of the Nicene Creed as found in its Constantinopolitan form. With this letter he set sail, 5 September 363, for Antioch, where he met with a gracious reception from the Emperor; while Lucius, the rival bishop of Alexandria, was rebuffed with some blunt and soldierly humour.[4]

Fourth, Athanasius then took advantage of the presence of Jovian at Antioch to try to heal the Antiochene schism. One account says that 'he arranged the affairs of the Church',[5] but another significantly adds 'as far as was possible'.[6] Athanasius was at first disposed, as we have seen, to recognize Meletius; but the latter, keenly annoyed by the consecration of Paulinus and, further, by the action of Paulinus in consecrating a bishop for Tyre, by name Diodore,[7] showed some coolness towards Athanasius. Not unnaturally, it was returned: specially as Meletius had compromised himself by glossing the Nicene Creed in company with Acacians. Athanasius who, ever since he had worshipped with the Eustathians on his return in 346, had given them his sympathy, now caused Paulinus to sign a declaration of orthodoxy which he had framed himself, and recognized him as the true bishop of Antioch. Paulinus was supported by

[1] Ath. *Ep.* lvi (*Op.* ii. 622; *P. G.* xxvi. 813 A, B); W. Bright, *Later Tr. of St. Ath.* 17; Robertson, *Ath.* 567.
[2] Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 971 sq.; *E. Tr.* ii. 282.
[3] Ath. *Ep. ad Iov.* (*Op.* ii. 622–4; *P. G.* xxvi. 813–20); Thdt. *H. E.* IV. iii; W. Bright, *Later Tr. of St. Ath.* 17–22; Robertson, *Ath.* 567–9.
[4] Ath. *Op.* ii. 624–6 (*P. G.* xxvi. 819–24); Robertson, *Ath.* 568–9.
[5] *Hist. Aceph.*, § 13. [6] Soz. *H. E.* VI. v, § 2.
[7] Rufinus, *H. E.* ii, § 21 (*Op.* 291; *P. L.* xxi. 527 C).

Egypt and the West, Meletius by the East; and the schism continued. There was no more to be done; and, having written his *Festal Letter* for 364 at Antioch,[1] Athanasius departed, and arrived in Alexandria 14 February 364.[2]

Jovian quitted Antioch before him, December 363, on his way to Constantinople. But he never reached the capital, for he died on the journey, 16–17 February 364, at Dadastana, a border-town of Galatia and Bithynia—choked, as some said, by too heavy a supper or, according to others, by the fumes of a stove in his room.[3]

[1] *Festal Index*, § 36. [2] *Hist. Aceph.*, § 13.
[3] Amm. Marc. xxv. x, §§ 12–13; Socr. *H. E.* III. xxvi; Soz. *H. E.* VI. xi, § 1; Thdt. *H. E.* IV. v; Gibbon, c. xxv (iii. 5, ed. Bury).

CHAPTER IX

VALENTINIAN I, 364–†75; VALENS, 364–†78; GRATIAN, 375–†83

For ten days[1] the Empire was without a head. But on 26 February 364 Jovian was succeeded[2] by one like him in antecedents, Valentinian,[3] †17 November 375. The new Emperor also had been an officer in the army of Julian who had retained his Christianity.[4] But he was superior to Jovian in ability.[5] By conviction a Christian and a Catholic,[6] in one point he was no true Christian. Jovian had his failings: for wine and women. Valentinian's fault was a furious temper.[7] It ruined his reputation as a ruler; and he died in a fit of rage.[8] But though ferocious—as ferocious as the two she-bears which he kept at the door of his chamber and fed on human flesh[9]—Valentinian was pure,[10] and he was tolerant.[11] Such was the man, of fine presence too,[12] who, at the age of forty-three, was invested with the diadem and the purple at Nicaea, 26 February, on the march to Constantinople. Arrived there, he bestowed the title of Augustus, 28 March, on his younger brother, Valens,[13] 364–†78. Though thirty-six years of age, Valens had seen no service, civil or military.[14] He was grossly uncultured,[15] cruel,[16] persecuting; an Arianizer,[17] and the victim of bad favourites.[18] But he had some good qualities,[19] temperance and chastity; and, though a failure as a ruler, he was mercifully considerate toward the overburdened provincials.

[1] Amm. Marc. xxvi. i, § 5. [2] Ibid., ii, §§ 2, 3.
[3] Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* v. 1–74; Gibbon, c. xxv (iii. 1 sqq.).
[4] Socr. *H. E.* iii. xiii, § 4.
[5] Socr. *H. E.* iv. i, § 3; Soz. *H. E.* vi. vi, § 2; cf. his first speech, A. M. xxvi. ii, §§ 6–8. [6] Socr. *H. E.* iv. i, § 5; Soz. *H. E.* vi. vi, § 10.
[7] Amm. Marc. xxvii. vii, § 4, and Document No. 95.
[8] Ibid. xxx. vi. [9] Ibid. xxix. iii, § 9. [10] Ibid. xxx. ix. § 2.
[11] Ibid., § 5, and Document No. 95; Soz. *H. E.* vi. vi, § 10. Tillemont has some interesting reflections on the tolerance of Valentinian, as it appeared to the writer and his age, *Hist. des Emp.* v. 19 sq.
[12] Amm. Marc. xxx. ix, § 6. and Document No. 95; Thdt. *H. E.* iv. vi, §§ 1, 2.
[13] Amm. Marc. xxvi. iv, § 3; Socr. *H. E.* iv. i, § 4; Soz. *H. E.* vi. vi, § 9; Thdt. *H. E.* iv. vi, § 9; Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* v. 75–135.
[14] Gibbon, c. xxv (iii. 10). [15] Amm. Marc. xxix. i, § 11.
[16] Ibid. xxxi. xiv, § 5, 6. [17] Socr. *H. E.* iv. i, § 5.
[18] Amm. Marc. xxix. i, §§ 19, 20. [19] Ibid. xxxi. xiv, §§ 1–4.

His cruelty [1] broke out into love of torture.[2] It was inspired by cowardice and fear, and is to be looked upon as his confession of incapacity. Valens knew what his subjects thought of him. 'They despised', says Gibbon, 'the character of Valens which was rude without vigour and feeble without mildness.' [3] In April the two Emperors quitted the capital. They were at Naissus (Nish) in June and at Sirmium (Mitrowitza) in July. At Nish took place 'the solemn and final division of the Roman Empire'.[4] To Valens was assigned the East, with Constantinople for his capital. Valentinian took the West, and set up his Court at Milan.[5] Both pursued the same policy towards paganism; but towards the Church, while Valens was Arianizing and oppressive, Valentinian—subject to the enforcement of order on disturbers of the peace—was Catholic and tolerant.

I

In the West, Valentinian, after his arrival at Milan, spent nearly a year, November 364 to autumn 365.[6]

§ 1. The see of Milan was in possession of Auxentius, bishop 355–†74. He was an Arian from Cappadocia, diplomatic and shifty. His predecessor Dionysius, deposed at the Council of Milan, had died in exile. Auxentius, therefore, had no competitor, and occupied a strong position. He was practically accepted at Milan. But Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, was there [7] when the Emperor reached Milan, and had set himself to stir up the people against their bishop. Auxentius lodged a complaint with Valentinian; and, being formally in the right (for the decisions of Ariminum were still unrepealed in the Western Church), his appeal was successful. Valentinian issued what Hilary describes as 'a grievous edict'; the effect of which, he tells us, was, 'under the pretext and with the desire of unity', to throw the church of Milan into confusion. In plain English, the Emperor, with a soldier's determination to put down disorder, forbade Hilary to interfere with the rule, adopted by Auxentius, of live and let live. But Hilary was not to be so put down. He memorialized the Emperor; and, at last, induced him to appoint a commission.

[1] Amm. Marc. xxix. ii, § 10. [2] Ibid., §§ 24–8. [3] Gibbon, c. xxv (iii. 12).
[4] Ibid. (iii. 11); for this and other divisions, see ibid. ii. 559, app. 15.
[5] Amm. Marc. xxvi. v, § 4. [6] Ibid., § 14.
[7] For Hilary and Auxentius, see preface to *N. and P.-N. F.* ix, pp. xlix sqq.; Tillemont, *Mém.* vii. 460 sqq.

It consisted of two lay officials, with some ten bishops as assessors.[1] Hilary and Eusebius were present, as well as the accused. Auxentius conducted his own defence and, though worsted in theological discussion by Hilary,[2] was able to show that his teaching was, at any rate, in conformity with the legal standards. We do not know how the commission reported. But Auxentius followed up his plea by presenting a memorial[3] to 'Valentinian and Valens', in which he repeated his assent to the legal standards as set up at Ariminum—that great assembly of six hundred bishops!—and objected to having them revised by firebrands like Hilary and Eusebius. The Government accepted his plea. Valentinian ordered Hilary to leave Milan, and there was nothing for it but to go. But he left 'a testimony against them' in his *Contra Auxentium*.[4] Peace, he says, § 1, is impossible in, § 2, these days of anti-Christ. In the Apostles' days, § 3, the Gospel spread in spite of the powers that be; now, § 4, the Church seeks for secular support; hence, § 5, her ruin—dissensions and novelties; but fortunately, § 6, the laity are sound. As for the proceedings at Milan, described in §§ 7–9 with some asperity of feeling, the doings of Ariminum have been universally repudiated: while his own ejection from Milan is a revelation of the mystery of ungodliness. Auxentius, §§ 10, 11, is shown to have contradicted himself; for he spoke with one voice in the confession which Hilary forced him to sign, and with another in his adhesion to Ariminum. In short, § 12, Auxentius is the devil. 'Never will I desire peace except with those, who, following the doctrine of our fathers at Nicaea, shall make the Arians anathema and proclaim the true Divinity of Christ.' It was Hilary's last public utterance. Of course, it made no difference to the policy of Valentinian, and Hilary died at Poitiers, 13 January 368. A year or two later the Western bishops, in synod at Rome, annulled

[1] Hilary, *Contra Auxentium*, § 7 (*Op.* ii. 597; *P. L.* x. 613 sq.).

[2] Ibid., §§ 7, 8 (*Op.* ii. 597; *P. L.* x. 613 sq.). Hilary forced him to confess that 'Christum Deum verum et unius cum Deo Patre divinitatis et substantiae'; but, when this sentiment reached Valentinian, it took the ambiguous form, in the memorial presented by Auxentius, of 'Christum ante omnia saecula et ante omne principium natum ex Patre Deum verum filium ex vero Deo Patre' (ibid., § 14 [*Op.* ii. 601; *P. L.* x. 617 c]). According as we read 'Deum, verum' or 'Deum verum', the sentence is Arian or Catholic. A soldier like Valentinian would not perceive such niceties of expression. He accepted the memorial, and Hilary was sent off.

[3] Appended to Hilary, *Contra Aux.* as §§ 13–15 (*Op.* ii. 600–2; *P. L.* x. 617–18).

[4] Hilary, *Op.* ii. 593–602 (*P. L.* x. 609–18).

the authority of Ariminum.[1] But Auxentius held on till his death in 374. He outlived another attack upon him, that of Athanasius in 369. He outlived Athanasius himself; but also whatever of Arianism there had been in his flock at Milan.[2] Ambrose, his successor, 374–†97, had the loyal support of the laity in his struggle with the Arian princes there.

II

But, in the East, Valens, by the 'second Arian persecution', kept Arianism alive till his death at the battle of Adrianople, 378.

§ 2. The semi-Arians, to make the most of their opportunities, had lately addressed Jovian; but without success. They now determined to lose no time in approaching Valentinian.[3] As he was leaving Constantinople in April 364, to take up the rule of the West, they deputed Hypatian, bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, to get his permission for them to hold a synod. He gave a characteristic reply, the force of which Hooker,[4] with his theory of the 'godly Prince', as characteristically evades: 'My place is among the laity. I have no right to interfere in such matters. Let the bishops—for it is their business—assemble where they please.'[5] Accordingly they met at the Council of Lampsacus[6] on the Hellespont, and sat for two months in the autumn of 364. It was a synod of the same temper as those of the Dedication at Antioch, 341, Ancyra, 358, and Seleucia, 359. After declaring invalid what had been done by the Homoean Council of Constantinople, 360, they reaffirmed the ὅμοιον κατ' οὐσίαν, on the ground that, while likeness was needed to exclude the Sabellian identity involved, as they would say, in the formula of Nicaea, its

[1] Their decision has come down to us in two forms: (1) in Latin, *Confidimus quidem* = Damasus, *Ep.* i (*P. L.* xiii. 347–9), Jaffé, No. 232; and (2) in Greek, Soz. *H. E.* vi. xxiii, §§ 7–15 [see also § 5], and Thdt. *H. E.* ii. xxii, §§ 2–12. The condemnation apparently dates from 371, at the second synod under Damasus.

[2] For further traces of the influences of Ariminum, on the line of the Danube, see Sulp. Sev. *De vita Martini*, § 6 (*P. L.* xx. 164 A), and in *Altercatio Heracliani laici* [a Catholic], *cum Germinio* [the Arian], *episcopo Sirmiensi*, dated 13 January 366, in C. P. Caspari, *Kirchenhistorische Anecdota*, i, No. 2 (Christiania, 1883).

[3] Socr. says Valens (*H. E.* iv. ii, § 2), but he is corrected by Soz. *H. E.* vi. vii, § 2.

[4] *Eccl. Pol.* viii. v, § 2. [5] Soz. *H. E.* vi. vii, § 2.

[6] Soz. *H. E.* vi. vii; Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 532; Fleury, iv. 146 sq.; Hefele, *Conciles*, i. ii. 973 sq.; *E. Tr.* ii. 284 sq.; Mansi, iii. 373–8; Gwatkin, *Arianism* [2], 237.

express extension to essence was required as against the Arians. They next reissued the Lucianic Creed; and, after declaring the semi-Arian exiles entitled to resume their sees, they deposed Eudoxius and Acacius in their turn. Then they at once applied to Valens, who was by this time at Heraclea [1] on his return from Sirmium, to get their decrees confirmed. But Eudoxius had been beforehand with him. Apart from his personal sympathies, Valens would find, as he came to learn more of his new dominions, that, save in Egypt where all were Catholic, there were rival claimants for nearly every see.[2] But there was also an official religion—that of the twin synods of Ariminum and Seleucia; and its representatives—Eudoxius at Constantinople and Euzoïus at Antioch—were in possession of the great sees. It was to his advantage then to follow his inclination, and fall back upon the general ecclesiastical policy of Constantius—the religion of the Government and no extremes. Accordingly he banished the semi-Arians and all who would not communicate with Eudoxius at Constantinople; Meletius, for the similar offence of refusing the communion of Euzoïus, he exiled [3] (it was the second of his three exiles [4]) from Antioch; and he made over the semi-Arian churches to the clergy of the official colour.[5]

§ 3. It was the step preliminary to what is known as 'the second Arian persecution'. This began in the spring of 365, when Valens issued an order for the expulsion of all bishops who, having been expelled by Constantius, had been recalled by Julian [6]; and thereby announced that he meant to follow the Arianizing policy of Constantius. Though not baptized, till two years later, by the Arian Eudoxius,[7] he was under the influence of that prelate from the time that he banished the semi-Arians.

(1) The first effect of the order was felt in Alexandria. The edict reached the city 5 May 365, and caused a riot which was only quieted, 8 June, by the Prefect promising to refer the case of Athanasius to the Emperor. For the populace contended that the order did not apply to him, as he had not been restored but

[1] Soz. *H. E.* vi. vii, § 8.

[2] Valentinian had no such difficulty. There were no Arian rivals for the sees of Hilary and Eusebius; and no Catholic rivals for the sees of Auxentius, Germinius, Ursacius, Valens, &c.

[3] Socr. *H. E.* iv. ii, § 6; Soz. *H. E.* vi. vii, § 10.

[4] The first was immediately after his election, 361; the last, in 372 till the death of Valens, 378.

[5] Soz. *H. E.* vi. vii, § 10 and viii.

[6] *Hist. Aceph.*, § 15.

[7] Thdt. *H. E.* iv. xii, § 2, xiii, § 1.

exiled by Julian, and it was Jovian who last restored him.[1] But Athanasius thought it best to retire. On the night of 5 October he left his house by the church of Dionysius and took refuge near 'The New River'—not an hour too soon. That night the Prefect, with a Duke, or military commander, broke into the church and searched it, but in vain. Athanasius remained concealed for four months. At length, 1 February 366, an order arrived for his reinstatement[2]; and his fifth and last exile was over. He had borne the brunt of the fight for forty years; and now he was left—for the remaining seven years of his episcopate—master of the field. Probably it was too serious a matter for Valens to embroil himself with the united Christian population of Egypt: and specially at a moment when his attention was occupied by the revolt of Procopius,[3] September 365 to May 366, and by hostile movements in Persia. Procopius was a prince of the House of Constantine, 'whose affinity to the Emperor Julian was his sole merit, and had been his only crime'. He 'boldly aspired to the rank of a sovereign, because he was not allowed to enjoy the security of a subject'. He had some success at first, and on 28 September 365 he caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor at Constantinople. But, at last, 'he suffered the fate of an unsuccessful usurper'.

(2) No sooner was Procopius put to death, 28 May 366, than Valens was free to resume the general, as distinct from the Alexandrian persecution,[4] until 371. In order to escape annihilation, the semi-Arians, or Macedonians (for, as yet, they were known by either name) held various synods[5]; the bishops of 'Asia', at Smyrna; and others in Pisidia, Lycia, Pamphylia, and Isauria.[6] They determined to take the advice that Athanasius had pressed upon the semi-Arians in the *De synodis*[7] by adopting the Nicene Creed; and to follow the example that he had set five and twenty years before, by throwing themselves upon the West. Choosing as their deputies Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste and metropolitan of Armenia I, Silvanus of Tarsus and Theophilus of Castabala, both of Cilicia, they sent them to Valentinian and

[1] *Hist. Aceph.*, § 15. [2] Ibid., § 16.
[3] Amm. Marc. xxvi. vi–x; Socr. *H. E.* iv. iii and v; Soz. *H. E.* vi. viii, §§ 1–3; Gibbon, c. xxv (iii. 11–16, ed. Bury).
[4] Soz. *H. E.* vi. x, §§ 1, 2. [5] Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 539 sqq.
[6] Socr. *H. E.* iv. xii, § 8.
[7] Ath. *De synodis*, § 54 (*Op.* ii. 612; *P. G.* xxvi. 789).

Liberius with instructions to accept the Nicene Faith [1] and with requests for assistance. When they reached Rome Valentinian had departed,[2] October 365, for Paris, Rheims, and Trèves [3] in order to deal with the incursions of the Germans. But Liberius, though with some difficulty, was persuaded to receive them. They told him that they admitted that 'the Son is like in all things to the Father and that "like" differs in nothing from "of one essence"'. This, of course, would not do; but would they, asked Liberius, state their faith in writing? In answer, they handed [4] to 'their lord and brother and fellow-minister Liberius' a written formulary,[5] accepting the Nicene Creed. Thereupon Liberius admitted them to communion; and sent a letter to those who had accredited them, sixty-four bishops in all, accepting their advances.[6] The Eastern deputies then repaired to Sicily, and, on making like confession, received like assurances from the Sicilian bishops, with which they returned home.[7] Great was the joy upon their arrival. At the Council of Tyana, in the spring of 367, presided over by Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia 362–†70, the letters of the Westerns were read and approved; and a circular was sent out to all sympathizers in the East to meet in synod at Tarsus for the acceptance of the Nicene Faith.[8] But the time was not yet ripe, either for the overthrow of the Homoean supremacy, or for the complete union of semi-Arians and Nicenes. A minority, consisting of semi-Arians to the number of thirty-four, met at Antioch in Caria, 367, according to Sozomen,[9] and made a protest for the Lucianic Creed; while Valens, who had already begun to persecute the Novatianists for their orthodoxy by banishing their bishop Agelius,[10] was just at this time persuaded by his Arian Empress to receive baptism from Eudoxius [11] on the eve of the Gothic War,[12] 367–9.

§ 4. This definitely committed him to the Arian cause; and Eudoxius, alarmed at the prospect of reunion between semi-

[1] Socr. *H. E.* IV. xii, § 3; Soz. *H. E.* VI. x, § 4.
[2] Socr. *H. E.* IV. xii, § 4; Soz. *H. E.* VI. x, § 4.
[3] Amm. Marc. XXVI. v. 8, 14, XXVII. viii. 1.
[4] Socr. *H. E.* IV. xii, §§ 5–7; Soz. *H. E.* VI. x, §§ 5–7.
[5] Socr. *H. E.* IV. xii, §§ 9–20; Soz. *H. E.* VI. xi.
[6] Socr. *H. E.* IV. xii, §§ 21–37 = *Optatissimum*, Liberius, *Epp.* (*P. L.* viii. 1381–6), and Jaffé, No. 228, A. D. 366.
[7] Socr. *H. E.* IV. xii, § 38; Soz. *H. E.* VI. xi, § 4.
[8] Socr. *H. E.* IV. xii, § 39; Soz. *H. E.* VI. xii, §§ 1–4.
[9] Soz. *H. E.* VI. xii, §§ 4, 5. [10] Socr. *H. E.* IV. ix.
[11] Thdt. *H. E.* IV. xii, xiii, § 1. [12] Gibbon, c. xxv (iii. 59 sq., ed. Bury)

Arians and Nicenes, induced him to forbid the meeting at Tarsus.[1] Valens was kept occupied and away from the East till the summer [2] of 371. Thus, for four years, 367–71, there was a truce in the persecution ; and during the truce, while the semi-Arian majority drew closer to the Nicenes, the minority, which stood aloof, became known as Macedonians. Semi-Arianism disappears from history. 'These [four] years', moreover, 'form the third great break in the Arian controversy, and were hardly less fruitful of results than the two former breaks under Constantius and Julian.'[3]

During this lull in the persecution the interest of history turns first to Rome and then to Caesarea in Cappadocia.

§ 5. At Rome, Liberius had hardly received the Easterns into communion when he died on Sunday, 24 September 366[4] ; a true successor of St. Peter in this that, after his fall, no sooner was he 'converted' than he 'strengthened his brethren'.[5] A melancholy scandal ensued upon his death ; for the faction-fights, which had disgraced his election, broke out again. Felix, the Arian anti-pope, died nine months before him, 22 December[6] 365. But his party lingered on and, at the death of Liberius, it was led by Damasus, a deacon rallied from the party of Felix to the Church. He was elected, 24 September, by the great majority of the clergy and the faithful in the church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina,[7] to the north of the city in the Campus Martius. But his consecration was deferred till Sunday October 1, when he was consecrated in St. John Lateran,[8] to the south-east of the city, and, as is usual with popes, by the bishop of Ostia. The rival party, which had remained faithful to Liberius even during his exile, but consisted only of the followers of seven priests and three deacons, assembled in the Julian basilica, now Sta. Maria in Trastevere,[9] put up their leader Ursinus, and had him consecrated there and then, 24 September, by the bishop of Tibur.[10] A week

[1] Socr. *H. E.* IV. xii, § 40 ; Soz. *H. E.* VI. xii, § 5.
[2] He was at Ancyra 13 July 371, Gwatkin, *Arianism* [2], 303.
[3] Gwatkin, *The Arian Controversy*, 130.
[4] *Faustini et Marcellini Libellus* [A. D. 383–4], Praef., § 2 (*P. L.* xiii. 81 C), a Luciferian account, and prejudiced, but the facts may be trusted.
[5] Luke xxii. 32.
[6] *Faust. et Marc. Lib.* Praef., § 2 (*ut sup.*), says November, but December is preferred by L. Duchesne, *Early Hist. of the Church*, ii.
[7] 'In Lucinis,' *Faust. et Marc. Lib.* Praef., § 2 (*P. L.* xiii. 82 A) : for this church, see H. Grisar, *Hist. of Rome and the Popes*, i. 192 and map, *ad init.*
[8] *F. et M. Lib.* Praef., § 2.
[9] H. Grisar, *op. cit.* i. 193 ; founded by Pope Julius I (337–†52).
[10] *Faust. et Marc. Lib.* Praef., § 2 (*P. L.* xiii. 82 A).

of faction-fights intervened between these consecrations; and more followed till 26 October, when the partisans of Damasus are said to have attacked the followers of Ursinus in the Basilica of Liberius, now Sta. Maria Maggiore,[1] to the east of the city, and one of the Seven Greater Basilicas,[2] and to have left a hundred and sixty dead in the church.[3] It is difficult to distribute the blame or to bring it home personally to Damasus; but both parties must be held responsible for the bloodshed, and for the tumults that here, as so often, disgraced the election to an important see. As for the rights of the election, they probably lay with Damasus.[4] He certainly justified his elevation by the high esteem in which he came to be held [5]; and his rival Ursinus, †381, was banished [6] at first to Gaul, 16 November 367, then to North Italy, 370–2, and finally, 376, to Cologne. The strife is memorable on three grounds.

First, it illustrates the social condition of the Roman church and clergy at this time. There still remained a strong pagan sentiment; but Christianity had become the fashionable and aristocratic religion. Great patricians had joined the Church. Eminent among them was Sextus Petronius Probus, 334–†94, consul in 371, four times a Praetorian Prefect, and head of the Anician House,[7] with Anicia Faltonia Proba, his wife. Proba was famed for her good works; and she survived her husband and her eldest son Olybrius, consul in 395, to pass on the capture of Rome by Alaric, 410, with his widow Juliana and daughter Demetrias, to Carthage, where Demetrias received the veil, 414, from the archbishop Aurelius and was felicitated in letters from Jerome [8] and Pelagius.[9] Such is one side of the picture of

[1] H. Grisar, *op. cit.* i. 196; also called the Basilica of Sicininus.

[2] These are St. Peter's, Sta. Maria Maggiore, S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme, St. John Lateran, S. Sebastiano, S. Paolo fuori le mura: see R. L. Poole, *Hist. Atlas*, No. 69; Heussi u. Mulert, *Atlas*, No. ix.

[3] *Faust. et Marc. Lib.* Praef., § 3 (*P. L.* xiii. 82 B, C); another version has 137, Amm. Marc. XXVII. iii, § 13.

[4] Jerome, *Chron.* ad ann. 369 (*Op.* viii; *P. L.* xxvii. 693 sq.). Ambrose, *Ep.* xi, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 809; *P. L.* xvi. 945 A), puts the blame upon Ursinus; but it is divided between both parties by Amm. Marc. XXVII. iii, §§ 12, 13, and Document No. 94.

[5] Rufinus, *H. E.* ii, § 10 (*P. L.* xxi 521 B); Thdt. *H. E.* v. ii, § 2; and Δάμασος ὁ ἀδάμας τῆς πίστεως as he was called by the Sixth General Council, A. D. 680; Mansi, xi. 661 B.

[6] *Faust. et Marc. Lib.* Praef., § 4 (*P. L.* xiii. 83 B).

[7] For the *Stemma Aniciorum* see *Mon. Germ. Hist.* VI. i, p. xci.

[8] Jerome, *Ep.* CXXX (*Op.* i. 975–97; *P. L.* xxii. 1107–24); tr. *N. and P.-N.F.* vi. 260–72.

[9] Given in Aug. *Op.* ii, app. (*P. L.* xxxiii. 1099–1120); and Jerome, *Op.* xi (*P. L.* xxx. 15–45).

the relations growing up between ecclesiastics and the great ladies of Roman society. Their wealth was lavished on their bishop; and the see became a prize worth fighting for. 'Make me bishop of Rome,' said Praetextatus, Prefect of the City 367–8, by way of a joke, to Damasus, 'and I will turn Christian at once.'[1] It would have been worth his while; for Ammianus has left us a famous description of the pomp and pride of Damasus which he supported out of 'the offerings of matrons', as he drove out, smartly dressed, in a splendid equipage, and gave dinners which the Emperor's own table could not match.[2] It is an accusation borne out by what Gregory Nazianzen says in his *Farewell Oration* to the church of Constantinople. 'I did not know that we bishops were expected to rival the consuls, the governors and the generals . . . to ride on splendid horses, and drive in magnificent carriages and be preceded by a procession and surrounded by applause, and have every one make way for us as if we were wild beasts.'[3] True, it was only so in the capital cities, for Ammianus adds: 'Well were it for those pontiffs if they would imitate the life of some provincial bishops, whose temperance and sobriety, whose mean apparel and downcast looks recommend their pure and modest virtue to the Deity and his true worshippers.'[4] But luxury in high places meant an increase of secularity among the clergy as a whole. At its worst, it took the tragic form of bloody contention for the chief bishopric of Christendom. In its lighter manifestations it caused the enemies of Damasus to nickname him 'The ladies' ear-tickler'[5]; and it let loose the tongue, or rather, the pen of Jerome against the Roman clergy. He had his own grievances against them, and was well hated by them in return. But his advice to the virgin Eustochium, †419, to avoid the clerical fop has the ring of truth about it. Writing in 384, Jerome says: 'His whole care is in his dress. He uses perfumes freely, and sees that there are no creases in his leather shoes. His curling hair shows traces of the tongs; his fingers glisten with rings; he walks on tiptoe across a wet road, so as not to splash his feet. When you see men acting in this way, think of them rather as bridegrooms than as clerics.' Then

[1] Jerome, *Contra Ioann. Ier.*, § 8 (*Op.* ii. 415; *P. L.* xxiii. 361 c).
[2] Amm. Marc. XXVII. iii, § 14, and Document No. 94.
[3] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xlii, § 24 (*Op.* ii. 765; *P. G.* xxxvi. 487 A).
[4] Amm. Marc. XXVII. iii, § 15, and Document No. 94.
[5] 'Matronarum auriscalpius,' *Faust. et Marc. Lib.* Praef., § 3 (*P. L.* xiii. 83 A).

follows a sketch of his mastery of the art of wheedling choice bits of furniture or other trifles that, when paying calls, take his fancy, out of ladies of birth and property. 'All the women, in fact, fear to cross the gossip-monger of the town.'[1] In another letter, written ten years later, to Nepotian on the life that becomes a monk or a cleric, we have the counterpart of the clerical toady in the admiring female with 'her constant little presents of handkerchiefs, turbans, and mufflers; of tit-bits first tasted by herself—not to mention those " dear, sweet little notes " '.[2]

Secondly, such a condition of things called for legislative interference; and hence Valentinian's order of 367 that causes in which bishops, as such, were concerned should be dealt with not by the civil magistrate but by the bishop of Rome and his colleagues. The order is lost; but that this was its drift may be inferred from *Et hoc gloriae vestrae*,[3] the petition of a Roman Synod, ?378–81, addressed to Gratian, and from *Ordinariorum sententiae*,[4] which was Gratian's reply made toward the end of that year in the form of a Rescript to Anulinus, the Vicar of the City. Ambrose condenses 'the words of the Rescript'[5] of Valentinian in a sentence which he ascribes to its author: 'It is not my business to judge between bishops.'[6] The Rescript is of importance, in relation to the growth of the papal power and of the immunities of the clergy.

The Rescript undoubtedly contributed to the increase of the authority of the Roman bishop, and in two points. First, the pope was made supreme judge over metropolitans in the West; and might either summon them to Rome to be tried there, or appoint judges to try them elsewhere. Secondly, ordinary bishops throughout the West, who had been tried, in the first instance, locally, might appeal either to the pope or to fifteen neighbouring bishops. In both these points new powers[7] were acquired by the Roman See. Such acquisition, however, was

[1] Jerome, *Ep.* xxii, § 28 (*Op.* i. 112; *P. L.* xxii. 414), and Document No. 139.

[2] *Ep.* lii, § 5 (*Op.* i. 260; *P. L.* xxii. 532), fasciolas, bandages, i. e. in this place, acc. to Du Cange, 'turbans'.

[3] 'Mon. vet. ad Arianorum doctrinam pertinentia,' *ap. P. L.* xiii. 575–84; Jaffé, i, p. 38.

[4] *P. L.* xiii. 583–8; cf. F. W. Puller, *Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*[3], 144 sqq. The synod says it is not asking for anything new, § 4 (*P. L.* xiii. 579 A): see Document No. 65.

[5] Ambrose, *Ep.* xxi, § 2 (*Op.* II. i. 860; *P. L.* xvi. 1003 B).

[6] Ibid., § 5 (*Op.* II. i. 861; *P. L.* xvi. 1004 A). [7] Puller, *op. cit.* 151.

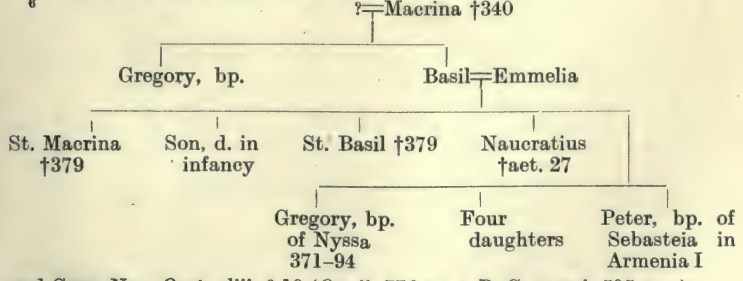
due not to any recognition by the Emperor of rights inherent in the Roman See but to an Imperial grant. Secondly, the Rescript does not bestow any 'benefit of clergy', or immunity from civil tribunals, in cases not purely spiritual: a distinction which Gratian was careful to make clearer when, by *Qui mos est* of 17 May 376, he differentiated between the religious and the criminal offences of clerks, and reserved the latter to the secular tribunals.[1]

Thirdly, and in closer connexion with the affairs of the Roman church under pope Damasus, 366–†84, was Valentinian's Rescript, *Ecclesiastici* of 30 July 370, against legacy-hunting by clerics and monks: a humiliating enactment which he addressed to Damasus and required him to have read in the churches of Rome. It forbade ecclesiastics and 'continents' to visit the houses of widows and heiresses under ward; and no spiritual adviser was to receive bequests or gifts from his spiritual daughter, on pain of every such testament being invalidated and the sum in question being confiscated to the treasury.[2] Writing to Nepotian, twenty-four years later, Jerome observed: 'I do not complain of the law; I am only sorry that we should have deserved it. The prohibition was made with foresight and in the interests of strictness: yet, after all, it has failed to curb the avarice of the clergy and religious.'[3]

§ 6. We now turn to a second focus of interest, at Caesarea in Cappadocia, in the life of St Basil,[4] to his consecration in 370.

(1) Basil's birth and early years, 330–51, are connected with Cappadocia. He was born, 330, at Caesarea in Cappadocia,[5] of Christian parents, Basil and Emmelia.[6] They were well off, and

[1] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. ii. 23, and Document No. 64.
[2] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. ii. 20, and Document No. 40.
[3] Jerome, *Ep.* lii, § 6 (*Op.* i. 261; *P. L.* xxiii. 532), and Document No. 144.
[4] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xliii (*Op.* ii. 770–833; *P. G.* xxxvi. 493–606); Tillemont, *Mém.* ix. 1–304; J. H. Newman, *The Church of the Fathers*, cc. v–viii.
[5] Greg. Naz. *Ep.* ii (*Op.* iii. 2; *P. G.* xxxvii. 24 A).
[6]



and Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xliii, § 10 (*Op.* ii. 776 sq.; *P. G.* xxxvi. 505 B, C).

in good position. His father was a barrister [1]; his grandparents, on either side, had suffered in the persecutions under Maximin [2] and Licinius,[3] but had retained or recovered their property; and Basil, though one of a family of ten,[4] had the advantage of a liberal education. As a child he was brought up by his paternal grandmother, Macrina,[5] on the family estate at Annesoi [6] near Neocaesarea in Pontus. Then, as a boy, *c.* 343, he went to school at Caesarea in Cappadocia, where he 'soon made a reputation for a culture beyond his years and a character beyond his culture'.[7] At the age of sixteen he was sent, 346, to Constantinople,[8] where he studied under the famous rhetorician, Libanius.[9]

(2) As a young man of twenty-one he next proceeded to the University of Athens,[10] 351–6. Gregory of Nazianzus, his friend and panegyrist, had preceded him thither [11]; and here was cemented one of the famous friendships of history.[12] Athens was full of intellectual activity, and the students 'went mad after their professors' [13]: just as, in mediaeval times, there used to be a rage for this or that eminent teacher in Paris or Oxford. But the Athenian undergraduate loved horse-play too; and, like the *eversores* [14] in St. Augustine's day who 'ragged' men's rooms at Carthage, he had a way of 'taking down the cheek of freshmen',[15] sometimes by chaff and sometimes by hustling them at the baths. Gregory's report of Basil's brilliant abilities had caused the latter's reputation to forestall him in Athens; and so, notwith-

[1] Greg. Nyss. *Vita S. Macrinae* (*Op.* ii. 193 C; *P. G.* xlvi. 982 B, C).

[2] The father and mother of the elder Basil, under Maximin, Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xliii, § 5 (*Op.* ii. 773; *P. G.* xxxvi. 500 B, C).

[3] Emmelia's father, under Licinius, Greg. Nyss. *Vita S. Macr.* (*Op.* ii. 191 D; *P. G.* xlvi. 980 C).

[4] Ibid. (*Op.* ii. 181 B; *P. G.* xlvi. 965 A).

[5] Basil, *Epp.* cciv, § 6, ccx, § 1, ccxxiii, § 3 (*Op.* iv. 306, 313, 338; *P. G.* xxxii. 752 C, 769 A, 825 C).

[6] Ibid. *Ep.* iii, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 76; *P. G.* xxxii. 256 B).

[7] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xliii, § 13 (*Op.* ii. 780; *P. G.* xxxvi. 512 C).

[8] Ibid., § 14 (*Op.* ii. 780; *P. G.* xxxvi. 513 A).

[9] Socrates and Sozomen place Basil's attendance upon Libanius at Antioch; but they seem to have confounded St. Basil with a Basil of Antioch, to whom Chrysostom dedicated his *De sacerdotio*; cf. Socr. *H. E.* iv. xxvi, § 6; Soz. *H. E.* vi. xvii, § 1.

[10] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xliii, § 14 (*Op.* ii. 780; *P. G.* xxxvi. 513).

[11] Ibid., § 15 (*Op.* ii. 781; *P. G.* xxxvi. 513 C).

[12] Ibid., § 22 (*Op.* ii. 788; *P. G.* xxxvi. 525 B), and *Carmen de vita sua*, 211 sqq. (*Op.* iii. 684 sq.; *P. G.* xxxvii. 1044 A); tr. in J. H. Newman, *The Church of the Fathers*, 118 sq. (ed. 1840).

[13] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xliii, § 15 (*Op.* ii. 781; *P. G.* xxxvi. 513 D).

[14] Aug. *Conf.* iii, § 6 (*Op.* i. 90 A; *P. L.* xxxii. 685).

[15] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xliii, § 16 (*Op.* ii. 782; *P. G.* xxxvi. 516 C)

standing the provocation afforded by what Gregory calls his ' stateliness ', and we might take for ' donnishness ', ' of manner ',[1] the ' senior man ' was able to save his friend from the rough ordeal of practical jokes. But Basil did not like Athens,[2] partly through his natural reserve, and partly because of ill-health. Undergraduate society was too rowdy for him, and utterly uncongenial. Basil, and Gregory under his persuasion, both left, and went to their respective homes.[3] On his return to Caesarea, his fellow-citizens treated Basil as a person of civic importance,[4] and did him no good. Then, at this critical point in his career, his elder sister, St. Macrina, intervened. In the frank language of their brother Gregory, bishop of Nyssa 371–†94, she saw that Basil was (as we should put it) ' a thorough prig ': ' excessively vain ', says his brother, ' of his own acquirements and apt to look down on men in official position '.[5] So she presented him with a new ideal in the self-devotion of the ascetic. He was baptized 357 and ordained Reader.[6] Then he set forth at once: travelled through Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia; studied the new ' philosophy ' in its homes[7]; and thence returned, with his ascetic ideals, to follow them up near his own home.

(3) His retreat lay on the banks of the Iris, 358–64 (now the Yeshil Irmak in the province of Sivas), near Annesoi. On the one side of the river lived his mother and sister who had settled there on the death of his father[8]; on the other side, Basil.[9] It was a romantic spot, close to Neocaesarea, but in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Ibora[10]; and the glen, with the forests which enclosed it, was his own. Basil describes it, with a keen appreciation of the beauties of nature, in a letter[11] to his friend Gregory; and the description ' can hardly refer to any other part of the river

[1] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xliii, § 16 (*Op.* ii. 783; *P. G.* xxxvi. 517 A).
[2] Ibid., § 18 (*Op.* ii. 784; *P. G.* xxxvi. 520 B).
[3] Ibid., § 24 (*Op.* ii. 789; *P. G.* xxxvi. 528 C).
[4] Ibid., § 25 (*Op.* ii. 790; *P. G.* xxxvi. 529 C).
[5] Greg. Nyss. *Vita Macr.*, *Op.* ii. 181 C (*P. G.* xlvi. 965 C); tr. W. K. L. Clarke, in ' Early Church Classics ' (S.P.C.K. 1916).
[6] Basil, *De Sp. Sancto*, § 71 (*Op.* iv. 60; *P. G.* xxxii. 201 A).
[7] Ibid. *Ep.* ccxxiii, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 337; *P. G.* xxxii. 824 B); tr. Newman, *Ch. F.*, c. vi, and Document No. 62.
[8] Greg. Nyss. *Vita Macr.*, *Op.* ii. 184 C (*P. G.* xlvi. 969 B).
[9] Basil, *Ep.* ccx, § 1 (*Op.* iv. 313; *P. G.* xxxii. 709 A).
[10] Greg. Nyss. *In xl Mart.* (*Op.* iii; *P. G.* xlvi. 784 C).
[11] Basil, *Ep.* xiv, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 93 sq.; *P. G.* xxxii. 276 sq.); tr. Newman, *Ch F.*, c. viii, and Document No. 59.

than the rocky glen below Turkhal.'[1] Here he remained, on and off, some five or six years, in company at times with his friend Gregory who joined him in editing[2] the selections from Origen called the *Philocalia*[3] and in developing the Rule[4]; studying, preaching, and collecting round him[5] the brotherhood which caused him to be revered in the Eastern Church as the traditional founder of its monastic life.[6] Eustathius, afterwards bishop of Sebaste, 357–†80, in Armenia I was, indeed, the first to introduce monachism into Asia Minor[7]; and his followers pursued it in such extravagant forms[8] as suggested a revival of Encratism and invited condemnation from the synod[9] of Gangra,[10] 340. It was with his encouragement that Basil set out on his journeys to see the solitaries[11]; but the result was other than either Eustathius or Basil expected. Basil introduced monastic communities, as yet a novelty in Asia; and of this type of monasticism—the coenobitic—he may justly be considered the founder there.[12] Part of what told in its favour would be that a man of his rank and talents had given up such prospects for it.

[1] W. M. Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, 327.

[2] Greg. Naz. *Ep.* cxv (*Op.* iii. 103; *P. G.* xxxvii. 211 C).

[3] Text, ed. J. A. Robinson (Cambridge, 1893), and tr. G. Lewis (T. & T. Clark, 1911).

[4] Greg. Naz. says that Basil made rules for the monastic life, *Orat.* xliii, § 34 (*Op.* ii. 797; *P. G.* xxxvi. 541 C), and that he helped him, *Ep.* vi (*Op.* iii. 6; *P. G.* xxxvii. 29 C). Basil's letters give a sketch of his community, e. g. *Ep.* ii [A. D. 358] (*Op.* iv. 70–5; *P. G.* xxxii. 223–31); and *Ep.* ccvii [A. D. 375], § 3 (*Op.* iv. 311; *P. G.* xxxii. 764), and Document No. 60. They are tr. in Newman, *Ch. F.*, C. viii.

[5] Socr. *H. E.* IV. xxvi, §§ 8–10; Soz. *H. E.* VI. xvii, §§ 2–4; and C. Kingsley. *The Hermits*, 162 sq.

[6] There are 'two collections of *Rules*, which are universally allowed to have been written by Basil': (1) *Regulae fusius tractatae*, 55 in No. (*Op.* iii. 327–401; *P. G.* xxxi. 889–1052); and (2) *Regulae brevius tractatae*, 313 in No. (*Op.* iii. 401–525; *P. G.* xxxi. 1051–1306). 'Both sets are developments of ideas expressed by Basil' in *Ep.* ii (*ut sup.*): see E. F. Morison, *St. Basil and his Rule*, 17 sq. (Clar. Press, 1912), and W. K. L. Clarke, *St. Basil the Great*, 69–74 (Cambr. Press, 1913).

[7] Soz. *H. E.* III. xiv, § 31.

[8] Socr. *H. E.* III. xliii, §§ 1–6; Soz. *H. E.* III. xiv, §§ 32–5; Mansi, ii. 1097–8.

[9] Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxiv, § 9.

[10] For the date, see Gwatkin, *Arianism* [2], 191; and for the Synodal Letter and Canons, Mansi, ii. 1095–1122; Hefele, *Conciles*, I. ii. 1029–45; Morison, *St. Basil*, app. C, and Document No. 16.

[11] Basil, *Ep.* ccxxiii, § 3 (*Op.* iv. 338; *P. G.* xxxii. 824 sq.). For the relation of Basil to Eustathius, see W. K. L. Clarke, *op. cit.*, app. A. 'The ascetic teaching of Eustathius and Basil may be . . . regarded as identical.'

[12] He lays it down that 'man is a social, not a solitary, animal', *Reg. fusius tract.* iii, § 1 (*Op.* iii. 340; *P. G.* xxxi. 917 A): see also W. K. L. Clarke, *op. cit.* 85 sq.; note B, pp. 109–13, 119 sq., 123.

(4) But from time to time he reappeared in the outer world. Thus toward the end of 359 Basil, now in deacon's orders, left for Constantinople in attendance upon his older namesake, Basil,[1] bishop of Ancyra 336–†63, who was going, as one of ten delegates[2] of the Council of Seleucia, October 359, to communicate its decisions to the Emperor. The Homoeans were, at that moment, dominant in the capital. Basil took no part in the discussions at the Council of Constantinople, January 360; and, when Constantius endeavoured to force those present to sign the Creed of Nice, i.e. of Ariminum, he left and returned home. Presently, the emissaries of the Court came to require acceptance of it in Asia; and Dianius, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia 344–†62, signed 'in the simplicity of his soul'. Basil felt himself obliged to withdraw from his communion, but the bishop retracted when he saw his mistake; and two years later Basil was with him at his death.[3] In the same year Basil refused an invitation to Court, 362, from the Emperor Julian,[4] once his fellow-student at Athens, and would no doubt have gone back to his retreat, but that he was in demand elsewhere.

(5) Eusebius became bishop of Caesarea, 362–†70, in succession to Dianius. He was a local magnate, held in general esteem; and, in order to override the rival parties who were maintaining an evenly balanced contest for the episcopate, he was put in by the popular will. But he was unbaptized till his consecration,[5] and 'had little theological knowledge'.[6] His first act therefore was to avail himself of Basil's authority by ordaining him priest.[7] But Eusebius soon found himself eclipsed by the superior knowledge of his chaplain and by his influence as 'chief of the Nazarites of our day'.[8] He became jealous of him; and Basil, at the instance of his friend Gregory who accompanied him, retired once more 'into Pontus, and presided over the abodes of contemplation there'.[9] Some three years passed till, in the spring of 365, the Emperor Valens was expected at Caesarea on his way from Constan-

[1] Philostorgius, *H. E.* iv, § 12 (*P. G.* lxv. 525 A).
[2] Thdt. *H. E.* II. xxvii, § 4.
[3] Basil, *Ep.* li, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 144; *P. G.* xxxii. 389 C).
[4] Julian, *Ep.* xii (*Op.* 381 sq., ii. 492 sq., ed. Teubner) = Basil, *Ep.* xxxix (*Op.* iv. 122; *P. G.* xxxii. 340 sq.).
[5] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xviii, § 33 (*Op.* i. 354; *P. G.* xxxv. 1027), and Document No. 81. [6] Newman, *Ch. F.* C. V.
[7] Greg. Naz. *Ep.* viii (*Op.* iii. 7; *P. G.* xxxvii. 33 D).
[8] Ibid. *Orat.* xliii, § 28 (*Op.* ii. 793; *P. G.* xxxvi. 533 C, D).
[9] Ibid., § 29 (*Op.* ii. 793; *P. G.* xxxvi. 536 B); Soz. *H. E.* VI. xv, §§ 1, 2.

tinople to Antioch.[1] Feeling himself in need of support, Eusebius was induced by Gregory to recall Basil.[2] It was Basil who organized the resistance to the Government. He became 'a staff to the bishop's old age'; and not only was the particular crisis averted 'but the power of the church came into his hands almost, if not quite, to an equal degree with the occupant of the see'.[3] In Caesarea itself he was indefatigable; framing rules for his monasteries, preparing the elements of his liturgy,[4] and, like 'a second Joseph',[5] satisfying the poor with bread during the famine of 368. Basil was thus the most conspicuous presbyter in the diocese when, in 370, Eusebius died in his arms.[6] Not altogether unwarrantably, though after the manner of men in power but not yet in office, Basil persuaded himself that the welfare of the church in Pontus was bound up with his own succession; and he resorted to a curious ruse to retain the interest of his friend Gregory, but without success.[7] Caesarea wanted him; but he was not universally popular—too stately in manner [8] for ordinary people, too much in earnest for the half-converted, too strict for secular-minded prelates, too uncompromising not to incur for everybody the displeasure of Valens. But these obstacles were all got over by the tact and influence of Eusebius, bishop of Samosata, 360–†80, and by the energy of the elder Gregory, bishop of Nazianzus 330–†74, who wrote, through his son, to the people of Caesarea, to Eusebius, and to the comprovincial bishops,[9] in Basil's favour. 'If you allege weak health against him,' wrote the old man to the synod assembling for the election, 'I reply that we are choosing not an athlete but a teacher.'[10] His vote just gave Basil the majority; and he had

[1] Socr. *H. E.* IV. ii, § 4; Soz. *H. E.* VI. vii, § 10; for the date, Gwatkin[2], 302.
[2] Greg. Naz. *Ep.* xvi (*Op.* iii. 16 sq.; *P. G.* xxxvii. 49); tr. Newman, *Ch. F.*, c. v.
[3] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xliii, § 33 (*Op.* ii. 797; *P. G.* xxxvi. 541 A).
[4] Ibid., § 34 (*Op.* ii. 797; *P. G.* xxxvi. 541 C). For the Pontic liturgy, as it was in St. Basil's time, see F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies*, i. 521–6; and for the Liturgy of St. Basil, as now in use, ibid. 400–11. 'The text we possess of it is attested *c.* 520,' L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*[4], 73; and a letter of 'the monks of Scythia to the African bishops in exile in Sardinia' = Fulgentius, *Ep.* xvi, § 25 (*Op.* 283; *P. L.* lxv. 449 C, D).
[5] Ibid., § 36 (*Op.* ii. 798; *P. G.* xxxvi. 545 A).
[6] Ibid., § 37 (*Op.* ii. 799; *P. G.* xxxvi, 545 C).
[7] Greg. Naz. *Ep.* xl (*Op.* iii. 34; *P. G.* xxxvi. 81).
[8] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xliii, § 64 (*Op.* ii. 819; *P. G.* xxxvi. 581 A); Newman, *Ch. F.*, c. vi.
[9] Greg. Naz. *Epp.* xli–xliii (*Op.* iii. 35–9; *P. G.* xxxvii. 83–92).
[10] *Ep* xliii (*Op.* iii. 38 sq.; *P. G.* xxxvii. 89 C).

the satisfaction of sharing in the consecration and the enthronement,[1] September 370. It filled the orthodox everywhere with joy, for Cappadocia had been a stronghold of Arians.[2] Athanasius congratulated Cappadocia[3]; but Valens regarded the appointment as a serious check. So, indeed, it proved, to find a ruler like Basil in possession as Exarch of Pontus, Metropolitan of Cappadocia, and Archbishop of Caesarea, 370–†9.

§ 7. For, a year after Basil's elevation, the renewal of the persecution under Valens began, 371–8. It synchronized with Basil's episcopate[4]; and the two may be taken together.

As bishop, Basil, 'having formerly transcended others, now began to surpass himself'.[5] He built a church, with lodgings for bishop and clergy; and—what won all hearts—a hospital, where the sick might be tended and wayfarers received,[6] so large as to be like 'a new city'.[7] It was afterwards known as the Basileiad; and here he would himself visit and kiss the patients. He was a model of pastoral zeal in preaching and advising; and of episcopal duty in the patient but firm administration of discipline. Thus he proved his right to rule; and, though it was a slow process, by his dignity and gentleness he at last overcame the unfriendliness of malcontent suffragans,[8] and brought them to see that their true interest was bound up with his own.[9]

While the archbishop was thus strengthening his hold on his exarchate, Valens, on his progress eastwards,[10] July 371, travelled slowly through the famine-stricken provinces, and arrived at Caesarea in Cappadocia for Epiphany 372.[11] He left it quickly, after the sudden death of his son there,[12] and was at Antioch

[1] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xviii, § 36 (*Op.* i. 357; *P. G.* xxxv. 1033).

[2] Asterius, Gregory, George, Auxentius, Eudoxius, Philagrius, and Eunomius all came from Cappadocia; Gwatkin [2], 245 sq.

[3] Ath. *Ep.* lxiii (*Op.* ii. 764; *P. G.* xxvi. 1168 D); A. Robertson, *Ath.* 580.

[4] W. Bright, *Waymarks*, c. v.

[5] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xliii, § 38 (*Op.* ii. 800; *P. G.* xxxvi. 548 A).

[6] Basil, *Ep.* xciv. (*Op.* iv. 188; *P. G.* xxxii. 488 B); for such institutions, see W. Bright, *Canons* [2], 171 sq.

[7] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xliii, § 63 (*Op.* ii. 817; *P. G.* xxxvi. 577 C). Basil established others in country places, each under a chorepiscopus, *Epp.* xlii, xliii (*Op.* iv. 235; *P. G.* xxxii. 592 sq.).

[8] Basil, *Epp.* xlviii, xcviii, cxli, ccxxxii [A. D. 370–6] (*Op.* iv. 141 sqq.; *P. G.* xxxii. 384 sqq.).

[9] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xliii, § 40 (*Op.* ii. 801; *P. G.* xxxvi. 550 C).

[10] He was at Ancyra, 13 July 371, Gwatkin [2], 303.

[11] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xliii, § 52 (*Op.* ii. 508; *P. G.* xxxvi. 561 C); Soz. *H. E.* VI. xvi, § 7.

[12] Socr. *H. E.* IV. xxvi, § 24; Soz. *H. E.* VI. xvi, § 9; Thdt. *H. E.* IV. xix, § 10.

early in April.[1] There he settled, never leaving Syria till the spring of 378 when the Gothic War[2] summoned him north again. On 30 May he reached Constantinople and, 9 August, perished on the field of Adrianople.[3] Arianism fell with him ; but it now made its expiring effort during the episcopate of Basil who died five months after its overthrow at Adrianople and did not live to see orthodoxy, in the persons of Gratian and Theodosius, dominant throughout the Empire.

§ 8. The persecution under Valens had its own range and character. It differed from the persecution under Constantius in that Valens did not pretend to be a theologian. He was no pedant, at any rate. But he put himself into the hands of Eudoxius, now bishop of Constantinople, 360–†70, and other Arian advisers. They kept his conscience and directed his religious policy. There was thus a governmental Christianity to be enforced, of which the Emperor was the guardian. One could not therefore claim the credit, as under Julian, of suffering as a Christian, for the Prince was the typical Christian. So Gregory calls it ' an inglorious persecution '[4] ; and Basil ' persecution in its severest form '.[5]

(1) It broke out first at Caesarea in Cappadocia,[6] 371. Valens was preceded thither by a band of Arian prelates, whom Basil ignored[7] ; then by Demosthenes, the chief cook of his household, whom he told to go back to his kitchen fire ; then by the Praetorian Prefect of the East, Modestus, who arrived November 371. Modestus was a trusted minister and favourite ; and, according to Ammianus, a flatterer who spoke of ' the rough speech ' of Valens as ' Ciceronian eloquence '.[8] He opened the attack at a private meeting with the archbishop ; and Gregory records, perhaps with embellishments, the celebrated conversation at which Basil came off victorious. ' No one ever yet spoke to Modestus with such freedom.' ' Perhaps Modestus never yet fell in with a bishop.' The Prefect reported that Basil was incorrigible:

[1] Gwatkin [2], 303.
[2] Socr. *H. E.* IV. XXXIV ; Gibbon, c. XXVI (iii. 103 sqq., ed. Bury).
[3] Socr. *H. E.* IV. XXXVIII.
[4] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* XXV, § 10 (*Op.* i. 461 ; *P. G.* XXXVI. 1212 A).
[5] Basil, *Ep.* CCXLIII, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 373 B ; *P. G.* XXXII. 903 B).
[6] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* XLIII, §§ 47–52 (*Op.* ii. 806–9 ; *P. G.* XXXVI. 557–64) ; Socr. *H. E.* IV. XXVI, §§ 17–27 ; Soz. *H. E.* VI. XVI ; Thdt. *H. E.* IV. XIX ; Newman, *Ch. F.*, c. V.
[7] Basil, *Ep.* CXXVIII, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 219 ; *P. G.* XXXII. 556 D) ; and see *Epp.* LXVIII, CCXLIV, CCLI.
[8] Amm. Marc. XXIX. i, §§ 10, 11.

then he tried again, at another interview, in open court, but to no purpose. At last, Valens himself, having reached Caesarea, went, on Epiphany, 372, to the cathedral. He had moderated his demands, and only asked Basil to admit the Arian bishops to communion. On being refused he decided to bring matters to an issue. No sooner had the Emperor entered the church than he stood awestruck by the majesty of the service, the 'thundering psalmody', the 'sea' of worshippers, and the sight of 'the tall and stately figure of the archbishop, standing behind the altar with his face towards the people, undisturbed . . . as if nothing had happened', and surrounded by his ministers. His alms were refused at the Offertory.[1] Next day, he came again to the church, and was received by Basil within the sacred veils.[2] But the interview was rudely interrupted by the cook Demosthenes, who was in attendance and was guilty of a solecism. Basil smiled, and said: 'We have, it seems, a Demosthenes who cannot speak Greek; he had better attend to his sauces than meddle with divinity.' Pleased with this witticism, and impressed by the moral grandeur of Basil, the Emperor made him a grant of lands for his hospital,[3] and departed. Further attempts, indeed, were made to procure the archbishop's banishment; but, after the illness and death of his younger son Galates,[4] Valens was overawed into supporting him.[5] A cordial understanding grew up also between the archbishop and Modestus.[6] When Valens, at last, left Caesarea, Basil remained master of the situation, and inviolable. In short, Valens treated him very much as Valentinian had treated Auxentius. And with like results. Both bishops held the field.

(2) At Antioch, 372: where Valens arrived, 13 April.[7] Terentius and Arinthaeus,[8] who were Basil's friends,[9] may have exercised a moderating influence over the Emperor in his case; but the storm broke in full fury over 'the East'. Meletius was

[1] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xliii, § 52 (*Op.* ii. 808 sq.; *P. G.* xxxvi. 561 sq.), and the description of Basil's personal appearance in Baronius, *Annales*, v. 447. Contrast that of Valens, as described in Amm. Marc. xxxi. xiv, § 7.

[2] Thdt. *H. E.* iv. xix, § 11. [3] Thdt. *H. E.* iv. xix, § 13.

[4] Ibid., §§ 8–10. [5] Ibid., §§ 14–16.

[6] Six letters survive from Basil to Modestus: *Epp.* civ, cx, cxi, cclxxix, cclxxx, cclxxxi (*Op.* iv. 198 sqq.; *P. G.* xxxii. 509 sqq.).

[7] Gwatkin[2], 303. [8] Ibid. 247, n. 3.

[9] Basil, *Epp.* xcix, cclxix (*Op.* iv. 193–5, 415–16; *P. G.* xxxii. 497 sqq., 999 sqq.).

exiled,[1] for the third time.[2] Diodore and Flavian, who as laymen had resisted Arianizing tendencies under Leontius,[3] bishop of Antioch 344–†57, were now presbyters, and took up the task again. They rallied the faithful who refused to communicate with the Arian bishop Euzoïus, 361–†78; and once more upheld the Catholic Faith.[4] But the Catholics were driven from the churches,[5] and worshipped by the riverside or in the open country (whence their nickname, Campenses [6]); while celebrated ascetics poured in from the neighbouring deserts to sustain their resistance.[7] But numbers were exiled: Pelagius, bishop of Laodicea 363–†81, and Eusebius, bishop of Samosata [8] 360–†80, with other bishops,[9] and many of the inferior clergy. The desolation was general.

(3) At Edessa,[10] 372: Barses,[11] the bishop 361–†78, was deposed and exiled to the Egyptian frontier. The faithful refused to communicate with the intruder and met for worship outside the walls. Modestus who, as Prefect of the East 370–7,[12] had been sent by Valens to disperse them, found the temper of the populace ready for martyrdom sooner than for submission. He let them go; but seized their clergy, eighty in number, and summoned them to submit to the new bishop. They refused, and were sentenced to transportation to Thrace. But they received ovations wherever they went. Valens therefore broke up the band, and exiled them two by two. Their leaders, Eulogius and Protogenes, were sent to Antinoë in the Thebaid; where, on asking why there were so few people in church, they were told that most were as yet heathen though there was a Catholic bishop there. Like Wilfrid in exile, they began missionary work; Eulogius devoting himself to continuous intercession, while Protogenes opened a school. The latter would bring his scholars to Eulogius for Baptism, just knocking at

[1] He was in Antioch, 371, acc. to Basil, *Ep.* lxviii (*Op.* iv. 161; *P. G.* xxxii. 427–30), but next year in Getasa (*Ep.* xcix, § 3; *Op.* iv. 194; *P. G.* xxxii. 501 A) in Cappadocia (W. M. Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. Asia M.* 308).

[2] For his three exiles, see Greg. Nyss. *De S. Meletio* (*Op.* iii; *P. G.* xlvi. 875 D); and for their dates—360, 365, 372—Gwatkin [2], 243, n. 1.

[3] Thdt. *H. E.* II. xxiv. [4] Ibid. IV. xxv, §§ 3–5.

[5] Socr. *H. E.* IV. xvii; Soz. *H. E.* VI. xviii, § 1.

[6] Jerome, *Ep.* xv, § 3 (*Op.* i. 39; *P. L.* xxii. 356).

[7] Thdt. *H. E.* IV. xxv, §§ 5, 6, xxvi, xxvii. [8] Ibid. IV. xiii.

[9] e. g. Abraham, bishop of Batnae in Osrhoene, Basil, *Ep.* cxxxii (*Op.* iv. 224 sq.; *P. G.* xxxii. 568 sq.).

[10] Socr. *H. E.* IV. xviii; Soz. *H. E.* VI. xviii; Thdt. *H. E.* IV. xvi–xviii.

[11] M. le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, ii. 956 sq. (Parisiis, 1740); and Basil, *Epp.* cclxiv, cclxvii (*Op.* iv. 407 sq., 413 sq.; *P. G.* xxxii. 981 sqq., 985 sqq.).

[12] Gwatkin [2], 289.

the door and asking for ' the seal of the Lord '.[1] And when Eulogius showed his annoyance at being interrupted, Protogenes would remind his chief that ' the salvation of the erring is of more importance than your prayers '.[2] But, at last, the persecution was over, and they returned: Eulogius to become bishop of Edessa,[3] 379–†88, and Protogenes of Carrhae,[4] both being consecrated by Eusebius of Samosata.[5]

(4) At Alexandria, 373: Athanasius was now drawing near to his end.

Since his return, 1 February 366, from his fifth and last exile, he had enjoyed seven years of peace—a fitting ' sabbath ' of rest after the labours of the ' long tragedy '. In 368 he began to build a church in the quarter called Mendidium,[6] and consecrated it, 7 August 370, in memory of the fortieth year of his episcopate.[7] About this time he held the synod at which he drew up his *Epistola ad Afros*,[8] *c.* 369, partly to counteract the attempts that were being made there to represent the Council of Ariminum as a final settlement and so to set aside the authority of Nicaea, and partly to express his dissatisfaction at the continuous immunity enjoyed by Auxentius, bishop of Milan 355–†74, as the representative of this settlement. He begins by contrasting, §§ 1–3, the two Councils, Nicaea with Ariminum, going over much the same ground as in the earlier sections of the *De Synodis*,[9] and touching on the miserable end of the Council of Ariminum—how, after beginning well, it acquiesced in an Arianizing creed. He then proceeds to vindicate the Nicenes, § 4, as ' breathing the very spirit of Scripture ', and, §§ 5–6, as only willing to adopt the ὁμοούσιον in view of the evasion by the Arians, at Nicaea, of every other test which would have secured the sense of Scripture. Here he describes once more, as in the *De decretis*,[10] the well-known scene at one of the debates in the Council. It is clear then, he

[1] σφραγίς here used of Baptism, Thdt. *H. E.* IV. xviii, § 11; as in Clem, Al. *Strom.* ii, § 10 (*Op.* i. 163; *P. G.* viii. 980 B).
[2] Thdt. *H. E.* IV. xviii, § 12.
[3] M. le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, ii. 957 sq. [4] Ibid. 975 sq.
[5] Thdt. *H. E.* V. iv, § 6. [6] *Festal Index*, § 41. [7] *Hist. Aceph.*, § 17.
[8] Text in Ath. *Op.* ii. 712–18 (*P. G.* xxvi. 1029–48); tr., with notes, W. Bright, *Later Treatises of St. Ath.* (=*L. F.* xlvi), 23–42, and Robertson, *Ath.* 488–94. By ' Africa ' is here meant the ' Diocese ' of six ' Provinces ', one of them being ' Africa Proconsularis ', i. e. the original ' Africa ', the metropolis of which was Carthage.
[9] Ath. *De syn.*, §§ 1–14 (*Op.* ii. 572–82; *P. G.* xxvi. 681–706).
[10] Ath. *De decretis*, §§ 19, 20 (*Op.* i. 176–8; *P. G.* xxv. 456 sq.).

continues, § 6, that the formula was no invention of theirs : indeed, Eusebius of Caesarea admits as much.[1] As for, § 7, the Homoean position, it merely dissembles the alternative between co-essentiality and the new Anomoeanism ; and, § 8, the relation of the Son to the Father is not ethical but essential. If men are still alarmed, § 9, at the *ὁμοούσιον*, let them remember that the honest repudiation of Arianism is tantamount to accepting the term ; for all it means is that the Son is no creature but ' genuinely and truly Son '. We are surprised, § 10, then, that Auxentius, who ' shares the Arian heresy ', *sc.* with Ursacius and Valens, is still allowed to hold his see, though Damasus, in excommunicating them, has done what he could. We ourselves in Egypt and Libya are all of one mind ; so much so that ' we always sign for one another if any chance not to be present ' : and, § 11, we are clear, too, that the Nicene formulary involves the Godhead of the Spirit as well as of the Son.

These final sections, insisting, as they do, on the fullness of the Faith as held by Athanasius and his suffragans and, somewhat naïvely, on their entire solidarity, testify to the strength of his position in Egypt and to the power of the Alexandrian Patriarch. The Church was unassailable there so long as he lived. We find him, therefore, acting both with freedom and with boldness, on her behalf ; sanctioning the irregular ordination of the young officer Siderius to the episcopate [2] and excommunicating a governor of Libya, 370, for cruelty and immorality.[3] It was in notifying this sentence that he became, by correspondence, intimate with Basil. Of this correspondence only Basil's letters—six in all [4]—survive, of 371–2. In the first he assures Athanasius that the sentence of excommunication had been published. It should be made known to the man's ' friends and relatives ',[5] for he was a native of Cappadocia. In the rest he endeavours to get Athanasius to co-operate with him in healing the divisions of Christendom [6] by ' managing ' Paulinus,[7] disowning Marcellus,[8] and using his

[1] *sc.* in his letter to his diocese, appended, by Ath., to the *De decretis* : see Eus. *Epist. ad Caes.*, § 7 (*Op.* ii ; *P. G.* xx. 1541 B, C).
[2] Synesius, *Ep.* lxvii (*Op.* 210 ; *P. G.* lxvi. 1417 A).
[3] Basil, *Ep.* lxi (*Op.* iv. 155 sq. ; *P. G.* xxxii. 416 sq.).
[4] Basil, *Epp.* lxi, lxvi, lxvii, lxix, lxxx, lxxxii.
[5] *Ep.* lxi (*Op.* iv. 156 ; *P. G.* xxxii. 417 B).
[6] *Ep.* lxxx, lxxxii (*Op.* iv. 173 sqq. ; *P. G.* xxxii. 456 sqq.).
[7] *Ep.* lxvii (*Op.* iv. 160 ; *P. G.* xxxii. 428 B).
[8] *Ep.* lxix, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 162 ; *P. G.* xxxii. 432 B).

great influence with Rome and the West [1] to procure its interest for the distracted East. Athanasius, no doubt, would feel that he was being asked for too much; he could not turn his back on old friends nor forget the alliances of a lifetime. But the leaders of the Old and the New Nicenes came to regard each other with the highest esteem; Basil calling upon Athanasius to take the helm of the Church as 'the only capable pilot' [2] in the present stormy times, and Athanasius congratulating Cappadocia on possessing a bishop such as any region might be proud to call its own.

Other correspondence of Athanasius dealt with the growing tendencies which issued, two years after his death, in the sect of the Apollinarians, e.g. the *Epistola ad Epictetum*,[3] *c.* 371, a bishop of Corinth of whom nothing further is known. Discussions, it appears, had taken place in his presence (of which he sent the memoranda [4] to Athanasius) about the Incarnation. Both sides started with the assumption that the manhood of Christ was personal; so that, if He were also divine, a fourth person would be introduced into the Trinity. The Triad would, in fact, become a Tetrad.[5] To obviate this one party identified the Logos and the manhood, either by conceiving of the Word as changed into flesh,[6] or of the flesh itself as putative and of the Divine Essence.[7] The other party, to exclude the man Jesus from the Trinity, taught that 'the Word came upon one particular man, the son of Mary, just as on the prophets'.[8] The rival positions were put forth, during the discussion, in all good faith; and, at its end, they were abandoned.[9] It will be noticed that they were both familiar to Athanasius, for they had made their appearance, nine years before, at the Council of Alexandria[10]; that here, as there, the name of Apollinaris is not mentioned by Athanasius in his refutation, and with even better reason. For 'in the present case the theory

[1] *Ep.* lxvi, § 1 (*Op.* iv. 159; *P. G.* xxxii. 424 B, C).
[2] *Ep.* lxxxii (*Op.* iv. 175; *P. G.* xxxii. 460 B).
[3] Ath. *Op.* ii. 720–7 (*P. G.* xxvi. 1049–70); tr., with notes, in W. Bright, *Later Tr. St. Ath.* 43–60; Robertson, *Ath.* 570–4 [*Ep.* lix].
[4] Ibid., § 2 (*Op.* ii. 720; *P. G.* xxvi. 1052 C).
[5] Ibid., § 2 (*Op.* ii. 721; *P. G.* xxvi. 1053 A), and § 9.
[6] Ibid., § 2 (*Op.* ii. 721; *P. G.* xxvi. 1052 C); cf. *Quicunque vult*, verse 35, 'conversione Deitatis in carnem', and § 4.
[7] Ibid., § 2 (*Op.* ii. 720 sq.; *P. G.* xxvi. 1052 C), and § 4.
[8] Ibid., § 2 (*Op.* ii. 721; *P. G.* xxvi. 1053 C), and § 11.
[9] Ibid., § 12 (*Op.* ii. 727; *P. G.* xxvi. 1069 A).
[10] Ath. *Tom. ad Ant.*, § 7 (*Op.* ii. 618; *P. G.* xxvi. 803).

called specifically Apollinarian, as to the non-existence of a human mind in Christ, is conspicuous by its absence'; and only 'the coarser form of the Apollinarian Christology' is discussed 'that Christ's body was not of human origin', being either 'co-essential with the Divine Word' or else 'formed by "a conversion of the Godhead into flesh".'[1] Apollinaris himself professed to another devoted friend of Athanasius, Serapion of Thmuis, his cordial approval of this letter[2]; and it 'is of remarkable interest as a specimen of the far-sighted theological capacity'[3] of its author. In the fifth century Antiochene[4] and Alexandrian,[5] Ephesus[6] and Chalcedon,[7] alike appealed to it: while Leo the Great wrote that in it Athanasius 'asserted the Incarnation so lucidly and carefully that, in the heretics of his own time, he already defeated Nestorius and Eutyches'.[8] Other letters to Adelphius[9] and to Maximus,[10] both of 371, deal with the two types of error about our Lord's humanity; and if the two books *Contra Apollinarium*,[11] *c.* 372, are genuine—as well they may be, for again he makes no mention of his friend by name, and develops the thoughts of the three letters just mentioned[12]—they give us the last words of Athanasius on the Person of our Lord. In Book I he argues that, §§ 11, 12, our Lord's human nature cannot be co-essential with the Godhead. In §§ 15, 16, from texts such as that He 'was troubled in spirit'[13] and 'now is my soul troubled',[14] he insists on its completeness; while in § 19 he contends that our redemption is incomplete if He had not both body and soul. In § 17 he urges the Descent into Hades in favour of the reality of our Lord's humanity. In Book II he addresses

[1] W. Bright, *Later Treatises of St. Ath.* 43.

[2] Leontius of Byzantium [485–†543], *Adv. fraudes Apollinistarum*, *P. G.* lxxxvi. 1947 B.

[3] W. Bright, *Later Tr.* 43.

[4] John, patriarch of Antioch, 428–†41, and the Easterns proposed it to Cyril, 432, as a standard of orthodoxy, Mansi, v. 829 C.

[5] Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria 412–†44, accepted it, but sent John a correct version, 433, *Ep.* xxxix (*Op.* x. 109; *P. G.* lxxvii. 181 C).

[6] Mansi, iv. 1186.

[7] Mansi, vii. 464.

[8] Leo, *Ep.* cix, § 3 (*Op.* i. 1178 sq.; *P. L.* liv. 1016 B).

[9] Ath. *Op.* ii. 728–32 (*P. G.* xxvi. 1072–84); W. Bright, *Later Tr.* 61–71; and Robertson, *Ath.* 575–8 [*Ep.* lx].

[10] Ath. *Op.* ii. 733–5 (*P. G.* xxvi. 1085–90); W. Bright, *Later Tr.* 72–7; Robertson, *Ath.* 578 sq. [*Ep.* lxi].

[11] Ath. *Op.* ii. 736–62 (*P. G.* xxvi. 1093–1166); tr., with notes, W. Bright, *Later Tr.* 83–142.

[12] So the Benedictine editors; but others think they are not the work of Ath., though written while the controversy was at its height: see J. F. Bethune-Baker, *Hist. Chr. Doctr.* 240, n. 1.

[13] John xiii. 21.

[14] John xii. 27.

himself to the question of the compatibility of a manhood, thus complete, with, § 6, the entire sinlessness of our Lord. The Word took in our nature all that God had made and, § 10, nothing that is the work of the devil: for 'the prince of this world cometh, and he hath nothing in me'.[1] Sin, then, is excluded; but, § 18, human nature in its entirety was His.

So Athanasius was occupied in the years before his death. Toward the end he had been asked to recommend his successor; and, five days before he died, 2 May 373, he named and consecrated his old friend Peter.[2] The Arians had been waiting for his departure. They went, as in 339, to the pagan Prefect.[3] Palladius beset the church of St. Theonas with a crowd of heathen and Jews who perpetrated orgies there not unlike those which accompanied the worship of Reason at Notre Dame in 1793, or the horrors which attended the irruption of Syrianus, 356. Peter escaped[4]; and the Arian, Lucius, who was now to play the part of Gregory in 340 and George in 356, was escorted into the city by Euzoïus, the old comrade of Arius[5] and now bishop of Antioch, and Magnus the High Treasurer. He was received with shouts of 'Welcome, thou bishop who deniest the Son! thou whom Serapis loves and has brought hither!' So pagans and Arians shouted, as ever, in significant unison. It is in describing this intrusion that Peter refers to the absence of all the three elements of a proper episcopal election as 'required by the institutions of the Church'—no synod of bishops, no vote of the clergy, no acclamation, or request, of the laity.[6] All was tumultuous. Magnus then transported nineteen clergy to the pagan city of Heliopolis, now Baalbek, in Phoenicia; sent twenty-three monks into penal servitude; banished eleven bishops to Diocaesarea, formerly Sepphoris in Galilee, about five miles to the north of Nazareth; and had a Roman deacon, bearing letters from Damasus to Peter, scourged and sent to the mines. Citizens and even children were beaten and slain. Well might Basil write to the Alexandrians and say:

[1] John xiv. 30.

[2] *Hist. Aceph.*, § 19; Socr. *H. E.* IV. xx; Thdt. *H. E.* IV. xx.

[3] Socr. *H. E.* IV. xxi; Soz. *H. E.* IV. xix; and Peter's account preserved in Thdt. *H. E.* IV. xxii.

[4] Socr. appears to say the contrary, *H. E.* IV. xxi, § 4; but he is not such a good authority here.

[5] Alexander of Alexandria, *Depositio Arii*, § 2, *ap.* Socr. *H. E.* I. vi, § 8.

[6] Thdt. *H. E.* IV. xxii, § 9; cf. 'de clericorum testimonio, de plebis . . . suffragio, et de sacerdotum collegio', Cyprian, *Ep.* lv, § 8 (*S. S. E. L.* III. ii. 629).

'Has the last hour come? and is this "the apostasy"?'[1] Lucius, meanwhile, turned his attention to the monks of the desert, and sent some of them to an island in the marshes where the inhabitants were heathen. But they converted them, and so Lucius 'thought it prudent'[2] to let them return to their cells.[3] The horror with which he was regarded appears in the story of Moses who was named bishop of the Saracens to the East of Palestine, and refused to be consecrated by him.[4] Peter made his way to Rome, where he was received by Pope Damasus, and remained for five years, 373–8, till the rule of Lucius fell with the overthrow of Valens, and he was restored to his see.

(5) At Samosata, the metropolis of Commagene on the Euphrates, Eusebius had been bishop since 360[5]; but in 374 he was exiled in favour of an Arian intruder, Eunomius. Eusebius had secretly withdrawn, immediately after Evensong—here mentioned for the first time—in order to avoid a tumult. They followed him in boats to Zeugma and took farewell.[6] Then, returning, they avenged themselves on the unfortunate Eunomius by ignoring and boycotting him, letting out the water of the baths as defiled when he had used it. Eunomius was a gentle and sensitive man, and he resigned. He was succeeded by Lucius, an Arian prelate of the more usual type,[7] till Gratian's edict, at the end of 378, put an end to the persecution, and Eusebius returned.

(6) At Nyssa, 375, in Cappadocia II, Gregory,[8] the brother of Basil and bishop from 372–†95, was another sufferer. He was a credulous person,[9] with no talent for business,[10] but a great theologian. Chief among his theological writings are the *Oratio Catechetica*,[11] a defence of the Christian doctrines of the Trinity, Redemption, and Sacramental Grace, formally dedicated to

[1] Basil, *Ep.* cxxxix, § 1 (*Op.* iv. 231; *P. G.* xxxii. 584 A).
[2] J. M. Neale, *Patriarchate of Alexandria*, i. 203.
[3] Socr. *H. E.* iv. xxii–xxiv; Soz. *H. E.* vi. xx; Thdt. *H. E.* iv. xxi.
[4] Socr. *H. E.* iv. xxxvi; Soz. *H. E.* vi. xxxviii; Thdt. *H. E.* iv. xxiii.
[5] Thdt. *H. E.* ii. xxxi, § 5.
[6] Ibid. *H. E.* iv. xiv. [7] Ibid. *H. E.* iv. xv, §§ 1–7.
[8] For Gregory, bishop of Nyssa, see Tillemont, *Mém.* ix. 561–616; Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 295–304.
[9] Basil, *Epp.* lviii, c (*Op.* iv. 151, 196; *P. G.* xxxii. 408 B, 505 A).
[10] Ibid. *Ep.* ccxv (*Op.* iv. 323; *P. G.* xxxii. 792 A).
[11] Greg. Nyss. *Op.* ii (*P. G.* xlv. 9–105); ed. J. H. Srawley in Cambr. Patristic Texts, 1903; tr. Srawley, in 'Early Chr. Classics' (S.P.C.K. 1917), and Document No. 104 A.

Christian teachers; the *Contra Eunomium*[1] in reply to the rejoinder of Eunomius to Basil; and two works *Adversus Apollinarem*.[2] He was also the biographer of his sister St. Macrina[3]; and the critic, in a sermon, of those who put off their baptism,[4] and, in a letter, of the abuses attending pilgrimages to Jerusalem and the Holy Places.[5] But it was on personal grounds, and as the brother of Basil, against whom he had an old score, that Demosthenes, the ex-cook and now Vicar of Pontus, proceeded to harry him. Acting in concert with prelates who wanted a chance of retaliating upon the exarch, Demosthenes caused Gregory to be deposed by a Synod at Ancyra,[6] in the winter of 375, and then banished him.[7] Gregory, however, returned on the death of Valens.

Indeed, it was but within a few months of Gregory's banishment that the train of events[8] set in which brought the persecution to an end. In April 376 the Goths, pressed in the rear by the Huns, crossed the Danube and entered upon possession of Moesia; next year, even of Thrace. In the spring of 378 Valens left Antioch. From 30 May to 11 June he was at Constantinople. Then he moved forward while, to effect a junction with him,[9] Gratian, 375–†83, descended the Save as far as Sirmium. But, jealous of his nephew,[10] Valens gave battle without him, and perished, with two-thirds of the Roman army, 9 August 378, on the field of Adrianople. It was a second Cannae.[11]

§ 9. The effect of the persecution under Valens, as it may be gathered from the correspondence of Basil was, in one word, confusion. Writing in 372 he says that 'the mischief of this heresy spreads almost from the borders of Illyricum to the Thebaid'[12]; and he compares 'the condition of the Church' to 'an old coat which is always in tatters and can never be restored to its original strength'.[13] In the *De Spiritu Sancto* of 375 he likens

[1] Greg. Nyss. *Op.* ii (*P. G.* xlv. 237–1121).
[2] Ibid. (*P. G.* xlv. 1124–1277).
[3] Ibid. *Op.* iii (*P. G.* xlvi. 959–1000); and tr. W. K. L. Clarke, in 'Early Chr. Classics' (S.P.C.K. 1917), and Document No. 104.
[4] Ibid. (*P. G.* xlvi. 415–32).
[5] Ibid. *Ep.* ii (*Op.* iii; *P. G.* xlvi. 1009–16), and Document No. 103.
[6] Basil, *Ep.* ccxxxvii, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 365; *P. G.* xxxii. 886 sq.).
[7] Greg. Nyss., *De vita Macr.* (*Op.* iii; *P. G.* xlvi. 982 A).
[8] Gibbon, c. xxvi (iii. 67 sqq., ed. Bury); T. W. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*[2], i. 234 sqq.
[9] Amm. Marc. xxxi. xi, § 6. [10] Ibid. xii, § 1. [11] Ibid. xiii, §§ 18, 19.
[12] Basil, *Ep.* xcii, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 184; *P. G.* xxxii. 480 A).
[13] *Ep.* cxiii (*Op.* iv. 206; *P. G.* xxxii. 525 C).

the distress to a sea-fight under dense masses of cloud, with rolling waves and driving rain, in which ' all is confusion '.[1] Next year, 376, he says it resembles a pestilence.[2] Its agents, the intruded Arian bishops, were ' wretched slaves ' : the one who displaced his brother at Nyssa being ' hardly a man, a mere scamp, worth only an obol or two '[3] ; while its effects were disastrous to true religion. Discipline broke down. Unsettled minds began to lose hold on Christian truth. Unbelievers laughed at the discord of Christians.[4] What then, we may ask, were the varieties of heresy and schism now rampant ?

(1) First, there was the official or governmental Arianism, now fashionable at Court. Its representatives would be men like Auxentius, bishop of Milan 355–†74, and Demophilus, bishop of Constantinople 370–80.

(2) Second, there was Anomœanism, i.e. the ultra-Arianism first suggested by Aetius, †370, and then frankly avowed by Eunomius, †393 : a bolder rationalist who despised the safe and moderate religion of the Court as a shabby and shifty creed, neither consistent nor straightforward. Basil had written elaborately against him, *c.* 363–4, in his *Adversus Eunomium*.[5] He begins by entering a *caveat* against the title of the work of Eunomius—the *Apologeticus*.[6] It suggests that the author is writing in self-defence, or in defence of ' a simple and common Christianity '[7] ; whereas he is really the attacking party.[8] Basil then goes on, in Book I, to deal with two principal contentions of Eunomius : (*a*) that to be unbegotten, τὸ ἀγέννητον εἶναι, is the very essence of God[9] ; and (*b*) that, in this concept of ' unbegotten being ', God is known, or comprehended, absolutely.[10] He maintains in reply : to (*a*) that unbegotten being, i.e. uncreated being, is only an attribute of Godhead. ' I too should say that

[1] *De Sp. Sancto*, §§ 76 sq. (*Op.* iv. 64 sq. ; *P. G.* xxxii 212 sq.).
[2] *Ep.* ccxliii, § 3 (*Op.* iv. 374 ; *P. G.* xxxii. 908 A).
[3] *Ep.* ccxxxix, § 1 (*Op.* iv. 368 ; *P. G.* xxxii. 892 B).
[4] *Epp.* xcii, § 2, clxiv, § 2, ccxviii (*Op.* iv. 184, 255, 331 ; *P. G.* xxxii. 480 A, 636, 809 C).
[5] Basil, *Op.* i. 207–322 (*P. G.* xxix. 497–773). For this analysis, see Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 276 sq.
[6] Printed in Basil, *Op.* ii. 691–703 (*P. G.* xxx. 835–68).
[7] For this Creed of Eunomius, see his *Apologeticus*, § 5 (ibid. ii. 692 ; *P. G.* xxx. 840 B, C), and Hahn[3], § 190 ; and for the phrase, *Apol.*, § 6 (ibid. ii. 692 ; *P. G.* xxx. 840 C).
[8] Basil, *Adv. Eunom.* i, § 2 (*Op.* i. 208 ; *P. G.* xxix. 501 B).
[9] Ibid. i, § 4 (*Op.* i. 212 ; *P. G.* xxix. 512 B).
[10] Ibid. i, § 12 (*Op.* i. 224 ; *P. G.* xxix. 540 A).

the essence of God is unbegotten ; but certainly not that to be unbegotten is His essence '[1] ; and so, to (*b*), a mere negative quality being inadequate to express the positive conception of the divine essence, ' no one name, indeed, being equal to embracing the whole nature of God ',[2] that the comprehension of God ' surpasses not only human capacity but all created capacity whatsoever '.[3] Book II is devoted to the defence of the consubstantiality of the Son. The essential attribute of uncreatedness is not annulled by that generation from the Father which is the proper and distinctive mark of the Son. The Son is begotten ; but He never had a beginning of existence.[4] It is from all eternity that He receives from His Father His Divine Nature ; hence He is consubstantial with the Father and coeternal. In Book III Basil refutes the arguments of Eunomius against the divinity of the Holy Spirit. In the two remaining books it is doubtful whether we have the work of St. Basil or—more probably—of Didymus, 310–†95. In either case they consist mainly of excerpts or fragments, and are incomplete as they stand. Such was Basil's rejoinder to Anomoeanism, soon after Eunomius was promoted and brought to the front as bishop of Cyzicus, 360–†93, and shortly after his own ordination to the priesthood. Thirteen or fourteen years later, as Exarch, he returns to deal with favourite Anomoean ' posers ', in the same way. In answer, 376, to their cavil, ' Dost thou worship what thou knowest, or what thou knowest not ?' he distinguishes between that comprehension of the Divine Essence which is here unattainable, and that salutary knowledge of God's moral attributes and operations which is open to all. The dilemma, like most of its kind, is a sophism ; for if perfect comprehension and true knowledge were identical, we should have no true knowledge even of earthly things. Knowledge may be imperfect, and yet not false ; but true so far as it goes.[5] In reply to a similar difficulty—' Which comes first, knowledge or faith ? '—he argues, 376, with no less force, for the principle that faith precedes understanding[6] : ' faith and not evidence ', as he says elsewhere, ' for faith compels the in-

[1] Basil, *Adv. Eunom.* i, § 11 (*Op.* i. 223 ; *P. G.* xxix, 537 A).
[2] Ibid. i, § 10 (*Op.* i. 222 ; *P. G.* xxix. 533 C).
[3] Ibid. i, § 14 (*Op.* i. 226 ; *P. G.* xxix. 544 A).
[4] Ibid. ii, § 17 (*Op.* i. 253 ; *P. G.* xxix. 608 C).
[5] Basil, *Ep.* ccxxxiv, § 1 (*Op.* iv. 357 ; *P. G.* xxxii. 868 sq.) ; W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo* [2], 212 ; and Document No. 63.
[6] Ibid. *Ep.* ccxxxv, § 1 (*Op.* iv. 358 ; *P. G.* xxxii. 872 A).

tellect to assent with more power than the conclusions of reason, since it is the result of no geometrical necessity but of the workings of the Holy Spirit '.[1]

(3) A third form of error abroad was Sabellianism. Arius had originally used it as a bugbear [2]; and it was now being revived, e.g. at Neocaesarea in Pontus.[3] In letters of 373–5 to bishop,[4] clergy,[5] and notables[6] of that city, as in his contemporaneous *De Spiritu Sancto*,[7] Basil challenges the revival. Sabellianism, he says, is but Judaism in disguise,[8] and it teaches an economic,[9] not an essential, Trinity.

(4) Apollinarianism was making its appearance hand in hand with this revival; for Basil notes both the Jewish[10] and the Sabellian[11] drift of this error. We have already observed the first beginnings of Apollinarianism: how it rose to protect the singleness of Christ's Person from Diodore and His sinlessness from the teaching of Arius; how it was detected and disowned at the Council of Alexandria, 362, without mention of the name of its author. Hitherto Basil, like Athanasius,[12] entertained a great respect[13] for Apollinaris. He was very learned. 'With his facility of writing,' says Basil, in 377, 'and a tongue ready to argue on any subject, he has filled the world with his pamphlets.'[14] He was anti-Arian, and 'seemed at first on our side'.[15] But in 376 his heresy became a schism, by his consecrating Vitalis to be bishop of Antioch[16]; while, next year, his peculiar tenet found frank avowal. Writing to the bishops at Diocaesarea, 377, Apollinaris confessed that the Word took flesh without assuming a human mind.[17] Basil had already begun to look upon him as

[1] *Hom. in Ps. cxv* [= cxvi. 10], § 1 (*Op.* ii. 371; *P. G.* xxx. 104 B).
[2] e. g. in his letter to Alexander, *ap.* Ath. *De syn.*, § 16 (*Op.* ii. 583; *P. G.* xxvi. 709 A).
[3] Newman, *Ch. F.*, c. vii.
[4] Basil, *Ep.* cxxvi (*Op.* iv. 218; *P. G.* xxxii. 553 A).
[5] *Ep.* ccvii, § 1 (*Op.* iv. 310; *P. G.* xxxii. 760 B).
[6] *Ep.* ccx, § 3 (*Op.* iv. 315; *P. G.* xxxii. 772 B).
[7] *De Sp. Scto.*, § 77 (*Op.* iv. 66; *P. G.* xxxii. 213 C).
[8] *Ep.* clxxxix, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 277; *P. G.* xxxii. 685 D).
[9] *Ep.* ccx, § 5 (*Op.* iv. 317; *P. G.* xxxii. 776 C), and Document No. 61.
[10] *Ep.* cclxiii, § 4 (*Op.* iv. 406; *P. G.* xxxii. 980 C); and cclxv, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 410; *P. G.* xxxii. 988 A).
[11] *Ep.* cxxix, § 1 (*Op.* iv. 221; *P. G.* xxxii. 560 A).
[12] Soz. *H. E.* VI. xxv, § 7.
[13] Basil, *Ep.* ccxliv, § 3 (*Op.* iv. 378; *P. G.* xxxii. 916 B).
[14] *Ep.* cclxiii, § 4 (*Op.* iv. 406; *P. G.* xxxii. 980 A).
[15] *Ep.* cclxv, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 409; *P. G.* xxxii. 985 B).
[16] Thdt. *H. E.* V. iv, § 1.
[17] Fr. 163; H. Lietzmann, *Apollinaris*, 256.

'loquacious',[1] and had withdrawn his communion from him,[2] 373. In two letters of 377 he condemns his teaching. 'He draws his theological arguments not from Scripture, but from human reasons,'[3] says Basil, alluding to the *a priori* assumption, in the reasoning of Apollinaris that, if our Lord had a human mind, it could not have been preserved *ab initio* from sin. It is men's 'eagerness for novelty' that makes them listen to him; and 'the Church is divided against herself' by his consecration of 'bishops to go about without people and clergy, having nothing but the mere name and title'[4] of bishop.

(5) Macedonianism,[5] or false teaching about the Holy Spirit, was a fifth type of error current; so much so that Basil himself had been charged with having, in a sermon of 7 September 372, 'spoken most beautifully of the Godhead of the Father and the Son, but he slurred over the Spirit.'[6]

The party originated with the semi-Arians deposed at Constantinople, 360, of whom Macedonius, as bishop of the capital, was naturally the most conspicuous.[7] It is doubtful how far he professed the doctrine; but his prominence is sufficient to account for the name. 'Macedonianism' was really the application to the Holy Spirit of views and language which the semi-Arians had once held of the Son. They now professed the ὁμοιούσιον of the Son[8]; and the question came up, Should it be extended to the Holy Spirit? Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste, refused to decide; but Macedonius is said to have had no such scruples and to have 'declined to include Him within the Godhead'.[9] He is even said to have applied to Him the terms 'minister' and 'servant' and 'such other names as one might, without offence, apply to the angels of God'.[10] Possibly Sozomen is here attributing a later phase of the heresy to its reputed author; but the sect soon came to be known as that of the *Pneumatomachi*. Their leaders, besides Macedonius, were Eustathius of Sebaste, Eleusius of

[1] Basil, *Ep.* cxxix, § 1 (*Op.* iv. 220; *P. G.* xxxii. 557 B).
[2] *Ep.* cxxxi, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 224; *P. G.* xxxii. 568 B).
[3] *Ep.* cclxiii, § 4 (*Op.* iv. 406; *P. G.* xxxii. 980 C).
[4] *Ep.* cclxv, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 409 D; *P. G.* xxxii. 985 C).
[5] H. B. Swete, *The early History of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit*, c. iii; *D. C. B.* iii. 121 sqq.; *The H. S. in the ancient Church*, 174 sq.; W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*[2], 213–15.
[6] Greg. Naz. *Ep.* lviii (*Op.* iii. 52; *P. G.* xxxvii. 116 A).
[7] Socr. *H. E.* II. xlv; Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxvii; Thdt. *H. E.* II. vi.
[8] Socr. *H. E.* II. xlv, §§ 2, 3.
[9] Ibid., § 6.
[10] Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxvii, § 1.

Cyzicus, and Sophronius of Pompeiopolis in Paphlagonia: while they were assisted by the purse and the influence of Marathonius, a wealthy monk of Constantinople.[1] Their followers were specially numerous near, though not in, the capital; in Thrace; by the Hellespont; and throughout Bithynia.[2] By 381 the Pneumatomachi had become so nearly co-extensive with the semi-Arians that the names were used as synonymous.[3]

In Egypt, Athanasius, as early as his third exile, 356–62, was informed by Serapion, bishop of Thmuis, of some in his diocese 'who had left the Arians because of their blasphemy against the Son and yet spoke of the Spirit as a creature and as one of the "ministering spirits",[4] differing from the angels only in degree'.[5] He noted the way in which they evaded the ordinary Scriptural proofs of the Spirit's divinity,[6] and he exposed the profanity of some of their reasonings as that, 'if the Holy Spirit is not a creature, then He is a Son: and the Word and He are two brothers.'[7] 'Who would suppose', he asks, 'that such men were Christians and not pagans.'[8] On his return, the Council of Alexandria, 362, condemned the rising heresy 'of those who say that the Holy Spirit is a creature, and of a different and separate essence from our Lord'[9]; and in effect, though not in so many terms, confessed the Holy Ghost to be consubstantial with the Father and the Son.[10] Next year, 363, Athanasius, in pressing the Nicene cause upon the attention of Jovian, argued that 'the Council [of Nicaea] did not represent the Holy Spirit as alien to the essence of the Father and the Son, but glorified them together'[11]; and in his *Epistola ad Afros*, 369, he explained that, though the question did not come up at Nicaea, the Council, by adding 'We believe in the Holy Ghost', had put Him on a level with the Father and the Son.[12]

From this letter it would appear that, in the West, Auxentius and other Arians, as well as those of Egypt and Constantinople,

[1] Socr. *H. E.* II. xlv, § 4; Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxvii, §§ 3, 4.
[2] Socr. *H. E.* II. xlv, § 8, IV. iv (Co. of Lampsacus, 364); Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxvii, § 2.
[3] Co. of C. P., canon i.
[4] Heb. i. 14.
[5] Ath. *Ep. i ad Serapionem*, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 517 sq.; *P. G.* xxvi. 529–32). and Document No. 49.
[6] Ibid., § 10 (*Op.* ii. 527; *P. G.* xxvi. 556 B).
[7] Ibid. iv, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 557; *P. G.* xxvi. 637 C).
[8] Ibid. iv, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 557; *P. G.* xxvi. 637 C).
[9] Ath. *Tom. ad Ant.*, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 616; *P. G.* xxvi. 800 A).
[10] Soz. *H. E.* V. xii, § 3.
[11] Ath. *Ep. ad Iovianum*, § 4 (*Op.* ii. 624; *P. G.* xxvi. 820 A).
[12] Ath *Ad Afros*, § 11 (*Op.* ii. 718; *P. G.* xxvi. 1048).

had been active in opposing the deity of the Holy Spirit.[1] Athanasius accordingly wrote to 'Damasus, bishop of Great Rome', concerning Auxentius, begging that he might be included in the condemnation which had been passed by a Roman Synod of 369 [2] under Damasus against Ursacius and Valens.[3] The appeal was successful; for, December 371, a Council of Italian and Gallic bishops assembled in Rome under Damasus [4] and issued the condemnation [5] in a Synodical Letter that has come down to us in two forms. The first, *Confidimus quidem*, is addressed 'To the Catholic Bishops of the East'; and maintains that the Nicene Fathers taught that we ought to believe that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are of one Godhead, one character, one essence.[6] The second, which is preserved in Greek by Sozomen [7] and Theodoret,[8] is a warning to the bishops of Illyria against Arianism which has zealous supporters there. 'We ought', says the Council, 'to believe that the Holy Spirit is of the same substance [9] [with the Father and the Son]. He who thinks otherwise we adjudge to be alien from our communion.' At the third of the Roman synods under Damasus, probably in the autumn of 374, the bishops repeated their condemnation of Macedonianism and other forms of misbelief [10]; and, next year, the bishops of Western Illyricum, at a synod [11] which met under the eye of Valentinian (who was in those regions [12] in the summer and autumn of 375), wrote to the bishops of Proconsular Asia and Phrygia, affirming the consubstantiality of the three Divine Persons.[13] They sent Elpidius to instruct the Asiatic bishops in this faith; while Valentinian provided him with a missive commanding that it should be universally taught.[14] A fourth, 376–7, and yet a fifth, 380, Roman Synod under Damasus returned to the question. The fourth affirmed [15] that 'in no way do we separate the Holy Spirit; but

[1] Soz. *H. E.* VI. xxiii, § 4. [2] The first of the Damasine Synods.
[3] Ath. *Ad Afros*, § 10 (*Op.* ii. 718; *P. G.* xxvi. 1045 C).
[4] The second Damasine Synod.
[5] Ath. *Ad Epictetum*, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 720; *P. G.* xxvi. 1052 A).
[6] Damasus, *Ep.* i (*P. L.* xiii. 748 C); Mansi, iii. 459 C; Jaffé, No. 232.
[7] Soz. *H. E.* VI. xxiii. [8] Thdt. *H. E.* II. xxii.
[9] ὑποστάσεως, Soz. *H. E.* VI. xxiii, § 10; ὑποστάσεως καὶ οὐσίας, Thdt. *H. E.* II. xxii, § 7.
[10] Damasus, *Ep.* II, Fr. i [*Ea gratia*]; *P. L.* xiii. 351 B; Mansi iii. 460 C.
[11] Hefele, *Conciles*, II. i. 982; *Councils*, ii. 289.
[12] Amm. Marc. xxx. v, §§ 2, 15; Gibbon, c. xxv (iii. 64 sq., ed. Bury).
[13] Thdt. *H. E.* IV. ix; H. B. Swete, *Early Hist. H. S.* 57 sq.; *H. S. in the ancient Ch.* 180. [14] Ibid. *H. E.* IV. viii.
[15] Two fragments of its Synodical Epistle are preserved in Damasus, *Ep.* II.

we offer Him joint worship with the Father and the Son as being perfect in everything, in virtue, honour, majesty and Godhead '.[1] The fifth, in a document sent, in the first instance, to Paulinus of Antioch, pronounced Him to be ' very God, omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent, coequal and coadorable.[2]

By this time, bishops of Palestine and Syria had been roused to teach their flocks definitely on this matter. Thus about 374 two fuller forms of the Nicene Creed are found at the end of the *Ancoratus* of Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis 367–†404; the shorter[3] of the two being almost word for word the same as our ' Nicene ' Creed, called the *Constantinopolitanum*.[4] But if this formulary be put side by side with the Creed that can be gathered from the *Catechetical Lectures*[5] given in 347–8 by Cyril, afterwards bishop of Jerusalem 350–†86 (i.e. the baptismal Creed then in use in the church of Jerusalem), it is evident that Cyril's Creed, and not the Creed of the Council of Nicaea, is the real basis[6] of our ' Nicene ' Creed; and that it received expansion in two sets of new clauses; the second of which was intended to complete the teaching about the Holy Trinity by greater explicitness in regard to the Holy Spirit. He is now confessed as ' the holy, the sovereign, the life-giving; who proceedeth from the Father; who with Father and Son is conjointly worshipped and conjointly glorified ', in terms which reflect the language of St. Athanasius[7] and St. Cyril,[8] and appear to have been enrichments by the latter[9] of the earlier Creed of his diocese upon his return to it about 362. At that time Epiphanius was closely connected with his former monastery in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem[10]; and this would

Fr. ii and iii, *Illud sane miramur* (which contains the well-known condemnation of Apollinarianism, ' Quodsi utique imperfectus homo susceptus est, imperfectum Dei munus est, imperfecta nostra salus; quia non est totus homo salvatus '), and *Non nobis quicquam* (*P. L.* xiii. 352–4), and Document No. 57.

[1] Damasus, *Ep.* II, Fr. ii (*P. L* xiii. 353 C; Mansi, iii. 461 D).

[2] Damasus, *Ep.* IV [*Post concilium Nicaenum*], §§ 16, 17, 20, 21, 22; *P. L.* xiii. 357–64; Mansi, iii. 481–4; Jaffé, No. 235.

[3] Epiphanius, *Ancoratus*, § 119 (*Op.* iii. 122; *P. G.* xliii. 232 sq.); Hahn[3], § 125; C. H Turner, *Hist. and use of Creeds*, 102 sq.; T. H. Bindley, *Oec. Doc.* 93 sq. The longer is in *Ancoratus*, § 120 (*Op.* iii. 123; *P. G.* xliii. 233); Hahn[3], § 126; Bindley, 94–6.

[4] Document No. 67.

[5] F. J. A. Hort, *Two Dissertations*, 142; Turner, 100.

[6] See ' the *Constantinopolitanum* exhibited with the earlier Creed of Jerusalem as its base ', in Hort, 143; Turner, 104.

[7] Hort, 85–9.

[8] Ibid. 96 sq.

[9] This may be implied by the insertion of καί in Epiph. *Anc.*, § 119 *ad fin.* (*Op.* iii. 123; *P. G.* xliii. 233 A); Bindley 72.

[10] Hort, 82, n. 2

account for his adoption of the Revised Creed of Jerusalem.[1] He now recommended it, 374, for teaching to the catechumens [2] of Syedra in Pamphylia in the *Ancoratus* which he wrote in reply to the request of clergy and laity there, for an exposition of Catholic teaching on the Trinity.[3] In the same year Basil wrote his treatise *De Spiritu Sancto*.

This brings us back to the Macedonianism of Asia Minor and Basil's relation to the question there. In the winter of 372–3 Gregory of Nazianzus wrote to Basil to tell him of the conversation which had taken place at a dinner-party, shortly after 7 September 372, in the course of which a monk had criticized the archbishop for not having openly called the Holy Spirit God. Gregory goes on to say that he thinks the use of such 'reserve' [4] on the part of his friend was wise, for maligners were on the watch to get Basil expelled from the church. No harm could come if the Divinity of the Holy Spirit were made known in terms which implied it; but the injury to the Church would be serious if the truth were driven away in the person of one man.[5] Basil was hurt by the imputation [6]; but, as Gregory told him, 'quite unreasonably'.[7] In 374 he was again annoyed to find that some were aggrieved at him because he was in the habit of using two forms of doxology Μετὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ σὺν τῷ Πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ and Διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι. It was alleged that they contradicted each other,[8] and that the former was an innovation [9]; and, no doubt, the story of the wily Leontius would be brought up as a ground for suspicion. The *De Spiritu Sancto* [10] is the answer to these misunderstandings; and was addressed to Gregory's cousin, Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium 374–†95. After §§ 1–3, a reference to the occasion of the treatise, Basil, §§ 4–15, refutes

[1] See 'the *Constantinopolitanum* or Revised Creed of Jerusalem, exhibited with the earlier Creed of Jerusalem as its base, and with the Nicene insertion distinguished from the other alterations' in Hort, 144.

[2] Epiph. Anc., § 18 (*Op.* iii. 122; *P. G.* xliii. 232 B).

[3] See their letters prefixed to *Anc.* in Epiph. *Op.* iii. 2–4 (*P. G.* xliii. 13–16).

[4] οἰκονομηθῆναι. In the *De Sp. Scto.* Basil does not use Θεός of the Spirit, nor ὁμοούσιος of the Son: see note in C. F. H. Johnston, *St. Basil on the Holy Spirit*, xliii, n. 1, and pp. xlvii–liii, 'on the economy of St. Basil'.

[5] Greg. Naz. *Ep.* lviii (*Op.* iii. 51–2; *P. G.* xxxvii. 115–18); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* vii. 454 sq.

[6] Ibid. *Ep.* lix (*Op.* iii. 53; *P. G.* xxxvii. 117 C); tr. ibid. 456.

[7] Basil, *Ep.* lxxi (*Op.* iv. 164; *P. G.* xxxii. 436 C); Newman, *Ch. F.* c. viii.

[8] Basil, *De Sp. S.*, § 3.

[9] Ibid., § 16.

[10] Text in *Op.* iv. 1–67 (*P. G.* xxxii. 67–218); Johnson, *op. cit.*; tr. in *N. and P.-N. F.* viii. 1–50; and by G. Lewis (R.T.S.).

the Anomoean contention that the use of different prepositions —ἐκ, διά, ἐν—connotes unlikeness of nature between Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Μετά, § 16, of the Son is not new but is as ancient and as Scriptural as Διά; nor, §§ 17–21, do these two forms of *Gloria* to the Son contradict each other. Then follows, §§ 22–3, an exposition of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit: first, §§ 24–47, as involved in the Baptismal formulary, and then, §§ 48–57, as set forth elsewhere in Holy Scripture. An explanation and defence, §§ 58–70, of the Catholic forms of *Gloria* to the Spirit, Σύν and Ἐν (neither of which, § 58, is found in Scripture, though each is commended to us by the custom of the Church), leads up to, §§ 71–5, a vindication of Σὺν τῷ Πνεύματι. Basil, § 71, had received it from his own bishop Dianius; so that, § 75, it is no innovation. The pamphlet ends, §§ 76–9, with the dark picture of the evil condition of the Church at the time of writing when all was confusion.

At length the work of episcopal confessions and of local synods was clinched by the ruling[1] of the second Oecumenical Council—as it came to be—of Constantinople in 381. Meanwhile, one striking example of the determination of the Church to uphold belief in the Divine Personality of the Holy Spirit is to be found in the magnificent Invocation which adorns the Liturgy of St. Mark,[2] and may date from this time. It is an instance of the way in which 'the definition of the Person and work of the Holy Spirit . . . had' its 'influence on that part of the Liturgy which deals with the work of the Holy Spirit, with the result that the old prayer for a worthy communion was enlarged by the addition of a direct reference to the sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit in the consecration of the elements, and this addition speedily became the most prominent feature of the prayer, thus effecting the development of the *Epiclesis* from its primitive purpose into the actual consecrating formula'[3] of the Eastern rites.

(6) The Antiochene Schism is the sixth and last of these elements of confusion. In 361 the schism was in a fair way to be healed when Meletius, though placed in the see by Arians, made a clear profession of Catholic doctrine. But this prospect was destroyed when, at the time of the Council of Alexandria, 362, Lucifer

[1] Canon i; W. Bright, *Canons* [2], xxi and 96 sq.
[2] F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies*, i. 134, and Document No. 68.
[3] R. M. Woolley, *The Liturgy of the Primitive Church*, 111. On the history of the Invocation see A. Fortescue, *The Mass*, app. 2 (ed. 1914).

consecrated Paulinus. Athanasius, at the Council, had framed a *concordat* for Meletians and Eustathians. He was annoyed at Lucifer's proceedings, and was disposed to recognize Meletius. But his advances were coldly received, as Basil says, through 'evil counsellors'[1]; and in 363 he recognized Paulinus. Rome and the West agreed in this recognition; but Basil and the East, so far as it was orthodox and opposed to Euzoïus the Arian, and official, bishop of Antioch 361–†78, were anxious to get it transferred to Meletius. Basil therefore wrote the series of six letters to Athanasius, to which reference has already been made. He looks upon Athanasius as the natural mediator: appealing to 'his sagacity in counsel, his energy in action', and 'the reverence felt by the West for his hoary head'.[2] In Antioch, let him 'moderate' the one party[3] and 'manage' the other.[4] 'No other pilot could be found in such a storm.'[5] But Basil was asking too much. Athanasius could not desert Paulinus; while Basil, on his side, showed the spirit of a partisan in believing too readily that Paulinus was inclined to Marcellianism[6]; and he hardly appreciated the case which, from the Eustathian or old Catholic standpoint, could be made out against Meletius. He had not only been consecrated by heretics; but, at the synod of Antioch in 363, he had allowed himself to act with Acacius in putting a gloss upon the ὁμοούσιον. It was not then possible for Athanasius to do much. But the permanent interest of the correspondence is that it was a tribute from Basil to Athanasius. It shows how the East at last felt towards the man who was once 'contra mundum'. Now, at any rate, he was 'propter Ecclesiam'; and Athanasius, on his part, paid as warm a tribute to Basil.

§ 10. In regard to the wider prospect of help from the West, Basil was doomed first to suspense and finally to disappointment. From 371–7, as if hoping against hope, he sent missions to the West—four in all—with urgent appeals for practical assistance; and, particularly, for a deputation of Western bishops.

(1) The first mission,[7] 371–2, was that of Dorotheus, a deacon of Antioch, of the communion of Meletius; and it was concerted

[1] Basil, *Ep.* cclviii, § 3 (*Op.* iv. 394; *P. G.* xxxii. 952 A).
[2] *Ep.* lxvi, § 1 (*Op.* iv. 159; *P. G.* xxxii. 424 C); tr. Newman, *Ch. F.*, c. vii.
[3] Ibid., § 2 (*Op.* iv. 159; *P. G.* xxxii. 425 B).
[4] *Ep.* lxvii (*Op.* iv. 160; *P. G.* xxxii. 428 B).
[5] *Ep.* lxxxii (*Op.* iv. 175; *P. G.* xxxii. 460 B).
[6] *Ep.* cclxiii, § 5 (*Op.* iv. 407; *P. G.* xxxii. 981 A).
[7] F. W. Puller, *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*[3], 298 sq.

in the hope of enlisting the interest of Athanasius who was on good terms with Damasus. In 371 Athanasius wrote to Damasus begging that Auxentius might be included in the condemnation meted out to Ursacius and Valens by the first of the Roman synods under Damasus, 369. Anticipating the success of this appeal, Basil wrote, 371, to Athanasius urging him to obtain the good offices of the West on behalf of Antioch as well[1]; and then arranged with Meletius that Dorotheus should leave Caesarea and travel by way of Antioch and Alexandria to Rome. Basil supplied him with letters to Meletius[2] and Athanasius,[3] and a third to Damasus[4]; while Athanasius, it appears, commended both Basil and his envoy to the pope.[5] Basil's request was for a deputation[6]; and his envoy seems to have arrived in Rome, and to have presented it, during the sitting of the second of the Damasine synods, December 371. The Council announced its condemnation of Auxentius; sent *Confidimus quidem* to the East; and a duplicate, by Sabinus, a deacon of Milan,[7] first to the bishops of Western Illyricum and then to Athanasius and Basil. Sabinus also carried with him a private letter to Basil from Valerian, bishop of Aquileia 369–†88, who, next to Damasus, was the most important prelate at the Roman Council. Dorotheus travelled back with Sabinus toward the East; and, after touching at Illyria and Alexandria, they reached Caesarea in March 372.[8] It was something, and a letter from a Western Council; but what he had asked for was the support of a good body of Western bishops to sit in synod with their colleagues of the East and so draw the churches back into unity. Replying to the Westerns in general, he acknowledges 'a certain moderate consolation'[9]; in a letter of thanks to Valerian he asks for a continuance of his prayers[10]; and, as co-signatory, with thirty-one others, to 'the bishops of Italy and Gaul', he repeats his request for the visit of 'a considerable number' of them before 'utter shipwreck'[11]

[1] Basil, *Ep.* lxvi, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 159 sq.; *P. G.* xxxii. 425 B).
[2] *Ep.* lxviii (*Op.* iv. 161; *P. G.* xxxii. 428 C).
[3] *Ep.* lxix, § 1 (*Op.* iv. 162; *P. G.* xxxii. 429 C).
[4] *Ep.* lxx (*Op.* iv. 163 sq.; *P. G.* xxxii. 433 sq.).
[5] *Ep.* lxix, § 1 (*Op.* iv. 162; *P. G.* xxxii. 432 A).
Ep. lxviii (*Op.* iv. 161; *P. G.* xxxii. 428 D), and lxx. (*Op.* iv. 164; *P. G.* xxxii. 433 D).
[7] Damasus, *Ep.* I, *ad fin.* (*P. L.* xiii. 349 B).
[8] Basil, *Ep.* lxxxix, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 181; *P. G.* xxxii. 472 B).
[9] Basil, *Ep.* xc, § 1 (*Op.* iv. 181; *P. G.* xxxii. 472 B).
[10] *Ep.* xci (*Op.* iv. 182 sq.; *P. G.* xxxii. 476).
[11] *Ep.* xcii, § 3 (*Op.* iv. 185; *P. G.* xxxii. 481 A–C).

comes upon the churches. All three letters Sabinus carried back with him westwards, shortly after Easter,[1] 372.

(2) The second mission, 372–3, was thus that of Sabinus. He arrived in Rome in the summer of 372 ; and delivered to Damasus Basil's private letter, and the letter, perhaps drafted by Meletius, which Basil and others had signed. For some reason or other, 'they did not give satisfaction'[2] ; and for a year the pope put them aside. At last, June 373, he sent them back by Evagrius, a deacon of Antioch, who for some years past had been in Italy and was now returning home, with a direction that Basil and his friends should sign a petition (dictated from the West) for envoys to be sent to the East, and also support it in Rome by an embassy consisting of persons of note. To say the least, this was a chilling and discourteous answer to cries for help. Evagrius brought it to Caesarea, August 373. Possibly the death of Athanasius earlier in the summer may account for something. He was the natural intermediary between Basil and Rome ; and he carried great weight with either side. Anyhow, negotiations, for the time being, came not unnaturally to a standstill.

(3) But a third mission arose, 374–5, out of the visit, 374,[3] of Sanctissimus, a presbyter of the West, to Armenia Minor and Syria. He was collecting signatures to the proposed petition[4] ; and Basil lent his patronage to the proceeding. As soon as the task was done, Sanctissimus was joined by Dorotheus, now promoted to the priesthood ; and in 374 they left for Italy, armed with the formula brought by Evagrius to Basil in 373, the signatures to it since collected by Sanctissimus, and two letters of importance. The first 'To the Westerns'[5] was a general letter from the Easterns ; the second, a personal communication from Basil 'To the bishops of Gaul and Italy',[6] written in a tone of vehement remonstrance and urging 'that through you the state of confusion in which we are situated should be made known to the Ruler of the World in your parts',[7] i.e. to Valentinian. Dorotheus and Sanctissimus appear to have gone straight to Rome ; and, on

[1] *Ep.* lxxxix, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 181 ; *P. G.* xxxii. 474 B).
[2] *Ep.* cxxxviii, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 229 sq. ; *P. G.* xxxii. 580 B, C).
[3] The date is fixed by *Epp.* cxx, cxxi. Τῷ πάπᾳ = Pap, king of Armenia, assassinated in 374. Amm. Marc. calls him Para, *Res Gestae*, xxx. i, § 1.
[4] Basil, *Epp.* cxx, cxxi, cxxxii, cclii–cclvi.
[5] *Ep.* ccxlii (*Op.* iv. 371 ; *P. G.* xxxii. 900 sq.).
[6] *Ep.* ccxliii (*Op.* iv. 372 ; *P. G.* xxxii. 901 sqq.).
[7] Ibid. (*Op.* iv. 373 ; *P. G.* xxxii. 904 B).

their arrival, Damasus convoked a Council—the third of the Roman Synods of his day—which met in the autumn of 374 and sent Dorotheus back with *Ea gratia*.[1] They mention no names; but condemn, clearly enough, the errors of Arius, Marcellus, Apollinaris, and Macedonius. But whereas Basil had wished the Westerns to choose a few Eastern prelates, whom they could trust, and leave it to them to decide who, in the East, was to be admitted to communion of the Church as a whole,[2] Damasus and his Synod ignored the proposal; dropped a hint about irregular ordinations, intended, no doubt, to keep Meletius at arm's length; and gave fresh assurances of sympathy, but nothing more.[3] Next year, Basil got news [4] that, about September to October 375, a letter was received by Paulinus at Antioch in which Damasus gave him the communion of the West.[5] This was disastrous, in the eyes of Basil. The confusion was worse confounded; and a second disaster followed in the death of Valentinian, 17 November 375. It gave the persecution a fresh lease of life. Basil lost all patience with 'Western superciliousness'.[6]

(4) But, at length, in the spring of 376, Dorotheus and Sanctissimus started for Rome on a fourth and last mission, carrying with them a collective letter from the bishops of the East 'To the Westerns'.[7] It was not Arians, said the prelates, who troubled the Church now; but Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste, 'the ringleader of the Pneumatomachi',[8] Apollinaris,[9] and also Paulinus, 'who is now showing an inclination for the doctrine of Marcellus'.[10] They would have liked a joint synod of West and East to settle these questions; but 'this the time does not allow'. So let the Westerns 'take due heed', and grant their communion only to those who are clear of such innovations. The envoys were received at a fourth Roman Synod under Damasus, 376–7; where Peter of Alexandria, still an exile from his see, was present. Two fragments of the Synodical Epistle are extant, *Illud sane miramur*

[1] Damasus, *Ep.* II, Fr. i (*P. L.* xiii. 350 sqq.).
[2] Basil, *Ep.* cxxix, § 3 (*Op.* iv. 221; *P. G.* xxxii. 561).
[3] Damasus, *Ep.* II, Fr. i (*P. L.* xiii. 352 A).
[4] Basil, *Ep.* ccxvi (*Op.* iv. 324; *P. G.* xxxii. 792 C); Puller, *P. S.*[3] 318, n, 3.
[5] Damasus, *Ep.* III (*P. L.* xiii. 356 sq.).
[6] Basil, *Ep.* ccxxxix, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 368; *P. G.* xxxii. 893 B).
[7] *Ep.* cclxiii (*Op.* iv. 404 sq.; *P. G.* xxxii. 976 sqq.).
[8] Ibid., § 3 (*Op.* iv. 406; *P. G.* xxxii. 980 B).
[9] Ibid., § 4 (*Op.* iv. 406; *P. G.* xxxii. 980 B–D).
[10] Ibid., § 5 (*Op.* iv. 407; *P. G.* xxxii. 981 A, B).

and *Non nobis quidquam*.[1] Damasus and his bishops here entered upon a detailed refutation of Apollinarianism, and repudiated the errors of the Pneumatomachi and of Marcellus in briefer terms, without mentioning any names. But the ecclesiastical situation was inextricable. Damasus, it appears, either was ignorant of Eastern affairs, or else depended for such knowledge as he possessed of them upon the partisan information of the Eustathians at Antioch.[2] At this very Council, Dorotheus, as he reported, was shocked by hearing Basil's friends, Meletius of Antioch and Eusebius of Samosata, spoken of as Arians in the presence of Damasus and Peter, neither of whom raised any protest.[3] A deep despondency settled down upon Basil. 'I seem, for my sins,' he wrote in 377, 'to prosper in nothing.'[4] The long series of negotiations ended unsatisfactorily; and though he lived to see the Arian persecution brought to a close by the overthrow and death of Valens, he died before confusion gave place to unity under Gratian and Theodosius—suspected of heresy by Damasus and accused by Jerome of pride.[5]

§ 11. Basil's private troubles[6] may best be told as the last scene of the persecution; though they were due, in part, to ill-health following upon early austerities. He was subject to constant liver attacks[7]; and, though he could playfully tell an offended official who threatened to tear out his liver for him, that he was grateful for the suggestion, 'for, where it is at present, it has been no slight annoyance',[8] still, it was probably the cause of more troubles to him than ill-health. Shortly after his election, his uncle Gregory, who was himself a bishop and had been to him as a father,[9] took offence at his elevation. His *chorepiscopi*, or 'assistant bishops for country districts'[10]—there were fifty[11] in all, for as metropolitan he had few suffragans[12]—

[1] Damasus, *Ep.* II, Fr. ii, iii (*P. L.* xiii. 352–4), and Document No. 57.
[2] Basil, *Ep.* ccxiv, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 321; *P. G.* xxxii. 785 B).
[3] *Ep.* cclxvi, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 412 sq.; *P. G.* xxxii. 993 B, C).
[4] Basil, *Ep.* cclxvi, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 412; *P. G.* xxxii. 993 B).
[5] Jerome, *Ep.* lxxxiv (*Op.* i. 529; *P. L.* xxii. 749).
[6] Newman, *Ch. F.*, c. vi; W. Bright, *Waymarks*, 104 sqq.
[7] Basil, *Ep.* cxxxviii, § 1 (*Op.* iv. 229; *P. G.* xxxii. 580 A).
[8] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xliii, § 57 (*Op.* ii. 812; *P. G.* xxxvi. 568 C).
[9] Basil, *Ep.* lix, § 1 (*Op.* iv. 153; *P. G.* xxxii. 412 A).
[10] W. Bright, *Waymarks* 90; and *Canons* [2], 34 sq.; J. Bingham, *Ant.* II. xiv, §§ 1–11.
[11] Greg. Naz. *Carmen*, xi. 447 (*Op.* iii. 698; *P. G.* xxxvii. 1060 A); J. Bingham, *Ant.* IX. iii, § 2.
[12] Cappadocia was an exception to the rest of the East in its dearth of

incurred his censure. They had been guilty of simony[1]; and had conferred minor Orders on unfit persons,[2] 371–2. Glycerius, a deacon, gave scandal, 374. No sooner was he ordained than he took himself off with a band of young women, and set up as their 'patriarch' just 'as one might take up a profession to live by'.[3] Basil had to defend his own orthodoxy in regard to the language which he had used of the Holy Spirit, 372–4; and again, 375, to reply to the nobles of Neocaesarea against a charge of tritheism because, like most Easterns of his standing, he had spoken of Three *Hypostases*.[4] In the same year he addressed a remonstrance to bishops on the coast of the Black Sea,[5] who had become unfriendly through the machinations of Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste and metropolitan of Roman Armenia. In two cases, very different from each other, his friendships brought him into trouble. He fell out, *c.* 375, with Eustathius[6] because 'he had thought too well of this knave',[7] who turned out to be an Arian after all. He also quarrelled with Gregory,[8] the friend of his youth, whom he victimized by consecrating him to be bishop of Sasima[9]—a 'dull hole', says Gregory, 'all dust and din'[10]—which he was to hold for Basil against the claim, *c.* 372, of Anthimus to become independent as metropolitan of Tyana, now that Valens had erected Cappadocia II to the rank of a province.[11] Seeming failure, misrepresentation, and separation from friends were thus Basil's trials; but they show him to have been among the saints. At length they were over, when, four months after the death of Valens, he died—on his fiftieth birthday—1 January 379.

cities, and therefore of small dioceses; it was more like the West (save Africa and South Italy, where dioceses were small and numerous).

[1] Basil, *Ep.* liii, § 1 (*Op.* iv. 147; *P. G.* xxxii. 397 A); Bright, *Canons* [2], 145 sq.

[2] *Ep.* liv (*Op.* iv. 148 sq.; *P. G.* xxxii. 399–402).

[3] *Ep.* clxix (*Op.* iv. 258; *P. G.* xxxii. 641 D), clxx, clxxi. On the incident see W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, c. xviii, and criticisms in W. Bright, *Waymarks*, app. E.

[4] *Ep.* cox, § 3 (*Op.* iv. 315; *P. G.* xxxii. 772 B).

[5] *Ep.* cciii (*Op.* iv. 299–302; *P. G.* xxxii. 737–44).

[6] *Ep.* ccxxiii, § 3 (*Op.* iv. 338 sq.; *P. G.* xxxii. 823–8), and Document No. 62. For the relations of Basil and Eustathius, see *Epp.* ccxxiv, ccxxvi, ccxliv, ccli, clxiii, § 3; Newman, *Ch. F.* 77–82 (ed. 1840); *N. and P.-N. F.* VIII. xxvii sqq.; and W. K. L. Clarke, *St. Basil the Great*, app. A.

[7] Tillemont, *Mém.* ix. 189.

[8] *N. and P.-N. F.* VIII. xxv sq.; Newman, *Ch. F.* 139–41.

[9] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xliii, §§ 58–9 (*Op.* ii. 813 sq.; *P. G.* xxxvi. 569 sq.).

[10] Greg. Naz. *Carmen*, xi. 439–46 (*Op.* iii. 696 sq.; *P. G.* xxxvii. 1059 sq.).

[11] On this claim, that the ecclesiastical divisions should follow the civil, see Chale, c. 17, and W. Bright, *Canons* [2], xliv. 201 sq.

III

§ 12. We must now return to the West, up to the accession of Theodosius, 19 January 379.

While Valentinian and Valens were still alive, and while the Arian persecution was breaking over Basil and the East, there took place the consecration of St. Martin[1] as bishop of Tours 372–†96. His early life falls into three divisions.

(1) From birth to early manhood, 316–36. Martin was born at Sabaria, in Pannonia I, now Sarvar, near Stein-am-anger,[2] in Western Hungary. His father was a soldier, who rose from the ranks to be military tribune, and a pagan. His childhood was spent at Pavia, where he received his early education, purely a heathen one. At the age of ten, 326, he fled to a church and was received as a catechumen; and he soon developed, 328, a strong desire for the monastic life. But his parents prevented this; and, at fifteen, he entered the army,[3] 331. At eighteen he was serving at Amiens, 334, where there occurred the celebrated incident of the beggar and the cloak. Next night appeared the vision of his Saviour, clothed in the half of the cloak that he had given to the beggar and saying to the Court of Heaven—'Martin, still a catechumen, clothed me with this garment'. Presently Martin was baptized; and after another two years of military service[4] he was discharged from the army at Worms,[5] 336.

(2) From his quitting the army to his second visit to Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, Martin was more or less of a wanderer, 336–60. On his first visit, as soon as he had left the colours, he became the guest of Hilary for some time; and was admitted to the office of exorcist. Then, under promise to return, he went to visit his parents in Illyricum. On the way he encountered and converted a robber in the Alps.[6] His mother became a convert to the faith of Christ, with many others; but his father remained a heathen. Arianism, at this time, was strong in Illyricum; and Martin stood forth alone for the Nicene faith—a true confessor. He was scourged, and forced to depart. So, learning that Gaul was in

[1] His biographer was his younger contemporary, Sulpicius Severus, ?363–?†420; a 'grand seigneur' converted to asceticism: see Sulp. Sev. *Vita Martini, Epistolae tres,* and *Dialogi* (*P. L.* xx. 159–222) [Bardenhewer, *Patrology,* 451 sq.]; Tillemont, *Mém.* x. 309–56; Newman, *Ch. F.* c. xx.

[2] T. W. Hodgkin, *Italy,* &c. I. i. 237.

[3] Sulp. Sev. *Vita,* § 2 (*P. L.* xx. 161 sq.).

[4] Ibid., § 3 (*P. L.* xx. 162), and Document No. 152.

[5] Ibid., § 4 (*P. L.* xx. 162 D).

[6] Ibid., § 5 (*P. L.* xx. 163).

confusion owing to the exile of Hilary, 356–60, he betook himself, when about forty, to Milan, 356. There he lived for some time in solitude, till he was driven out by the Arian bishop Auxentius ; and he retired to the small island of Gallinaria,[1] off the Riviera, opposite Albenga.

(3) From the return of Hilary to his consecration, 360–72 Martin was with his friend in Gaul. Settling near Poitiers, he founded on a site, three to four miles off, which Hilary gave him, at Locociagus, now Ligugé, the earliest of the monastic institutions of that country. After eleven or twelve years, such was his reputation that he was demanded for, and consecrated to, the see of Tours,[2] 4 July 372,[3] just ' about the time that Ambrose and Basil were raised to their respective sees, and that Athanasius died '. But there were some who opposed his election, alleging that ' he was a contemptible person, unworthy of the episcopate, despicable in countenance, mean in dress, rough in his hair '[4]— in one word, a monk ; and a monk he remained after he was bishop. The combination made him apostle as well ; and his new monastery—*Martini monasterium* or Marmoutier, about two miles out of Tours—a nursery of bishops.[5]

§ 13. Three years later, upon the death of Valentinian, 17 November 375, the Western Empire passed into the hands of Gratian, 375–†83, the son of his first wife Severa.

Gratian [6] was born 359 ; made Augustus 367 ; became Emperor of the West 375, and in the East 378 on the death of his uncle Valens ; co-Emperor with Theodosius 379, till his death 25 August 383. It was a short career, but an eventful one. On his accession, he associated with himself his baby half-brother, Valentinian II (born 371 ; Emperor 383–†92), as Augustus ; and so avoided a civil war by assigning to him and his mother, Justina (widow of the usurper Magnentius and second wife of Valentinian I). a court at Milan. But though the Western Empire was thus nominally divided, Gratian, in practice, ruled it all from Trèves. The East, meanwhile, was hard pressed by the Goths ; who, in their turn, were being forced upon it by the Huns. Valens took

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Vita*, § 6 (*P. L.* xx. 163 sq.).
[2] Ibid., § 9 (*P. L.* xx. 165 C, D).
[3] Tillemont, *Mém.* x. 774.
[4] Newman, *Ch. F.* 389.
[5] Sulp. Sev. *Vita*, § 10 (*P. L.* xx. 166).
[6] Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* v. 136–88; Gibbon, c. xxv (iii. 66–8, ed. Bury) ; and the genealogical tables in T. W. Hodgkin, *Italy*, &c. I. i. 185, and *The Dynasty of Theodosius*, xiv.

the field in person, and Gratian set out to bring him aid. But before he left, June 378, for the Gothic War, he asked Ambrose, now bishop of Milan, 374–†97, for a compendium of the Christian Faith,[1] as he was advancing into provinces dominated by Arianism. Ambrose replied, at the end of 377, with the *De Fide*, Books I and II[2]: subsequently enlarged, in response to a further request[3] from the young Emperor, on his return from the war in July 379, for instruction on the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, by Books III–V.[4] These deal, however, not with that topic which was handled in the *De Spiritu Sancto*[5] of 381; but with objections to, and omissions from, the argument of the original pamphlet. Ambrose begins by asserting, i, §§ 6–11, the unity of God as preserved in the confession of the Trinity, and, §§ 13–16, the oneness of Christ with the Father in respect of the divine attributes. He touches on, §§ 44–6, the incoherences of Arianism and, § 85, its heathenish affinities; and, §§ 118–22, after pointing out that not only at Nicaea but at Ariminum too was Arianism condemned, he calls attention, § 130, to the futility of the Arian concession that 'the Son was not a creature like the rest of the creatures'. Then he proceeds to the discussion of the favourite Arian texts—in ii, §§ 15 sqq., 'There is none good but one, that is, God', of *Mk.* x. 18; in §§ 59 sqq., 'My Father is greater than I', of *John* xiv. 28; in §§ 84 sqq., 'He became obedient unto death', of *Phil.* ii. 8; and after foreshadowing, §§ 100–28, the answer which our Lord as Judge may be expected to make to those who deny Him, he concludes, §§ 136–43, by assuring Gratian of victory in the coming war with the Goths. But his auguries were too confident; and Gratian had only advanced to retire again on Sirmium—'too late to assist and too weak to revenge'[6]—when he heard of the defeat and death of Valens at Adrianople, 9 August 378.

The situation was critical in the extreme, especially for a young Emperor not yet twenty. The barbarians were in motion on all the frontiers. The internal condition of the West was insecure, from the tacit rivalry between the two Courts at Trèves and Milan. The East was now suddenly thrown upon his hands. In this

[1] Ambrose, *De Fide*, I, Prol., § 3 (*Op.* II. i. 443–4; *P. L.* xvi. 528 A).
[2] Ibid. III. i, § 1 (*Op.* II. i. 497; *P. L.* xvi. 589 C).
[3] *Gratiani Epist.*, § 3 (*Op.* II. i. 751 sq.; *P. L.* xvi. 876).
[4] The whole is tr. in *N. and P.-N. F.* x. 201–314.
[5] Ambrose, *Op.* II. i. 599–700 (*P. L.* xvi. 703–816); tr. *N. and. P.-N. F.* x. 93–158; Bardenhewer, 437.
[6] Gibbon, c. xxvi (iii. 118 sq., ed. Bury).

emergency, Gratian wisely consulted the interests of peace and order, both in Church and Realm, by two measures of first importance.

(1) He issued a Rescript of toleration, at the end of 378, for all save Eunomians, Photinians, and Manichaeans.[1] It was, of course, only extracted from him by the exigencies of the moment; and he cancelled it within a year. But it recalled the Catholic bishops in the East; and was acted upon, as elsewhere, e.g. in Antioch of Caria,[2] where the Macedonians took advantage of it to meet in Synod, 378, and reaffirm their objections to the *ὁμοούσιον*; so too in Antioch of Syria. Here, on the return of Meletius, whose splendid reception is described by Chrysostom,[3] an attempt was made at an understanding between himself and Paulinus[4]; though the details given by Theodoret[5] may be open to question. At any rate, Meletius was put into possession of the churches, Paulinus being allowed to retain his own[6]; and, ultimately, 381, six of the leading clergy, including Flavian, entered into a compact to advance no claim of their own to the bishopric but, on the death of Meletius or Paulinus, to recognize the survivor as unquestioned bishop of Antioch. Peace was in sight, and was actually effected, February to March 381. Its terms appear to have had the approval of the bishops of North Italy.[7] But before this, and nine months after the death of Basil,[8] a Synod of a hundred and fifty-three bishops met at Antioch, September 379, under the presidency of Meletius, now accepted by the whole East in this capacity and as the rightful bishop of Antioch, though he was not acknowledged by the Church of Rome.[9] As if to anticipate the mind of Theodosius they gave in their adhesion to a Tome—called *The Tome of the Westerns* by the Second Oecumenical Council[10]—or document made up of the letters of

[1] Socr. *H. E.* v. ii, § 1; Soz. *H. E.* vii. i, § 3; Thdt. *H. E.* v. ii, § 1.

[2] Socr. *H. E.* v. iv, §§ 2–4; Soz. *H. E.* vii. ii, §§ 3, 4. There is some confusion with another Synod at Antioch in Caria, mentioned in Soz. *H. E.* vi. xii, § 4, and assigned to 367; but they appear to be the same, and the date to be 378: see L. Duchesne, *Early Hist. Ch.* ii. 343, n. 1.

[3] Chrysostom, *Hom. in S. Meletium*, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 521; *P. G.* l. 517).

[4] Socr. *H. E.* v. v; Soz. *H. E.* vii. iii.

[5] Thdt. *H. E.* v. iv, §§ 13–16.

[6] Ibid., § 16.

[7] At the Co. of Aquileia, September 381: see its letter in Ambrose, *Ep.* xii, §§ 4, 5 (*Op.* ii. i. 813; *P. L.* xvi. 948 sq.), and Mansi, iii. 623 sq.; and at the Council of Milan, September 381, Ambrose, *Ep.* xiii, § 2 (*Op.* ii. i. 814 sq.; *P. L.* xvi. 950 B), and Mansi, iii. 631 C.

[8] Greg. Nyss. *Vita Macrinae* (*Op.* iii; *P. G.* xlvi. 973 D).

[9] Puller, *Prim. Saints*[3], 160, n. 1.

[10] C. P. canon 5; W. Bright, *Canons*[2], xxii. 113 sqq.

the second, third, and fourth [1] Synods under Damasus, i.e. those of 371, 374, and 376–7, which was emphatic in its condemnation of Arian,[2] Apollinarian,[3] Macedonian,[4] and Marcellian [5] errors. Meletius was the first to sign [6]; after him, Eusebius of Samosata; and, seventh on the list, Diodore, now bishop of Tarsus, 378–†94. Meletius then reinstated, or appointed, orthodox bishops for various churches [7]; and, in the West, a fifth Synod, under Pope Damasus,[8] early in 380, dealt once more with the condemnation of current heresies, in twenty four articles,[9] the ninth of which is directed against Meletius [10] and is proof that, though his faith had been accepted by the Apostolic See as sound, on its reception of the document with the hundred and fifty-three signatures, he was still regarded as outside its communion. Damasus sent the articles in a letter addressed to Paulinus whom he had recognized five years previously,[11] and Meletius was thus a Catholic bishop outside the communion of the Roman church.[12] Such was the recovery that Basil had not lived to see.

(2) It was part anticipation, and part result, of the second measure of importance which, after the disaster at Adrianople, Gratian adopted when, 19 January 379, he associated with himself Theodosius as Emperor, 379–†95.[13] His father, the elder Theodosius, 320–†76, was a Spaniard by birth, who had rendered good service to the state as Duke of Britain, 368, by rebuilding the ruined cities and camps of our island and restoring to it a peace [14] which was to last for forty years. Then he put down a revolt in Africa,[15] where he spent the last three years of his life, till he was suddenly struck down by the jealousy of the Court.[16] His son was born 346, and by 373 had risen to high command as Duke of

[1] Puller, *Prim. Saints* [3], 330.
[2] *Confidimus quidem* (*P. L.* xiii. 348 C); Jaffé, No. 232.
[3] *Illud sane miramur* (*P. L.* xiii. 352 B).
[4] *Non nobis quidquam* (*P. L.* xiii. 353 C). [5] Ibid.
[6] Damasus, *Ep.* II, Fr. ii (*P. L.* xiii. 353 C–354 A); Mansi, iii. 511.
[7] Thdt. *H. E.* v. iv.
[8] It was attended by Ambrose and the bishops of N. Italy, Puller [3], 330, n. 3.
[9] *Post concilium Nicaenum*, Damasus, *Ep.* iv (*P. L.* xiii. 358 sqq.); Mansi, iii. 482; Jaffé, No. 235.
[10] Ibid., § 9 (*P. L.* xiii. 360); Puller [3], 332 sq.
[11] *Per filium meum Vitalem*, Damasus, *Ep.* iii; *P. L.* xiii. 356–8; Jaffé, No. 235. [12] Puller [3], 324 sq.
[13] Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* v. 189–418; Gibbon, c. xxvi (iii. 118, ed. Bury). [14] Amm. Marc. XXVIII. iii, §§ 1, 2.
[15] Ibid. XXIX. v; Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* v. 64.
[16] Orosius, *Hist.* vii, § 33 (*Op.* 551 sq.; *P. L.* xxxi. 1145 sq.).

Moesia.[1] On his father's execution he retired to his birthplace and estates at Coca in Gallaecia, about twenty-nine miles from Segovia. Thence Gratian sent for him: for he wanted the aid of an older and more experienced colleague. Theodosius was proclaimed Augustus[2] at Sirmium; and, as he was to have charge of the Gothic War,[3] 379–82, Illyricum was dismembered and the two 'dioceses' of Dacia and Macedonia were handed over to him as part of the Eastern Empire.[4] It was a new departure, but of lasting importance. For not only was it repeated in the final partition of the Empire, 395, between the sons of Theodosius; but it corresponded roughly to the line of linguistic demarcation between Latin- and Greek-speaking peoples; and definitely established the system of the Four Prefectures of Gaul, Italy, Illyricum, and the East.[5] Orthodox Christianity was now, for the first time, dominant throughout the Empire in the persons of the two young Emperors: Gratian aged twenty, and Theodosius but fourteen years his senior.

[1] Amm. Marc. xxix. vi, § 15.
[2] Socr. *H. E.* v. ii, § 2; Soz. *H. E.* vii. ii, § 1; Thdt. *H. E.* v. vi, § 3.
[3] Gibbon, c. xxvi (iii. 122 sqq., ed. Bury); Hodgkin, *Italy*, &c. i. i. 297 sqq.
[4] The fact of this division is preserved in Soz. *H. E.* vii. iv, § 1.
[5] Bury's Gibbon, ii. 563; R. L. Poole, *Hist. Atlas*, Map i.

CHAPTER X

GRATIAN, 375–†83 AND THEODOSIUS, 379–†95 THE EAST, TO 383

In the East, Theodosius was at Thessalonica early in 380, where he was taken ill and was baptized during his illness by Acholius the bishop, 380–†3. At the same time he was preoccupied by the Gothic War.

§ 1. Meanwhile, a Catholic revival had taken place at Constantinople.[1]

(1) For forty years, from the third exile of Paul to the arrival of Theodosius, c. 340–80, the Eastern capital had been dominated by Arianism. The orthodox, in Gregory's phrase, had spent 'forty years in the wilderness'.[2] Paul was succeeded by Macedonius, 352–62. In 360 the Homoeans made the most of their victory at the Council of Constantinople to depose Macedonius and translate Eudoxius from Antioch to the capital where, till his death, he ruled, 360–†70, both church and Emperor. The first sign of a revival appeared by the Catholics putting forward Evagrius; but Valens put in a respectable and, as it proved, a conscientious Arian, by name Demophilus, 370–80, who had formerly been bishop of Beroea in Thrace. He was accepted,[3] though not unanimously.[4] Some eighty clerics remonstrated; the story of whose death at sea [5] is probably over-coloured.

(2) In his days the revival began at the instance of Basil,[6] and with Gregory of Nazianzus for its leader. It was no easy task to resuscitate the Catholic Faith at Constantinople. Apart from the pressure of the Government in favour of Arianism and its popularity there,[7] the sects were in possession. The Novatianists

[1] Tillemont, *Mém.* ix. 407–25; Fleury, XVII. l, li; Newman, *Ch. F.* c. ix; Gibbon, c. xxvii (iii. 142–7, ed. Bury).

[2] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xlii, § 26 (*Op.* ii. 766; *P. G.* xxxvi. 489 B).

[3] Socr. *H. E.* IV. xiv, § 3; Soz. *H. E.* VI. xiii, § 1.

[4] Philostorgius, *H. E.* ix, § 10 (*P. G.* lxv. 576 C).

[5] Socr. *H. E.* IV. xvi; Soz. *H. E.* VI. xiv; Gwatkin [2], 276 sq., note N.

[6] *Vita S. Greg. Naz.* (*Op.* i; *P. G.* xxxv. 276 B).

[7] Best illustrated by the well-known description of the irreverent disputatiousness of the Arian mob at CP. in Greg. Nyss., *De Deitate* (*Op.* iii. 466 D; *P. G.* xlvi, 557 B); Newman, *Select Tr. St. Ath.*[7] ii. 23; Gibbon, c. xxvii (iii. 142 sq., ed. Bury), and Document No. 105.

had a bishop and several churches.[1] So had the Eunomians.[2] The semi-Arians or Macedonians were strong there,[3] and the Apollinarians had a footing.[4] The orthodox were not only few[5]; but they were divided amongst themselves by sympathy with opposite parties at Antioch.[6] The rescript of Gratian, however, rendered it possible for them to obtain a bishop; and Gregory went early in 379, not willingly but under pressure,[7] and after three years' retirement in a monastery at Seleucia in Isauria.[8] He was now about fifty. Though he had many qualifications for the work of a revival, he was deficient in administrative ability; and in power of ruling he stands in striking contrast to his friend Basil. It is not surprising, therefore, that he only held on as bishop for about two years. He took up his lodgings at a kinsman's house.[9] It was the 'new Shiloh, where the ark found rest after forty years' wandering in the wilderness'[10]; and it became the great Church of the Anastasia,[11] for there the Catholic Faith rose again. Eloquent preaching was his sole weapon. Early in 379 he began by insisting on the need of reverence for the treatment of divine truth—'Ascend by holiness of life, if thou wouldst become a theologian: keep the commandments, for action is the step to contemplation. Even Paul confessed that he could only see as in a mirror, and dimly.'[12] Next, he attacked the various errors, discouraging all attempts to grasp the infinite in a formula; and forbidding men to indulge the taste for empty theological discussion.[13] About the middle of the year[14] he preached two sermons on Peace, the second of which has in view the divisions among Catholics in the capital, caused by their adhesion to Meletius or Paulinus at Antioch. They are agreed about the doctrine; why are they divided about the men?[15] Gregory's teaching was beginning to impress itself on his

[1] Soz. *H. E.* VI. ix, §§ 2, 3.
[2] Philostorgius, *H. E.* viii, § 2 (*P. G.* lxv. 556 B).
[3] Rufinus, *H. E.* i, § 25 (*Op.* 253; *P. L.* xxi. 497).
[4] Greg. Naz. *Carmen xi*, 609 sqq. (*Op.* iii. 706 sq.; *P. G.* xxxvii. 1071 sq.).
[5] Ibid., 583 sqq. (*Op.* iii. 704 sq.; *P. G.* xxxvii. 1069).
[6] Ibid. 680 (*Op.* iii. 710 sq.; *P. G.* xxxvii. 1076 A).
[7] Ibid. 607 sq. (*Op.* iii. 706 sq.; *P. G.* xxxvii. 1071 A).
[8] Ibid. 547 sq. (*Op.* iii. 702 sq.; *P. G.* xxxvii. 1067 A).
[9] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxviii, § 17 (*Op.* i. 484; *P. G.* xxxv. 1250 B, C).
[10] *Orat.* xlii, § 26 (*Op.* ii. 766; *P. G.* xxxvi. 489 B).
[11] Ibid., and *Carmen*, xi. 1079 (*Op.* iii. 730; *P. G.* xxxvii. 1103).
[12] *Orat.* xx, § 12 (*Op.* i. 383; *P. G.* xxxv. 1080 B).
[13] *Carmen*, xi. 1208 sqq. (*Op.* iii. 738–9; *P. G.* xxxvii. 1111 sqq.).
[14] Tillemont, *Mém.* ix. 436.
[15] *Orat.* xxiii, § 4 (*Op.* i. 427; *P. G.* xxxv. 1154 sq.).

flock when opposition was aroused, and they were molested. Soon after his arrival [1] the people of the capital had charged him with tritheism,[2] and made fun of his origin, person, and clothes.[3] They set off the meanness of his personal appearance against the charm of his eloquence. They even pelted him in the streets—or 'tried to', says Gregory, 'they were such bad shots'.[4] On Whitsun-Eve, 379, they attacked the Church of the Anastasia during the solemn administration of baptism. Arian monks and women 'like so many furies' stoned the neophytes, while he endeavoured to ward off the crowd.[5] This, however, was but an incident. Gregory had two weapons with which to make sure of ultimate victory: his acknowledged capacity as a preacher,[6] and his conspicuous single-mindedness as a man.[7] He could afford to wait. 'They have', said he, 'the houses of God, we have Him who dwells therein; they have the sanctuaries, we have the Deity.... They have the people, we have the angels.'[8] So he went on with his preaching. In the summer of 379 he delivered his famous sermons on the heroes of the faith—on theMaccabees[9]; on St. Athanasius,[10] 2 May; on St. Cyprian,[11] 14 September. Next summer he proceeded, as he had promised in the second sermon on Peace, to crush the serpent-eggs of heresy by the 'stiff and solid argument'[12] of the still more famous *Five Theological Orations*.[13] Jerome himself came to Constantinople to listen and to applaud[14]; while Peter, now returned to Alexandria, sent his approval.[15]

(3) The argument of the *Five Orations* has now to be considered. It is directed, in the main, against Eunomius and his adherents, who, as we have seen, dismissed everything that is mysterious

[1] *Carmen* xi. 652 sqq. (*Op.* iii. 708–9; *P. G.* xxxvii. 1074 sqq.).
[2] Ibid. 654–5. [3] Ibid. 696 sqq. [4] Ibid. 665 sq.
[5] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxxv, §§ 3, 4 (*Op.* ii. 630 sqq.; *P. G.* xxxvi. 259 sqq.); and *Ep.* lxxvii (*Op.* iii. 66; *P. G.* xxxvii. 141).
[6] For a description of his audience see *Orat.* xlii, § 36 (*Op.* ii. 767; *P. G.* xxxvi. 492 A); and of what the 'Anastasia' looked like at his sermons, *Carmen*, xvi (*Op.* iii. 842–9; *P. G.* xxxvii. 1253–61).
[7] Rufinus, *H. E.* ii, § 9 (*Op.* i. 281 sq.; *P. L.* xxi. 520).
[8] *Orat.* xxxiii, § 15 (*Op.* ii. 613; *P. G.* xxxvi. 232 C).
[9] *Orat.* xv (*Op.* i. 286–98; *P. G.* xxxv. 911–54). Their feast-day was 1 August.
[10] *Orat.* xxi (*Op.* i. 385–411; *P. G.* xxxv. 1081–1128).
[11] *Orat.* xxiv (*Op.* i. 437–50; *P. G.* xxxv. 1169–94).
[12] *Orat.* xxiii, § 14 (*Op.* i. 433; *P. G.* xxxv. 1165 C).
[13] *Orat.* xxvii–xxxi (*Op.* ii. 487–577; *P. G.* xxxvi. 9–172); ed. A. J. Mason in Cambr. Patristic Texts, and tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* vii. 284–328.
[14] Jerome, *De vir. illustr.*, § 117 (*Op.* ii. 943; *P. L.* xxiii. 707 C); *Epp.* l, § 1, lii, § 8 (*Op.* i. 237, 263; *P. L.* xxii. 513, 534).
[15] Greg. Naz. *Carmen*, xi. 858 sq. (*Op.* iii. 719–20; *P. G.* xxxvii. 1087).

from the things of God, and taught that He is perfectly to be comprehended by human understanding. They put their arguments into text-books for beginners ; and so pressed them upon all and sundry at Constantinople that, says Gregory, it was intolerable. ' Our great mystery is in danger of becoming a matter of mincing theological terms.'

The First Oration is ' Against the Eunomians ' ; and in it Gregory clears the ground. He begins, §§ 1, 2, by reproving the contentiousness that he sees around him, letting, § 3, his censure fall upon orthodox and Eunomian alike. Preparation of mind and heart is necessary both for speaker and for hearer before treating of theological subjects. Sometimes, § 5, it is well not to speak of God, as before the heathen ; for, § 6, the pagan world, with its gross mythology, is sure to put an unworthy meaning upon Christian terms such as ' Father ', ' Son ', ' Generation ', &c. And, § 7, after all, why contend as we do ? Is there not charity, or devotion, or self-discipline to occupy us ? Controversy, § 8, is not the only way to heaven. You may, § 9, set up for a theologian, but you cannot make people theologians all of a sudden. And, § 10, if you must talk, use your argumentative powers to better purpose—be it to put down heathenism, or to build up a true Christian philosophy.

In the *Second Oration* Gregory proceeds to reason, § 1, ' of Theology ' itself, and shows that the nature of God is beyond the power of man to understand. Like, § 2, Moses, Gregory, § 3, can see but ' the back parts ' of God ; for, § 4, God is incomprehensible and ineffable. By, §§ 5, 6, His works in Nature, we may know *that* He is, as the sight of a lute makes us think of the lutemaker ; but we cannot find out *what* He is. No doubt, §§ 7, 8, He is incorporeal. But, § 9, such negative truth about Him is all we can reach, not, §§ 10, 11, any adequate conception of a positive kind. There are, § 12, reasons for this incapacity of ours ; but, § 13, the cause of it is our bodily nature, in terms of which, i.e. in figurative and anthropomorphic language, all conceptions of God have necessarily to be expressed. Forget that such language is figurative, and, §§ 14, 15, the result is idolatry. Christians, however, worship, § 16, not nature, but the Author of nature. They know Him, §§ 17–21, it is true, but in part : yet, §§ 22–31, if the works of God surpass our understanding, how much more God who made them?

In the *Third and Fourth Orations* Gregory's argument is

'Concerning the Son'. Christian monotheism, §§ 1, 2, is belief in God who is one but in three Persons: two of the three being derived from the first, the Son by generation[1] and the Spirit by procession.[2] Such a Sonship, § 3, implies no priority of existence on the part of the Father, and, § 4, is not to be interpreted after the manner of carnal generation. The Father, too, § 5, was never anything but Father, as human fathers are sons as well as fathers. He is absolutely Father, and that alone. Then come answers to various captious interrogatories in favour with the Eunomians, e. g. §§ 6–8, 'Did the Father beget the Son by an act of will, or not?' and, § 9, 'Did the Son exist before He was begotten, or not?' and, §§ 10–11, 'If the Son is begotten, and the Father unbegotten, how can they be said to be of the same nature?' and, §§ 12–16, so forth. Dismissing these cavils, there is, § 17, the clear teaching of Holy Scripture as to the Godhead of the Son. Passages, § 18, which speak of Him in less exalted terms must be interpreted with reference to His taking of our created nature by the Incarnation; but, §§ 19, 20, He was not always what He became for our sakes, and He ever retained that nature which was originally His. Better, § 21, than argument, however, is the way of faith. Then follows, in the *Fourth Oration*, a discussion *seriatim* of §§ 1–16, the stock-texts[3] of Arianism, ten in all; and again, §§ 17–19, of the Divine Names in Scripture, specially of those of the Son, some of which belong to Him, § 20, both as God and as Man; others, § 21, as Incarnate.

The Fifth Oration is 'Of the Holy Spirit'[4]; and here Gregory had to encounter not the Eunomians only, but many also of those who shrank from the language of extreme Arians concerning the Son. They heard him patiently enough when he preached the Divinity of our Lord; but when he proceeded to speak of God the Holy Spirit, they said, as their predecessors had said of the ὁμοούσιον, that, § 1, he was going beyond the words of Scripture. The controversy, he allows, § 2, is distasteful enough; but, § 3, zeal for the letter of Scripture is sometimes a cloak for sinful unbelief.

[1] Γέννημα . . . τὸ γεννητόν.

[2] Πρόβλημα . . . τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, for which phrase note the combination of John xv. 26 with 1 Cor. ii. 12.

[3] These are Prov. viii. 22; 1 Cor. xv. 25; John xiv. 28; John xx. 17; John v. 22, 26, 27; John v. 19; John vi. 38; John xvii. 3, and Mark x. 18; Heb. vii. 25; Mark xiii. 32.

[4] On this, 'the greatest of all sermons on the doctrine of the Spirit', see H. B. Swete, *The H. S. in the ancient Church*, 240–5.

There, § 4, never was [a time] when the Holy Ghost was not; though, § 5, Christians are divided in their language about Him—some thinking of Him as God, others as a Divine operation (ἐνέργεια), others as a creature (κτίσμα). But, § 6, He must be either a contingent or a substantive existence. If contingent, then He would be an Influence; but this is incompatible with the fact that Holy Scripture speaks of Him in language appropriate only to a Person, as when it says that He 'saith', 'is grieved', or 'is angered'. If substantive, then He is either God or a creature, for there is no betwixt and between. But we cannot 'believe in' a creature: so 'the Holy Spirit is God'. After dealing with, §§ 7–12, difficulties supposed to follow from this assertion of His Godhead, Gregory reverts, § 13, to the charge of tritheism made against him. Some who are fairly orthodox in regard to the Son, are themselves open to a similar charge of ditheism. But let that pass: there is, § 14, but one God; for, in the Godhead, the three Persons, though distinct, are not separate, and the entire Godhead is in each. The Greeks, § 15, it is true, speak of a single divine nature compatible with plurality. But the parallel fails: for each god has but a fragment of divinity, and varies not only from, § 16, other gods but, oftentimes, from himself. It cannot be argued, §§ 17–20, that, because three things are numbered together, they must be of the same nature; so that, if three Persons are numbered, they must therefore be three Gods. Finally, if, § 21, as a reason for denying the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, you plead the silence of Scripture, then, §§ 22, 23, we must remember certain features of the language of Scripture: how, besides things said which are not literally true, such as anthropomorphic expressions about God, there are also things left unsaid which, for all that, are true, as that God is Unbegotten [1] and Unoriginate [2]—'those two citadels of the Arian position'—or that He is Immortal,[3] and not make too much of the reticence of Holy Scripture. Indeed, § 24, what is there merely implied, may be rightly affirmed; the more so as, §§ 25, 26, in Scripture there is a gradual development of divine revelation to meet the advancing capacities of those to whom the revelation is given. This doctrine, § 27, of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost is a case in point.[4] What is said of Him, §§ 28–30, involves His Godhead; and, §§ 31–33, it must never be forgotten

[1] Τὸ ἀγέννητον. [2] Τὸ ἀγένητον. [3] Τὸ ἀθάνατον.
[4] Document No. 82.

that illustrations of the Trinity (e. g. spring, stream, and river ; or sun, ray, and light) are inadequate.

Such were the famous discourses that won for Gregory the name of the Theologian—a name assigned to no one else but to St. John the Divine.

(4) But meanwhile, Gregory was taken in by an adventurer, named Maximus the Cynic.[1] Gothic fashions were all the rage at Constantinople about this time[2] ; and Maximus dyed his hair to look like a Goth. In consequence, he all but supplanted Gregory in the favour of the ladies of the congregation. ' Gregory ', they said, ' is certainly a good preacher ; but Maximus has such lovely curls.' Yes, says Gregory, ' yellow and black '[3] ; for the dyeing was not quite complete. But Maximus, coming as an admirer of the now famous theologian and preacher,[4] gained Gregory's confidence so successfully that, about the end of 379, the bishop actually pronounced a panegyric upon him in church, to which Maximus, as the hero—for that was his *alias* and the title of the sermon[5]—sat and listened. His real aim was the episcopal throne at Constantinople, and the first step to it was to oust Gregory. Maximus had come from Egypt ; and was, in fact, the candidate of Peter of Alexandria for the see. Peter may have been in his dotage ; or he may have looked with an unfriendly eye upon this Cappadocian orator—the friend of ' Orientals ' like Basil and Meletius—now carrying all before him at the capital ; or he may have been prompted by the first touches of that jealousy afterwards nursed by patriarchs of Alexandria against their rivals in Constantinople which ultimately ruined the churches of the East, when Theophilus had been roused against Chrysostom, Cyril against Nestorius, and Dioscorus against Flavian. At any rate, Peter sent some suffragans[6] to consecrate Maximus. Aided by one of Gregory's clergy and surrounded by sailors of the Egyptian corn-fleet, they seized upon the church of the Anastasia one night when Gregory was ill in bed.[7] The rite was proceeding, ' and they were shaving the dog on the episcopal throne ',[8] when, at dawn, a mob

[1] Greg. Naz. *Carmen*, xi. 750–1025 (*Op.* iii. 713–28 ; *P. G.* xxxvii. 1081–1100).

[2] Cf. *Sine exceptione* of 12 January 382, *Cod. Theod.* XIV. x. 1, which forbade tunic and trousers within the city, and required the ordinary clothes of a gentleman, viz. chasuble and alb.

[3] *Carmen*, xi. 754 (*Op.* iii. 714 ; *P. G.* xxxvii. 1081). [4] Ibid. xi. 814.

[5] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxv (*Op.* i. 454–69 ; *P. G.* xxxvii. 1197–1226).

[6] *Carmen*, xi. 844–7. [7] Ibid. 887. Ibid. 892.

of Gregory's supporters got wind of the plot and cut the service short. The consecration was finished in a flute-player's house.[1] Maximus then made his way to Thessalonica, probably before August 380, to obtain recognition from Theodosius, who was then starting off for the Gothic War. But the Emperor had been kept informed, and repudiated Maximus.[2] Damasus, who was warned of it by his Vicar Acholius, repelled him too[3]; and Maximus, returning to Alexandria, made a last effort to intimidate Peter into taking up his case. But the Prefect intervened and banished him.[4] The incident would be trifling but that it illustrates Gregory's unfitness for episcopal rule, and also the intimate relation that then existed between a bishop and his flock. He wanted to resign, but was roughly overruled by them[5]; and the religious situation in the capital remained *in statu quo*—Arianism in office, but on the point of yielding to the Catholic revival—till, 24 November 380, Theodosius entered Constantinople in triumph.[6]

§ 2. It was now to be made clear what would be the relations between the Government and the Church. Before his arrival, two edicts had already foreshadowed the direction which legislation would take.

(1) By *Omnes vetitae*,[7] of 3 August 379, issued from Milan, Gratian, possibly under the influence of St. Ambrose, forbade the heresies against which former imperial prohibitions had been issued and revoked the rescript of toleration which had recently been extorted from him owing to the disaster at Adrianople.

(2) By *Cunctos populos*,[8] of 27 February 380, issued from Thessalonica shortly after his baptism, and before he took the field against the Goths, Theodosius declared: 'It is our pleasure that all the nations which are governed by our Clemency and Moderation should stedfastly adhere to the Religion which was taught by St. Peter to the Romans; which faithful tradition has preserved; and which is now professed by the pontiff Damasus and by Peter, bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness. According to the discipline of the Apostles and the doctrine of the

[1] *Carmen*, xi. 909. [2] Ibid. 1001–9.
[3] Damasus, *Ep.* v (*P. L.* xiii. 365–7); *Decursis litteris*, Jaffé, No. 237.
[4] *Carmen*, xi. 1023. [5] Ibid. 1057–1113.
[6] Socr. *H. E.* v. vi, § 6; Tillemont, *Mém.* ix. 457; Gibbon, c. xxvii (iii. 146, ed. Bury); Hodgkin, *Italy*, &c. I. i. 351.
[7] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. v. 5, or 'Selecta Theodosii de religione decreta', *ap. P. L.* xiii. 533 A, B.
[8] *Cod. Theod.* XVI, i. 2; *P. L.* xiii. 530 B, C, and Document No. 69.

Gospel, let us believe the sole Deity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, under an equal Majesty and a pious Trinity. We authorize the followers of this doctrine to assume the title of Catholic Christians ; and, as we judge that all others are extravagant madmen, we brand them with the infamous name of heretics, and declare that their conventicles shall no longer usurp the respectable appellation of churches. Besides the condemnation of Divine Justice, they must expect to suffer the penalties which our Authority, guided by Heavenly Wisdom, shall think proper to inflict upon them.' [1]

Theodosius thus set himself to secure the unity of the Empire on the basis of the Nicene Faith ; and the Church in the Empire now finally and definitely became the Church of the Empire, adopted by its rulers for the Empire's sake. The day after his arrival at Constantinople, Theodosius proceeded to carry out his edict in act. On 25 November 380 he summoned the Arian bishop, Demophilus, to his presence, and offered him the choice of the Nicene Creed or deposition. He chose the latter, and was sent into exile.[2] The Emperor then sent for Gregory—as yet bishop 'in' but not 'of' Constantinople—and placed him on the throne [3] of what was still the principal church of the city, not St. Sophia, but the Church of the Twelve Apostles [4] ; and put out, shortly afterwards, a third edict to round off the business.

(3) By *Nullus haereticis*,[5] of 10 January 381, issued from Constantinople, Theodosius ordered that there be ' no place left to the Heretics for celebrating the mysteries of their faith, no opportunity to exhibit their stupid obstinacy ' ; and then went on to assign the name Catholic only to those who believed in the Holy Trinity. Heretics were to hold no assemblies in towns ; and the churches were to be restored to the orthodox prelates who held the Nicene Faith. Theodosius then armed his lieutenant, Sapor, with a commission to carry it out : ' and this ecclesiastical revolution ... was established without tumult or bloodshed in all the provinces of the East.' [6] Arianism collapsed, or rather it was driven beyond the frontier, where it entered upon a new and long career. Within

[1] Gibbon, c. xxvii (iii. 141, ed. Bury) ; Hodgkin, *Italy*, I. i. 335.
[2] Socr. *H. E.* v. vii ; Soz. *H. E.* VII. v, §§ 5, 6.
[3] *Carmen*, xi. 1305–1595 (*Op.* iii. 743 sqq. ; *P. G.* xxxvii. 1119 sqq.).
[4] Gibbon, c. xxvii, n. 38 (iii. 146, ed. Bury) ; Hodgkin, *Italy*, I. i. 354.
[5] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. v. 6 (*P. L.* xiii. 533) ; Fleury, XVIII. ix.
[6] Thdt. *H. E.* v. ii, § 2 ; Gibbon, c. xxvii (iii. 147, ed. Bury).

the Empire it was ' put down, as it had been set up, by the civil power. Nothing was left now but to clear away the disorders which the strife had left behind '.[1]

A series of Councils, 381–3, addressed themselves to the task.

§ 3. First of these was the Council of Constantinople,[2] May–July 381.

(1) The Second General Council, as it afterwards came to be reckoned, was summoned by Theodosius, apparently in response to a request made in January 381 by Ulfilas, bishop of the Goths.[3] Its business was to confirm the decisions of the Council of Nicaea and to provide a bishop for Constantinople.[4] Only bishops of the eastern portion of the Empire were invited[5]; and it is possible that, at first, neither the bishops of Egypt nor those of Eastern Illyricum received a summons. At any rate, they did not arrive until sometime after the rest. Paulinus of Antioch did not appear, nor bishops of his communion such as Diodore of Tyre and Epiphanius of Salamis. There were about one hundred and fifty in all.[6]

(2) The composition of the Council thus consisted, in the main, of ' Orientals ', in the proper sense of the word, and of Asiatics. The former arrived early, to the number of sixty-six, under Meletius of Antioch.[7] Of the latter, there were two wings: though neither of them from Galatia or Paphlagonia, where the sees were in Arian hands. But from central and southern Asia came Helladius, archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia 379–94, in succession to Basil; Basil's brothers, Gregory of Nyssa and Peter of Sebaste 379–91; friends of his such as Amphilochius, 375–†400; to the number of fifty or so. This wing would side with the Orientals, and give to the Council the prevailing Basilian or Meletian tone. It was a posthumous victory for Basil. But the wing from Western Asia was Macedonian. Theodosius had insisted on including them in the summons,[8] as if hoping for

[1] Gwatkin, *Arianism* [2], 269.

[2] Mansi, iii. 521–99; Hefele, ii. 342–74; Gibbon, c. xxvii (iii. 148 sq.).

[3] Auxentius, bp. of Dorostorum (now Silistria), *Ep. de fide, vita et obitu Wulfila*, in *Texte u. Untersuchungen zur altgermanischen Religionsgeschichte*, i. 57 (Strassburg, 1899); see C. A. A. Scott, *Ulfilas apostle of the Goths*, 37.

[4] Socr. *H. E.* v. viii, § 1; Soz. *H. E.* vii. vii, § 1; Thdt. *H. E.* v. vi, § 3; Greg. Naz. *Carmen*, xi. 1513 (*Op.* iii. 752–3; *P. G.* xxxvii. 1134 A); Fleury, xviii, c. i (tr. J. H. Newman, 3 vols., 1843–4).

[5] Thdt. *H. E.* v. vi, §§ 3, 4, vii, § 2.

[6] Socr. *H. E.* v. viii, § 4; Soz. *H. E.* vii. vii, § 2.

[7] Socr. *H. E.* v. viii, § 4; Soz. *H. E.* vii. vii, § 3.

[8] Socr. *H. E.* v. viii, § 5; Soz. *H. E.* vii. vii, §§ 3–5.

reconciliation ; and they came, to the number of thirty-six, under the leadership of Eleusius, 358–83. Reconciliation, however, proved hopeless. In spite of long discussions, and of a sermon [1] preached in St. Sophia on Whit-Sunday, 16 May 381, in which Gregory goes over again the argument of the fifth Theological Oration, the Macedonians withdrew.[2]

(3) So the proceedings began with Meletius and his friends in possession. Meletius presided ; for, as Timothy of Alexandria, 380–†5, had not yet arrived, the claims of Antioch to precedence were undisputed.

(*a*) The first business was to provide a bishop for Constantinople. The consecration of Maximus was accordingly investigated, and declared invalid.[3] Gregory was then urged to accept the see. But it was only after hesitation that he agreed in the hope that, as bishop of the capital, he might the more easily heal the schism at Antioch, which was now widening out into a breach between East and West.[4] Meletius and the synod then solemnly enthroned him, overruling the canons against translation [5] on the double ground that they were aimed not at translation but at the spirit which sought it, and that, in Gregory's case, they did not apply, for he had always protested against the consecration to Sasima that Basil forced upon him ; while, at Nazianzus, he had but acted as coadjutor to his father. Scarcely had he thus seated Gregory upon the throne when Meletius died,[6] May–June 381. Exceptional honours were showered upon him : Gregory of Nyssa, in his funeral oration, spoke of him as ' a new apostle ' and ' a saint '.[7] A similar tribute was paid to him by Chrysostom,[8] at the translation of his relics to Antioch, 12 February 387. While still out of communion with the Roman See, Meletius had, in his lifetime, presided over a Council afterwards reckoned as Oecumenical. On his death he was canonized at once. He died, as he had lived, a saint outside the Roman communion ; so that communion with the Roman See is not necessary to membership in the Catholic

[1] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xli (*Op.* i. 731–44 ; *P. G.* xxxv. 427–52).
[2] Socr. *H. E.* v. viii, § 10 ; Soz. *H. E.* vii. vii, § 5.
[3] Canon 4 ; W. Bright, *Canons* [2], xxii. 111–13.
[4] Greg. Naz. *Carmen*, xi. 1525–45 (*Op.* iii. 755–6 ; *P. G.* xxxvii. 1135 sq.), and Tillemont, *Mém.* ix. 474.
[5] Nic. 15 ; W. Bright, *Canons* [2], xiii sq., 58.
[6] Fleury, xviii, c. ii.
[7] Greg. Nyss. *De Meletio* (*Op.* iii. 587 A ; *P. G.* xlvi. 852 A).
[8] Chrysostom, *Hom. de S. Meletio* (*Op.* ii. 518–23 ; *P. G.* l. 515–20).

Church.[1] And Rome itself appears to admit this, by the insertion of the name of St. Meletius in the Roman Martyrology[2]; although, according to Jerome's youthful view,[3] Meletius was off 'the rock', outside 'the ark', and among 'the profane'.

(*b*) The death of Meletius at once brought to the front again the troubles at Antioch. On the return of Meletius to his see in 378, it had been agreed that when either he or Paulinus died, the survivor should succeed. Paulinus, therefore, should have been universally recognized; and this was the opinion not only of Alexandria and the West, which had always supported him, but of reasonable people in the East, and Gregory among them. He was now president, and did all in his power to get the agreement carried out.[4] He urged the Council to acknowledge Paulinus; but it was too Meletian in tone for that. The 'younger bishops', says Gregory, who 'chattered like a flock of daws and were as angry as a swarm of wasps',[5] argued that to vote for Paulinus would be to give a triumph to the West. Their point of view is worth noting, and should be compared with Basil's complaints about 'Western superciliousness' and want of sympathy. Such language is a painful indication of the flowing tide toward schism between East and West. They carried their point. Flavian was elected,[6] and the divisions at Antioch continued. It was a bitter disappointment to Gregory. He refused to preside again, and once more announced his intention of resigning. At this point arrived Acholius, bishop of Thessalonica, and Timothy, bishop of Alexandria: 'like a breath of the rough winds of the West,'[7] says Gregory, meaning that they lent their support to Paulinus. But the Egyptians, at any rate, were no friends to Gregory. They took up a line adverse to the Council, professing their dissatisfaction with the promotion of its president, nominally on canonical grounds, but really because Maximus, their fellow-countryman, had been rejected. This made Gregory only the more anxious to resign. He would gladly, he said, be the Jonah of the contending parties.[8] They took him at his word; and his resignation was accepted by the Council. Gregory was not heroic here; but he had all along been conscious of a temperament unequal to the

[1] F. W. Puller, *Primitive Saints*, &c.[3] 350; and cf. the case of Hilary of Arles, 429–†49. [2] On February 12, *Acta Sanct. Feb*, ii. 585.
[3] Jerome, *Ep.* xv, § 2 (*Op.* i. 39; *P. L.* xxii. 355): and Document No. 136.
[4] Greg. Naz. *Carmen*, xi. 1572 sqq. (*Op.* iii. 756 sqq.; *P. G.* xxxvii. 1137 sqq.). [5] *Carmen*, xi. 1682 sq. [6] Fleury, xviii, c. iii.
[7] *Carmen*, xi. 1802. [8] Ibid. 1839.

burden of the episcopate. The church-people of the capital were grieved ; but the bishops were divided. At last, in a magnificent oration [1]—not without some caustic reflections on the wealth and pomp of lordly prelates [2]—he took leave of them all with his ' Last Farewell ', June 381.

(*c*) The next question was as to his successor. Nectarius,[3] the praetor of the City, and a native of Tarsus, was making a journey to his birthplace when he called upon Diodore, its bishop, now in the capital, to see if he could take any letters for him. Noting the praetor's grey hairs, reverend aspect, and courteous manners, Diodore said nothing, but determined that he should be his candidate. He managed to get his name down, though last, on the list to be presented to the Emperor by the bishop of Antioch. Theodosius designated Nectarius : and he was elected, perhaps because he was so unlike Gregory, being a man of birth, wealth, and courtly bearing ; perhaps because there was a feeling that the church of Constantinople needed, above all things, rest. But he was unbaptized, and, in that respect, like St. Ambrose, at the moment of his election, though there the likeness ends. For Nectarius lacked both the ability and the character of Ambrose. Probably it was that very lack of distinction that caused him to be the man of the moment. He was baptized at once, consecrated in the white robes of a neophyte, and forthwith took his seat as president of an Oecumenical Council. It shows the level of the spiritual life in a great city of the East at that time. Nectarius was bishop 381–†97 ; and his immediate task, as president, was to go on with the Council in its next undertaking—to ' confirm the Nicene Faith '.[4]

(*d*) This brings us to the question of its Tome and its Creed.

As to the Tome, the Council of Constantinople of 382, so far from saying that its predecessor confirmed the Faith of Nicaea, speaks of it as having put forth a doctrinal statement, or Tome, of its own which contained ' a more expanded confession of the Faith '.[5] Whether or no the Constantinopolitan Creed is to be regarded as the ' quintessence ' [6] of this Tome, we may probably

[1] *Orat.* xlii (*Op.* ii. 748–68 ; *P. G.* xxxvi. 457–92) ; tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* vii. 385–95.

[2] Ibid., § 24, and Document No. 83.

[3] Socr. *H. E.* v. viii ; Soz. *H. E.* vii. viii, § 9 and viii ; Thdt. *H. E.* v. viii, § 8 ; Fleury, xviii, c. v.

[4] Socr. *H. E.* v. viii, § 1.

[5] See its Synodal Letter in Thdt. *H. E.* v. ix, § 13.

[6] So Hefele, *Councils*, ii. 348 ; *contra* L. Duchesne, *Early Hist. Ch.* ii. 350. n. 1.

regard the first canon of the Council as a remnant of it—'that the Nicene Faith must be maintained, and all heresies anathematized'.[1] From a statement made by the Council of Chalcedon, in an address to the Emperor Marcian, that 'the bishops, who at Constantinople detected the taint of Apollinarianism, communicated to the Westerns their decision in the matter',[2] it has been concluded[3] that the Tome treated of Apollinarianism; but it was at the Synod of 382 that a letter to the Westerns was drawn up.

But what of the Creed? It has been commonly said, since the days of Tillemont, 1637–†98, that this Council 'authorised'[4] the version of the Nicene Creed which Epiphanius gives, as the shorter[5] of two forms of Creed there reproduced by him, at the end of his *Ancoratus*. He remarks that it is everywhere in use, and must be learned by every catechumen who is about to proceed to the holy laver.[6] Its basis, however, as we have seen, is not the Creed of Nicaea but the Revised Creed of the Church of Jerusalem, due to St. Cyril, with which Epiphanius would have become acquainted, 362–7, while living at Eleutheropolis,[7] some thirty miles south-west of Jerusalem. Epiphanius, then, adopted the Creed of Jerusalem; but did the Council formally 'authorise' it? This is first stated by writers of the fifth century connected with Constantinople: e. g. by Flavian,[8] its archbishop 447–†9, in his letter to Theodosius II, and in the minutes of the Council of Chalcedon. These speak of 'the exposition of the 318 fathers who met at Nicaea, and the exposition of the 150 who met at a later time'[9]; and when 'the exposition of the 150' was called for, it was the Epiphanian recension, or Revised Creed of Jerusalem, that was read.[10] Unless these witnesses are all wrong, the Council must have become associated somehow with this form of the Creed. There is no evidence of formal authorization. But the Creed may have got into the *acta* of the Council of Constantinople either because Cyril, who was there, was called upon to defend his orthodoxy, which he would do by offering the Creed

[1] W. Bright, *Canons* [2], xxi. 90 sqq.
[2] Mansi, vii. 464 B.
[3] Tillemont, *Mém.* ix. 494.
[4] Ibid. 495.
[5] Epiphanius, *Ancoratus*, § 119 (*Op.* iii. 122; *P. G.* xliii. 232); Hahn[3], § 75; Turner, *Hist. and use of Creeds*, 102 sq.
[6] Epiph. *Anc.*, § 118 (*Op.* iii. 122; *P. G.* xliii. 232 B).
[7] F. J. A. Hort, *Two Dissertations*, 97, n. 1.
[8] Flavian, *Ep.* iii (*P. G.* lxv. 891 A; Mansi, vi. 541 A).
[9] First Session, Mansi, vi. 937 A.
[10] Second Session, Mansi, vi. 956 D, 957 A–C.

of his church[1]; or, possibly, because it was the Creed employed at the baptism and consecration of Nectarius.[2] It is a singular thing that we should know so little of the way in which it won recognition; for it stands alone among creeds as, 'from the beginning of the sixth century onwards',[3] the creed of Eucharistic Worship, being recited in the Liturgy everywhere throughout the whole Catholic Church.

(*e*) Of the seven so-called canons[4]: Canon I, as we have seen, was probably part of the Tome, and is not strictly a canon. It proclaims anew the faith of Nicaea and anathematizes all heresies: in particular, those of Arians, semi-Arians or Macedonians, Marcellians, Photinians, and Apollinarians. Canon II is a development of Nicene legislation as to the territorial limitations of episcopal action: prelates are not to meddle in the affairs of civil 'dioceses' other than their own; and, in particular, the bishop of Alexandria is to confine himself to Egypt, the bishops of 'the East' are to administer that 'diocese' with due regard to the privileges of primacy and synodical presidency guaranteed at Nicaea to the see of Antioch; and, similarly, the bishops of 'Asia', Pontus, and Thrace are to keep themselves within their own bounds. The churches beyond the frontiers of the Empire are to be governed according to established usage, i. e. they are to receive help and guidance from the mother-Church within the Empire till they are strong enough to be independent. Canon III is brief but momentous, and gave to the see of Constantinople 'an honorary pre-eminence after the bishop of Rome, because it is New Rome'.[5] Its bishop was still, for the present, dependent on his metropolitan of Heraclea; but, in rank, he dethroned his colleagues of Alexandria and Antioch and entered into rivalry with Rome itself. The canon was ignored by Alexandria, and repudiated by the Roman legates at Chalcedon.[6] The last of the genuine canons is Canon IV: it repudiates Maximus and invalidates all his episcopal acts, ordinations included. Canons V and VI belong to the Council of 382; while Canon VII is no canon at all, but a statement as to the practice, in vogue at Constantinople in the fifth century, for the reception of heretics. One cannot leave the four

[1] Hort, 106; Turner, 44.

[2] J. Kunze, *Das Nicänisch-Konstantinopolitanische Symbol*, 34 sq. (Leipzig, 1898).

[3] Turner, 46 sq.

[4] W. Bright, *Canons* [2], xxi–xxiv, 90–123; Fleury, XVIII, cc. vii, viii.

[5] Document No. 71.

[6] Sixteenth session, Mansi, vii. 453 B.

genuine canons without observing their anti-Alexandrian animus. Marcellians must have been scarce by now, but they had been protégés of Alexandria. The second canon was to keep the Alexandrian at arm's length from Constantinople, and the third to put the bishop of Constantinople safe above Alexandrian interference ; while the last bade good-bye to the pretender who lately represented it. If such was the temper of the Council it was fearfully avenged by Alexandrian bishops upon their colleagues at Constantinople.

(*f*) But, for the present, its proceedings were accepted. They were ratified by the Imperial Confirmation. In *Episcopis tradi* [1] of 30 July 381 Theodosius commanded 'all the churches to be handed over to those bishops who confess the Trinity' ; named certain bishops, Nectarius of Constantinople, Timothy of Alexandria, Pelagius of Laodicea in Syria, Diodore of Tarsus, and others, to be centres of communion, so that only those who were approved by them should occupy the churches and be known as Catholics. All others were heretics, and were to be deprived.

(*g*) So ended the Council, but it was long before it acquired Oecumenical rank. In the East it took its place as the second of the Four Councils known to the Civil Law,[2] from the time that it was so enumerated in *Tandem aliquando* [3] of 7 February 452 by which Marcian confirmed the Council of Chalcedon. But by the Canon Law of the West recognition was delayed till the days of Pope Hormisdas,[4] 514–†23 ; and Canon III remained unrecognized until, on the foundation of a Latin Patriarchate at Constantinople, 1204, the Lateran Council of 1215 allowed that see the second rank in Christendom.[5]

§ 4. The ink of the Imperial confirmation was scarcely dry when, late in 381, two synods [6] were held in the north of Italy, at Aquileia in September, and at Milan in December, both under the influence of Ambrose,[7] archbishop of Milan, 374–†97. His letters [8]

[1] *Cod. Theod.* xvi. i. 3 (*P. L.* xiii. 530 sq.).

[2] Justinian, *Novellae*, 131, § 1 (Just. *Nov. Const.* ii. 267 : Teubner, 1881), A. D. 545.

[3] Mansi, vii. 476 C. [4] Puller, *Primitive Saints* [2], 360.

[5] Conc. Lat. iv, c. 5 (Mansi, xxii. 990 sq.), and H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion* [10], § 436 (ed. C. Bannwart, 1908).

[6] Puller, *Prim. Saints* [2], 541 sq. [7] Tillemont, *Mém.* x. 78–306.

[8] Ambrose, *Epp.* viii–xiv (*Op.* II. i. 783–819 ; *P. L.* xvi. 912–55). The *Gesta Concilii Aquileiensis* follow upon *Ep.* viii ; for tr. see *L. F.* xlvi. 31–79. They are 'corrected in favour of the Arian representatives' (Scott, *Ulfilas*, 34) by the marginal record of a bishop named Maximin in *Cod. lat. Parisinus.*

are the authority for what happened : first, in respect of the last remnants of Arianism in the West, and afterwards in regard to the disputed successions at Antioch and Constantinople where East and West, after what took place at the Council of Constantinople, were on different sides. Late in 378, while Gratian was still sole Emperor, two Illyrian bishops, Palladius of Ratiaria (now Aržer Palanka, in Bulgaria) and Secundianus were charged with Arianism, and requested him to summon a General Council for their benefit. They trusted to the Arian bishops of the East for support. Gratian consented ; but Ambrose, who was now writing for him a second work of instruction, *De Spiritu Sancto*,[1] 381, persuaded him that such a question as the faith of two bishops might be settled by ' himself and the bishops of the adjoining cities of Italy '.[2]

(1) Accordingly they met in Council at Aquileia,[3] 3 September 381, mostly from Italy, but with deputies from Gaul, Africa, and Illyria ; in all, thirty-two in number, and under the presidency of Valerian, bishop of Aquileia, 369–†88. Proceedings began by the reading of the Emperor's mandate[4] ; whereupon Palladius protested that he had expected a full council and had been tricked out of it by the bishop of Milan. After some discussion on this point,[5] the Council went into the merits of the case. The letter of Arius to his bishop, Alexander, was read,[6] and Palladius was called upon to condemn its propositions. What would he say to the Arian statement that ' the Father alone is eternal ' ?[7] Would he admit that ' the Son is very God ' ?[8] and so on. Palladius had recourse, in reply, to the usual Arian evasions[9] ; and at length fell back upon a refusal to answer except in a General Council.[10] He was condemned and deposed[11] ; and then Secundianus was dealt with, though more briefly, in the same way.[12] Four Synodical Letters followed. In the first the Council thanked the bishops of Gaul for the presence of their deputies at Aquileia, and announced its decisions.[13] In the second they gave a fuller account of their proceedings to Gratian.[14] In the third they urged him to support

8907, *ap. Texte u. Untersuchungen zur altgermanischen Religionsgeschichte*, i. 67–90 (Strassburg, 1899).

[1] Ambrose, *Op.* II. i. 599–70 (*P. L.* xvi. 703–816) ; tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* x. 93–158. [2] *Gesta*, § 14 (*Op.* II. i. 787 ; *P. L.* xvi. 917 A).

[3] Mansi, iii. 599–624 ; Hefele, ii. 375–7 ; Fleury, XVIII, cc. x–xvi.

[4] *Gesta*, §§ 3, 4. [5] *Gesta*, §§ 6–8. [6] *Gesta*, § 5.

[7] *Gesta*, § 9. [8] *Gesta*, §§ 17 sqq. [9] *Gesta*, § 21.

[10] *Gesta*, §§ 43–52. [11] *Gesta*, §§ 53 sqq. [12] *Gesta*, §§ 65 sqq.

[13] Ambrose, *Ep.* ix (*Op.* II. i. 806 ; *P. L.* xvi. 939 sq.).

[14] *Ep.* x (*Op.* II. i. 806–10 ; *P. L.* xvi. 940–4).

Damasus as the rightful bishop of Rome to the exclusion of his rival, Ursinus.[1] In a fourth,[2] to Theodosius, they turn to the questions of disputed succession which agitated the East; pronounce for Paulinus at Antioch[3]; and beg the Emperor to order a General Council at Alexandria to discuss 'with whom communion is to be maintained'.[4] They seem to have been totally unaware, as yet, of what had been done at Constantinople in this matter; and the main interest of their proceedings lies partly in the leadership of Ambrose, but also in the fact that this was one of the few occasions in which the Western Church spoke out definitely against Arianism.

(2) Next winter, at the Council of Milan,[5] December 381, under the presidency of Ambrose, they appear to have heard of what had been done by the Council of Constantinople for the settlement of the successions there and at Antioch. They regret, in their Synodal Letter to Theodosius,[6] that, in spite of the compact, February 381, between Meletius and Paulinus, Flavian had been consecrated to Antioch[7]; the more so as this was done, they believe, on the advice of Nectarius, the regularity of whose consecration they consider uncertain[8] by comparison with that of Maximus. This adventurer, it would seem, had arrived in Milan soon after Easter 381, and had successfully imposed upon a Council held there about the end of May,[9] at least so far as to induce it to accept his episcopal status, and to write to Theodosius in his favour. Now they write again, threatening to break off all relations with the East unless Maximus is reinstated, or unless the East will agree that the whole matter shall be referred to a General Council to meet in Rome.[10] Theodosius sent them 'an august and princely answer'[11] which has not come down to us; but it told them the truth about the pretensions of Maximus, and maintained the Eastern view in favour of Flavian. So we gather from another letter[12] sent to Theodosius, in reply, by a further synod held at Milan shortly after Easter [17 April] 382. They were not satisfied;

[1] *Ep.* xi (*Op.* II. i. 810–12; *P. L.* xvi. 944–7).
[2] *Ep.* xii (*Op.* II. i. 812–14; *P. L.* xvi. 947–9).
[3] Ibid., § 4. [4] Ibid., § 5.
[5] Hefele, ii. 377; Tillemont, x. 145 sq.; Fleury, XVIII. xvii; Puller, *Prim. Saints*[3], 531 sqq.
[6] Ambrose, *Ep.* xiii (*Op.* II. i. 814–17; *P. L.* xvi. 950–3); Mansi, iii. 631 sq. [7] Ibid., § 2. [8] Ibid., § 3.
[9] 'In concilio nuper,' ibid., § 3, and Puller[3], Excursus II, esp. p. 537.
[10] Ibid., § 6. [11] Ambrose, *Ep.* xiv, § 4 (*Op.* II. i. 818; *P. L.* xvi. 954 c).
[12] *Ep.* xiv (*Op.* II. i. 817–19; *P. L.* xvi. 953–5); Mansi, iii. 630 sq.

and it was only when they went to Rome for the sixth of the Damasine synods, in May or June 382,[1] that they were undeceived —perhaps by Acholius of Thessalonica. Though his see, since the accession of Theodosius, lay in the Eastern Empire, he was papal Vicar for Eastern Illyricum, i.e. the civil 'dioceses' of Dacia and Macedonia, or what we now call Macedonia and Greece. He was at Constantinople in 381 and at Rome 382, and he would be able to tell them all about the affair of Maximus. They dropped that worthy, at last; but continued to support Paulinus, and did not relax their pressure upon Gratian for a General Council. He acquiesced, and summoned it to meet in Rome.[2] But he reckoned without his colleague; for Theodosius preferred a Council under his own eye.

§ 5. Accordingly the year 382 was also marked by two synods, the one at Constantinople in the summer and the other in the autumn at Rome.

(1) At Constantinople,[3] very nearly the same bishops met, under the presidency of Nectarius, as at the second General Council; and, among others, Gregory of Nazianzus was invited. He had retired to his estate at Arianzus, where he spent the Lent of 382 in absolute silence[4] in composing the *Carmen de vita sua*,[5] and in writing to Cledonius,[6] a priest of Nazianzus, in view of fresh disputes that had arisen there, two famous letters.

They deal with Apollinarianism.

He begins by insisting on the unity of our Lord's Person.[7] He who 'of old was not man but God, in these last days has assumed manhood'.[8] Mary, therefore, by whom He assumed it, is Mother of God.[9] We are not to suppose that He passed through her 'as through a channel',[10] taking nothing of her; nor that the manhood was formed and afterwards clothed with the Godhead.[11] Nor are

[1] For this date, Puller[3], 523.
[2] Soz. *H. E.* VII. xi, § 4; Thdt. *H. E.* v. ix, § 8, quotes the bps. at CP. to this effect.
[3] Hefele, ii. 378; Tillemont, x. 148 sq.; Fleury, XVIII, c. xviii.
[4] Tillemont, *Mém.* ix. 511.
[5] Greg. Naz. *Carmen*, xi (*Op.* iii. 674–777; *P. G.* xxxvii. 1029–1166).
[6] *Epp.* ci, cii (*Op.* iii. 83–97; *P. G.* xxxvii. 175–202); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* vii. 439–45; Tillemont, *Mém.* ix. 515–18; Fleury, XVIII, c. xxiv.
[7] *Ep.* ci (*Op.* iii. 85; *P. G.* xxxvii. 177 B). [8] 177 B.
[9] Θεοτόκος, 177 C; on this term, see W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*[2], 126–8. It is 'a condensed expression of the personal Divinity of the Redeemer'.
[10] 177 C. It was a Gnostic theory: Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* I. vii, § 2.
[11] 177 C.

there two sons; one of God the Father, and another of the mother. God and Man indeed, are two natures, as also are soul and body [1]—here Gregory anticipates the language of the *Quicunque vult*.[2] There are, then, two elements in the Saviour; but that is a different thing from two Persons.[3]

Next, he proceeds to set aside adoptianist theories—any notion that the Godhead 'wrought in Him by grace as in a prophet'[4]; any conception of the Crucified as less than adorable[5]; and any idea of a progressive or adoptive sonship.[6]

Then he goes on to attack the two main propositions of Apollinarianism, enumerating them in the order in which he afterwards found them, as he wrote to Nectarius in 387, in an Apollinarian 'pamphlet that came into his hands'.[7] The one is that denial of our Lord's permanent assumption of a real human body which is involved in taking such texts as 'The second man is from heaven'[8] and 'No man hath ascended into heaven but He that descended out of heaven, even the Son of Man which is in heaven',[9] as meaning that His flesh is of heavenly origin.[10] Such language, says Gregory, is but a consequence of the unity of Person in Christ: whence the 'cross and circulatory speeches'[11] of Scripture.[12] The other, that He who so came down is 'man without a human mind'[13] is a doctrine of an incomplete salvation; for 'that, which is not taken, is not healed'. Of course, if Adam fell by halves, then that which Christ took may well be but a half. But, if the whole of his nature fell, then it must be united to the whole nature of the Son in order to be saved as a whole.[14] Everywhere, too, in Scripture He is called Man and Son of Man,[15] so that no such gloss can be put on 'The Word became flesh' as would exclude a human mind. It is a case of *synecdoche*—part put for whole.[16]

Finally, he notes, as did Basil, the Judaizing fantasies of the sect,[17] and its heathenish idea of gradations in the Godhead.[18] And, in a second letter, he concludes by discussing other stock-texts of

[1] 180 A. [2] verse 37. [3] 180 A. [4] 180 B. [5] 180 B. [6] 181 A.
[7] *Ep.* ccii [aliter, *Orat.* xlvi] (*Op.* iii. 167; *P. G.* xxxvii. 332 B); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* vii. 438; quoted in Soz. *H. E.* VI. xxvii, §§ 2–7.
[8] 1 Cor. xv. 47. [9] John iii. 13.
[10] *Ep.* ci (*Op.* iii. 87; *P. G.* xxxvii. 181 B).
[11] R. Hooker, *E. P.* v. liii, § 4.
[12] 181 C. On this *Communicatio Idiomatum* see W. Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*[2], 129 sq. [13] 181 C. [14] 184 A, and Document No. 84.
[15] 189 A. [16] 189 B. [17] 192 A. [18] 192 B.

Apollinarianism: e. g. 'But we have the mind of Christ',[1] 'He was seen on earth and conversed with men',[2] 'He was found in fashion as a man'[3]—as if His 'mind' were His Godhead[4] and 'His flesh a phantom rather than a reality'.[5]

The two letters are good examples of that class of fourth-century documents which refuted by anticipation the errors of the fifth[6]; and, as such, they were eagerly quoted both at Ephesus[7] against Nestorianism, and against Eutychianism by Theodoret[8] and by the Council of Chalcedon.[9]

But their author was of less service to the Church of his own day; and, in response to the invitation to the Council, he excused himself on the ground of ill-health, and added, 'I never saw any good come of Councils. So far from putting an end to mischief, they increase it; and they are scenes of party-spirit and lust of power—do not think me a nuisance for writing like this—which beggar description.'[10] His words have often been appealed to as a final condemnation of Church Councils by one who knew them from the inside. We cannot confine the censure to Arianizing synods; nor can we deny the theological passions of the time, and the secular tone of the clergy in the fourth century. But there are other experiences of synods on record, besides those of Gregory. 'It is impossible', says Eusebius, 'to settle any question of moment without recourse to a synod.'[11] And Gregory's was nothing like so dispassionate a verdict. He was old and ill, and had always been averse to public life. Now, he says, he is retiring, and thinks inaction best.[12] If this is good against synodical action, it also holds good against the exercise of Church authority in general.

Relieved from the embarrassment of Gregory's presence, the Council assembled at Constantinople in the summer of 382, and got to work. They received the invitation, sent in December 381, from the Council at Milan, to attend the proposed General Council

[1] 1 Cor. ii. 16; 197 A. [2] Baruch iii. 38, 197 B.
[3] Phil. ii. 7; 200 A. [4] 197 A. [5] 197 C.
[6] Tillemont, *Mém.* ix. 517 sq.
[7] Conc. Eph. Actio I, c. i (Mansi, iv. 1192 sq.); Fleury, XXV, c. xli.
[8] Theodoret *Eranistes*, i–iii (*Op.* iv. 62 sq., 147, 245; *P. G.* lxxxiii. 94 sq., 190, 298); tr. W. Bright, *Later Treatises of St. Ath.* 188, 209, 226.
[9] Mansi, vi. 961–72; Session II; Fleury, XXVIII, c. xi.
[10] Greg. Naz. *Ep.* cxxx (*Op.* iii. 110; *P. G.* xxxvii. 225 A); Fleury, XVIII, c. xviii, and Document No. 85.
[11] Eus. *V. C.* i. 51 (*Op.* ii. 434; *P. G.* xx. 965 B).
[12] *Ep.* cxxx (*Op.* iii. 110; *P. G.* xxxvii. 225 A).

in Rome[1]; but they preferred to accept the summons of Theodosius to Constantinople.[2] It was too far to go to the West; but, to assure their brethren there of their zeal for unity and the true faith, they sent three delegates[3] with a Synodal Letter addressed to Damasus, Ambrose, Brito of Trèves, Valerian of Aquileia, Acholius of Thessalonica, Anemius of Sirmium, and others, and preserved by Theodoret.[4] In it they affirm their adherence to the Nicene Faith[5]; and profess their acceptance both of the Tome of the Synod of Antioch, 379 (in which that synod had adopted Damasine definitions so that its formulary went by the name of the Tome of the Westerns), and of the Tome put out at Constantinople,[6] 381. Then they turn to the contested successions at Constantinople and at Antioch; and by an appeal to the Nicene rule, as they call it, which prescribes that bishops shall be consecrated by their comprovincials, with the aid, if necessary, of neighbouring bishops,[7] they seek to justify the appointments of Nectarius[8] and Flavian.[9] This was a polite way of telling the Westerns that the promotions in question were no concern of theirs; but they asked, and apparently expected, their consent. After eulogizing Cyril as rightful bishop of Jerusalem,[10] they conclude with an earnest appeal for unity[11]; and they finished their business by two enactments, commonly ranked as canons 5 and 6 of the Council of Constantinople, 381.[12] The former adopts 'The Tome of the Westerns', i.e. the Tome which the Council had previously termed 'The Tome of the synod of Antioch', as the standard for the reception of Antiochenes professing the true faith. The latter treats of charges brought against orthodox bishops.

(2) The Roman Synod,[13] of the autumn of 382, to which the Synodal Letter of Constantinople was addressed, was the seventh held under Pope Damasus. Ambrose was there,[14] but he was ill and took little part[15]; and Acholius who, though his country was

[1] Thdt. *H. E.* v. viii, § 10; v. ix, § 8.
[2] Ibid. v. ix, § 9. They are not quite candid here.
[3] Ibid. § 9. [4] Thdt. *H. E.* v. ix; Mansi, iii. 581–8.
[5] Ibid., §§ 10–12. They describe or expand it in successive statements on the Trinity and the Incarnation, which rule out Sabellian, Arian, Macedonian, and Apollinarian tenets, in language akin to that both of the *Quicunque vult* and of the Chalcedonian Definition.
[6] Ibid., § 13. [7] Ibid., § 14. [8] Ibid., § 15. [9] Ibid., § 16.
[10] Ibid. v. ix, § 17. [11] Ibid., § 18.
[12] W. Bright, *Canons*[2], xxii–xxiv. 113–19.
[13] Fleury, xviii, c. xix; Puller, *Prim. Saints*[3], 522.
[14] Thdt. *H. E.* v. ix, § 1.
[15] Ambrose, *Ep.* xv, § 10 (*Op.* ii. i. 821; *P. L.* xvi. 958 A).

now part of the Eastern Empire, was papal Vicar and ranked with Westerns. Two eminent Easterns were present: Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis 367–†404, and Paulinus,[1] who would be honoured at Rome as the lawful and faithful bishop of Antioch 362–†88. Besides these came the three delegates of Constantinople; and a presbyter, soon to settle and make a name in Rome—Jerome.[2] Born at Stridon[3] in Pannonia, 346, he had received the priesthood from Paulinus[4] at Antioch, 378; studied under Gregory Nazianzen[5] and applauded his sermons at Constantinople, 380–1; and he now came to Rome. The minutes of the Council have not come down to us; but its line about Eastern affairs is known. They excommunicated Flavian of Antioch 381–†404, together with his consecrators,[6] Diodore of Tarsus 379–†94, and Acacius of Beroea 379–†436; but they appear to have been too well aware of the record of Maximus to interfere with Nectarius. And, in a letter addressed to the bishops of the East, they condemned Apollinarianism.[7] Jerome, who was now retained by Pope Damasus as his secretary, was ordered to compose a confession of faith which Apollinarians were to sign if they wished to return to the Church. It spoke of our Lord as *Homo Dominicus*[8]—a term used on the high authority, e. g. of Athanasius[9] and Epiphanius.[10] It might, however, suggest a separation of Persons in Christ; and, for this reason, Gregory took exception to it[11] and Augustine preferred not to employ it.[12] Whether this Council put out 'the first official canon of Scripture in the West', and whether it published 'the first official definition of papal claims', are questions open to doubt. These are contained in the so-called *Decretum Gelasianum.*[13] Its first three chapters were at one time attributed

[1] Jerome, *Ep.* cviii, § 6 (*Op.* i. 693; *P. L.* xxii. 881).
[2] *Ep.* cxxvii, § 7 (*Op.* i. 955; *P. L.* xxii. 1091).
[3] *De vir. illustr.*, § 135 (*Op.* ii. 953; *P. L.* xxiii. 715).
[4] *Contra Ioann. Hierosol.*, § 41 (*Op.* ii. 452; *P. L.* xxiii. 393 c).
[5] *Apol. adv. libr. Rufini*, § 13 (*Op.* ii. 469; *P. L.* xxiii. 407 c).
[6] Soz. *H. E.* vii. xi, § 3.
[7] Thdt. *H. E.* v. x = Damasus, *Ep.* vii (*P. L.* xiii. 369); Jaffé, No. 234.
[8] Rufinus, *De adulteratione librorum Origenis, ap.* Origen, *Op.* vii (*P. G.* xvii. 629 b); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* iii. 426.
[9] Ath. *Expositio Fidei*, § 1 (*Op.* i. 79; *P. G.* xxv. 204 a).
[10] Epiph. *Ancoratus*, § 78 (*Op.* iii. 84; *P. G.* xliii. 164 d).
[11] Greg. Naz. *Ep.* ci (*Op.* iii. 85; *P. G.* xxxvii. 177 b).
[12] Aug. *Retract.* i. xix, § 8 (*Op.* i. 31 b; *P. L.* xxxii. 616).
[13] It consists of five chapters: (i) About Christ and the Spirit; (ii) List of canonical books; (iii) About the three chief sees: Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch; (iv) List of books to be received; (v) List of apocryphal books. For ii–v see E. Preuschen, *Analecta*, 147–55.

to ' the Roman Council under Damasus ' of 382.[1] But it has since been shown [2] to be ' no Papal ordinance, but the production of an anonymous scholar of the sixth century ', probably in Italy.[3]

§ 6. On 16 January 383 Theodosius bestowed upon his elder son, Arcadius, 377–†408, then a child of six years old, the dignity of Augustus [4]; and shortly afterwards summoned a third Council at Constantinople,[5] in June 383. He hoped for reconciliation to be effected by discussion [6]; and, before the synodical proceedings began he sent for Nectarius and told him of his plans. Nectarius felt himself unequal to the task; and so did the aged and pious bishop of the Novatianists, Agelius by name, whom (unless Socrates attributes too large a share in the events to the Novatianists) the archbishop took into his confidence. Agelius referred him to his Reader, Sisinnius, who, for learning and experience, was thoroughly qualified to manage the disputation. Sisinnius, however, was of opinion that disputations did not make for peace. He suggested, instead, that the Emperor should summon the leaders of each school and ask them whether they would accept or repudiate the ante-Nicenes. If they anathematized them, the people would settle with them. If they accepted them, ' it will at once be our business to produce their books, by which our views will be fully attested '.[7] Theodosius was taken with the plan, summoned the various leaders to his presence, and tried it; but in vain. It did not suit them so well as a disputation. The Emperor then ordered that representatives of each party should state their faith in writing. Nectarius and Agelius appeared for Catholics and Novatianists, who were at one on the Faith; Demophilus, late bishop of Constantinople, for the Homoeans; Eunomius for the Anomoeans; and Eleusius of Cyzicus for the Macedonians. Theodosius pronounced in favour of the formulary which embodied the ὁμοούσιον. The rest he dismissed; and, of these, only the *Expositio Fidei* [8] of Eunomius remains. It opens, plausibly

[1] So C. H. Turner in *J. T. S.* i. 554–60; and in *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, i. 173; and for a criticism of the Petrine theory here attributed to Damasus, ibid. 171.

[2] By E. von Dobschütz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum* (*T. u. U.* xxxviii. No. 4). [3] F. C. Burkitt in *J. T. S.* xiv. 471.

[4] Socr. *H. E.* v. x, § 5; Soz. *H. E.* vii. xii, § 2.

[5] Fleury, xviii, c. xxvi; Hefele, ii. 381 sq.

[6] Socr. *H. E.* v. x; Soz. *H. E.* vii. xii for this account.

[7] Socr. *H. E.* v. x, § 13.

[8] Given in the note of Valesius to Socr. *H. E.* v. x (*P. G.* lxvii. 587, n. 34); and in Mansi, iii. 645 sqq.

enough, with the confession of ' our God and Saviour Jesus Christ '; but it goes on to assert the solitariness of God who ' has no Son ' ; for the Son is ' not uncreate ' and He is ' begotten of the goodness of the Father ', not of His essence. It was this disparity of the Son to the Father that a bishop—according to Theodoret,[1] Amphilochius of Iconium 374–?†95—brought home to Theodosius by a ' dramatic parable '.[2] He was on his way, with other prelates, to pay honour to the Emperor and his little son, Arcadius, so recently associated with him in the Empire. He saluted the father, but patted the boy on the head. This roused the wrath of Theodosius, till the bishop explained himself : ' Think, your Majesty, on the wrath of the Heavenly Father against those who do not honour His Son as Himself, and have the audacity to say that the Son is inferior to the Father.' Theodosius was impressed, and there followed a long series of twenty edicts—*Omnes omnino* [3] of 25 July, *Vitiorum institutio* [4] of 8 December 383, and many more—forbidding all sectaries, under heavy penalties, with the exception of Novatianists, to worship, publish their tenets, or ordain clergy.[5] Sozomen hastens to explain that ' they were not always carried out ', as we might infer from their repetition. ' Nor was Theodosius minded to persecute his subjects : he only wanted to intimidate them into unity of belief about God.' [6] Julian would have said the same. But it was a fatal policy : certainly it secured the unity of the Church. But that imposing unity rested, in the last resort, upon the sword and the stake.[7] To return to the Council. So far as we know, all that it attempted was to deal once more with the schism at Antioch. But no agreement was reached. Egypt, Arabia, and Cyprus ranged themselves with the West, and adhered to Paulinus till his death in 388 ; Palestine, Phoenicia, and Syria sided with Flavian.[8]

[1] Thdt. *H. E.* v. xvi ; Soz. *H. E.* VII. vii ; Fleury, XVIII, c. xxvii.
[2] Gibbon, c. xxvii (iii. 143, ed. Bury).
[3] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. v. 11 (*P. L.* xiii. 535 D).
[4] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. v. 12 (*P. L.* xiii. 536 A).
[5] Soz. *H. E.* VII. xii, § 11.
[6] Ibid., § 12.
[7] C. Bigg, *Wayside Sketches*, 159.
[8] Socr. *H. E.* v. x, §§ 31–3.

CHAPTER XI

THEODOSIUS, 379–†95; THE WEST UNDER THE USURPER MAXIMUS, 383–8

We now turn to the West, from the death of Gratian to the overthrow of Maximus, to trace (I) the rise of a new heresy in Priscillianism; (II) the last rally of paganism over the altar of Victory; the events (III) at Rome under popes Damasus and Siricius; and (IV) at Milan during the episcopate of St. Ambrose.

§ 1. In the summer in which Theodosius was ridding the East of heresy, the Western Empire was convulsed by the fall of Gratian.[1] He was a handsome young prince of amiable disposition, affable manners, brave, pious, and of pure life. The popularity he owed to these personal gifts was further enhanced by his choice of wise counsellors: Merobaudes, the Frank, his chief military adviser, and the rhetorician and poet, Ausonius,[2] 309–†94, a Christian though a luke-warm one, who was at first his tutor, 364–7, and then successively Count, Quaestor, Praetorian Prefect, and Consul, 379. But as his reign went on Gratian deteriorated. He survived his reputation, and lost the respect and the confidence of his subjects chiefly through indolence. He left the government to officials. He allowed his conscience to be kept by clerics, and offended the pagan aristocrats of Rome by removing the altar of Victory from the Senate and by refusing the robe and title of Pontifex Maximus, 382. He spent more time in the chase than in the camp[3]; and, when with his armies, he showered favours and promotions not on the Roman soldiery but on his German body-guard. The troops became discontented; and in Britain they broke out into meeting, and set up—perhaps against his will[4]—a Spaniard named Maximus. He invaded

[1] Gibbon, c. xxvii (iii. 133 sqq., ed. Bury); T. W. Hodgkin, *Italy*[2], &c. I. i. 377 sqq.

[2] Cf. *Ausonii opuscula*, ed. R. Peiper (Teubner: Lipsiae, 1886); T. R. Glover, *Life and letters in the Fourth Century*, c. v; and the 'Stemma Ausoniorum' in Symmachus, *Opera* (= *Mon. Germ. Hist.* VI. i), p. lxxvi.

[3] Amm. Marc. XXXI. x. §§ 18, 19, and Document No. 96.

[4] Orosius, *Hist.* vii, § 34 (*Op.* 556; *P. L.* xxxi. 1149 B).

Gaul; and, after driving Gratian from Paris to take refuge[1] at Lyons, left him to be treacherously murdered there,[2] 25 August 383. The usurper then offered his alliance to Theodosius, who was not in a position to refuse it. Justina, too, the step-mother of Gratian, at Milan, with her twelve-year-old son Valentinian II, 383–†92, was anxious for the future. She made friends with Ambrose, and induced him to go to Trèves, 383–4, and make a compact with Maximus.[3] Her son would agree to acknowledge his title to Britain, Gaul, and Spain, if Maximus would recognize the claims of the Court at Milan to Italy, Africa, and Western Illyricum. Theodosius 'dissembled his resentment' and ratified these terms. So Theodosius now ruled at Constantinople, Valentinian II at Milan, and Maximus at Trèves; and it was while Maximus was holding his Court there that he had to deal with a religious movement whose real character has only lately become known to us.

I

Priscillianism[4] is the error in question: known to us from sources of different value. The primary sources are to be found in eight contemporary texts[5] of which the extant writings of Priscillian (specially his *Tractatus II* or address to Pope Damasus), discovered in 1885, are the most important: while of secondary

[1] Gratian consoled himself in his flight with 'My soul truly waiteth still upon God', Ps. lxii. i, and with 'Fear not them that can kill the body', &c., Matt. x. 28; and showed himself a truer Christian in his troubles than in his glory; Ambrose *in Ps. lxi* [A. V. lxii] *enarr.*, § 17 (*Op.* i. 961; *P. L.* xiv. 1173 B).

[2] Ambrose, *Ep.* xxiv, § 10 (*Op.* II. i. 891; *P. L.* xvi. 1038 C); Socr. *H. E.* v. xi; Soz. *H. E.* VII. xiii, §§ 8, 9.

[3] There are allusions to what happened on this first mission of Ambrose to Maximus, in the winter of 383–4, in the letter in which he gives an account of his second, *Ep.* xxiv, §§ 1, 2 (*Op.* II. i. 888; *P. L.* xvi. 1035 sq.): see Gibbon, c. xxvii (iii. 139 sq.), and Hodgkin, *Italy*[2], &c., I. ii. 411 sqq.

[4] Fleury, XVIII. xxix, xxx; J. H. Newman, *Ch. F.* c. xxi; J. Tixeront, *Hist. Dogm.* ii. 229–41; H. Leclercq, *L'Espagne chrétienne*, c. iii; E. Ch. Babut, *Priscillien* (Paris, 1909); A. E. Burn, 'Priscillian and Priscillianism', in *C. Q. R.* lxxiv, No. 147 (April 1912).

[5] These are: (1) *Priscilliani quae supersunt*, ed. G. Schepss (*C. S. E. L.* xviii); (2) the *Acta* of the Co. of Saragossa, 4 October 380 in Mansi, iii. 633–6, Hefele, ii. 292; (3) Philaster, *De Haeresibus* [A. D. 383], § 84 (*P. L.* xii. 1196 A, and *C. S. E. L.* xxxviii. 45 sq.); (4) Ambrose, *Epp.* [A. D. 385] xxiv, § 12, and xxvi, § 3 (*Op.* II. i. 891–4; *P. L.* xvi. 1039 B, 1042 C); (5) a letter of Maximus to Pope Siricius [A. D. 385], esp. § 4 (*P. L.* xiii. 591); (6) Pacatus, *Panegyricus Theodosio dictus* [A. D. 389], esp. §§ 28–9 (*P. L.* xiii. 477–522); (7) Jerome, *De vir. illustr.* [A. D. 392], § 121 (*Op.* ii. 947; *P. L.* xxiii. 711 A); and (8) some verses of Ausonius, see Babut, 14, n. 1.

value are the account in Sulpicius Severus,[1] written *c.* 400–3, and the *Acts* of the Council of Toledo,[2] 400.

§ 2. We may take, first of all, the external history of the movement, which is the chief contribution of Sulpicius: and that, in three successive epochs.

(1) Before the death of Gratian, 383, Priscillianism had passed through three stages—growth, repression, and revival.

As to its origin and growth,[3] about 370 Marcus, a native of Memphis in Egypt, of whom nothing further is known, brought into Spain a strange compound of Gnostic speculations. Two of his followers were a lady named Agape, and Elpidius, better known as Delphidius, a rhetorician.[4] They converted the layman Priscillian, a man of good family, wealthy, and well educated. He was also a man of high character and ability; eloquent and learned, austere and zealous. But he was vain of his learning, restless, and fond of debate: just the sort of man, in short, to make a fine leader of a new party. He was credited, of course, with magical powers; perhaps because he exercised a commanding influence over all whom he met, and especially over women. He gathered a large following and united them in a community: which included two bishops, Instantius and Salvianus, of unknown sees in the south of Spain. Their neighbour, Hyginus, bishop of Cordova 358–†87, took alarm, and reported the matter to Idacius, bishop of Merida and metropolitan of Lusitania. Nobody quite knew what the alarm was about; but a secession, with ascetic observances imposed by unauthorized teachers on crowds of women-adherents, would soon rouse suspicion of reprehensible doctrine, and would certainly evoke the opposition of the official clergy who, at that time, were averse to an austere piety, to 'fraternities' then growing up to practise it, and to anything like a church within the Church.[5] Idacius therefore went to work with a will against the new opinions. He wrote to Pope Damasus about them; and was warned, in reply, to be careful not to condemn men in absence.[6] But his violence only served to fan the flame. Hyginus himself went over to the Priscillianists[7];

[1] Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sacr.* ii, §§ 46–51 (*P. L.* xx. 155–60, and *C. S. E. L.* i. 99–105). [2] Mansi, iii. 997–1020; Hefele, ii. 419–21.
[3] Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sacr.* ii, § 46 (*P. L.* xx. 155 sq.).
[4] Delphidius, 'orator acerrimus', Amm. Marc. xviii. i, § 4; Babut, 87.
[5] For these 'abstinentes' and confraternities see Babut, c. ii.
[6] Priscillian, *Tract.* ii (*C. S. E. L.* xviii. 35, ll. 21–4).
[7] Sulp. Sev. *H. S.* ii, § 47 (*P. L.* xx. 156 B).

and they were joined by Symposius, bishop of Astorga 380–†400, and metropolitan of Gallaecia. Thus all the three western provinces, Baetica, Lusitania, and Gallaecia, were ablaze with the controversy; and at length, 1–4 October 380, a Council was held at Saragossa [1] to deal with the situation. It was attended by Idacius with his still more fanatical suffragan, Ithacius, bishop of Ossonoba 379–†87 (now Faro), Symposius and seven other Spanish bishops, and by two bishops from Aquitaine, Phoebadius of Agen,[2] 358–†92, and Delphinus, metropolitan of Aquitanica II and bishop of Bordeaux 380–†404. The Council was invited to excommunicate the Priscillianists,[3] but it contented itself with eight canons in condemnation of their singularities.[4] The task of making known its sentence was committed to Ithacius [5]—a lamentable decision. For he is described by Sulpicius, no friend to the Priscillianists, as 'a bold, loquacious, bare-faced fellow, of luxurious habits and coarse tastes'.[6] He now put himself at the head of the persecuting party, and set out to crush Priscillianism.

A period of repression thus set in. The first attack of Ithacius was a literary one, in a memoir containing a medley of imputations [7] against the *abstinentes* of Merida; and Priscillian replied in their *Liber apologeticus*,[8] which forms the first [9] of his eleven *Tractatus*. To this onset Instantius and Salvianus were strong enough to retaliate by consecrating Priscillian to be bishop of Avila, 380–†5, in the province of Idacius. But the latter, supported by Ithacius, made haste to appeal to the secular government.[10] He fixed upon the accusation of Manichaeism [11] as that which would be most damning; and then, making interest with St. Ambrose, he sought and procured from Gratian a 'rescript against pretended-bishops and Manichaeans',[12] 381, with powers, which he proceeded to use against the Priscillianists, for enforcing it through the civil functionaries.[13] It was a shrewd move, for the imputation of Manichaeism was fatal.

[1] Mansi, iii. 633; Hefele, ii. 292. [2] For his works see *P. L.* xx. 9–30.
[3] Sulpicius says they did so (*H. S.* ii, § 47; *P. L.* xx. 156 A); but Priscillian denies it, *Tract.* II (*C. S. E. L.* xviii. 35, ll. 15 sqq.).
[4] Babut, 100. [5] Sulp. Sev. *H. S.* ii, § 47 (*P. L.* xx. 156 B).
[6] Ibid., § 50 (*P. L.* xx. 157 D).
[7] Collected from the *Liber apologeticus*, in Babut, 144.
[8] Ibid. 200–8. [9] *C. S. E. L.* xviii. 1–33.
[10] Sulp. Sev. *H. S.* ii, § 47 (*P. L.* xx. 156). [11] Babut, 148.
[12] Priscillian, *Tract.* II (*C. S. E. L.* xviii. 40 sq.).
[13] Babut, 150, n. 1.

But a reaction began.[1] Priscillian and his consecrators set off for Milan to make interest at Court. Armed with letters commendatory[2] they passed through Aquitaine where they had friends at Eauze; thence to Bordeaux where they stayed with Euchrotia, widow of Priscillian's old friend, the rhetorician Delphidius,[3] and her daughter Procula. An effort was made, while they were there, to win for them the countenance of Delphinus, the bishop, but he repelled them. At length, accompanied by these ladies and a number of other women—which did not improve their reputation—they reached Milan, in the winter of 381–2, and presented themselves at the palace. An official put them off with promises[4]; and Ambrose, whom they next sought to gain, was not encouraging.[5] Nor was Damasus when, on reaching Rome, they presented their *Liber ad Damasum*, Priscillian's *Tractatus II*,[6] in the expectation that 'the first of bishops',[7] who was armed, by Imperial Rescripts, with jurisdiction over the West and who supported the 'rigorist' or 'Manichaean' party among his own clergy, would be sure to befriend them. But they were under the stroke of an Imperial Rescript, not of a synod; and the pope did nothing. One recourse remained to them—to get it repealed; and this they effected through Macedonius, the Master of the Offices. Whereupon Instantius and Priscillian (Salvianus having died in the interval) returned to Spain, and re-entered upon possession of their sees. But their acquittal involved the guilt of their accusers; for the official view would now be that Idacius and Ithacius were 'disturbers of the peace of the churches'. This was a criminal offence[8]; and orders were issued from the Court to Volventius, proconsul of Spain, for their arrest—or, at least, for the arrest of Ithacius. He fled precipitately, and soon was in safety. For, 25 August 383, Gratian was assassinated; and, when Maximus entered Trèves, Ithacius had found refuge with its bishop,[9] Brito (or Britannius), 373–†86.

[1] The account in Sulp. Sev. *H. S.* ii, § 48 (*P. L.* xx. 156) is corrected, from other sources, in Babut, 152 sq.

[2] Priscillian, *Tract.* II (*C. S. E. L.* xviii. 41, ll. 7 sqq.).

[3] The rhetoricians of Aquitaine had influence at the Court of Gratian; for his minister, Ausonius, was one of them.

[4] Priscillian, *Tract.* II (*C. S. E. L.* xviii. 41, ll. 14 sqq.).

[5] Ibid. (*C. S. E. L.* xviii. 41, l. 2); Babut, 153, n. 2.

[6] *C. S. E. L.* xviii. 34–43. [7] Ibid. 34, l. 10; 42, l. 24.

[8] Babut, 158, n. 1.

[9] Sulp. Sev. *H. S.* ii, § 49 (*P. L.* xx. 157 A).

(2) Maximus, 383–†8, had now to take up the question, for Ithacius placed in his hands a formal indictment.[1] The new emperor was ready enough to act upon it; for, by so doing, he would make friends of the hierarchy in Gaul,[2] he could gain credit with Theodosius as a new Defender of the Faith,[3] and he might hope that, if Priscillian and his friends, who were rich, should be condemned, there would be confiscations,[4] and money in hand for largess to the troops. The indictment included two charges: Manichaeism, and loose conduct coupled with magic.[5] The first was to be taken in Synod, the next at Court; for the accused were bishops, and a bishop could not be brought before a lay tribunal until he had been deposed by a Council. Joint letters, therefore, were issued to the Prefect of the Gauls and the Vicar of Spain for the requisite trials.[6]

The Synod of Bordeaux[7] met 384. Instantius and Priscillian answered to the summons. So slender was the defence of the former that he was deposed; but Priscillian, challenging the impartiality of the Council, entered an appeal to the Emperor and so suspended its proceedings.[8] Both appear, however, to have been first condemned as Manichaeans.[9]

The case was now transferred to the Imperial Court at Trèves, 385. Here Ithacius pressed the capital charge of magic; and went so far in his animosity towards asceticism as to try to include among Priscillian's adherents the great St. Martin. The saint was then at Court; and, after trying in vain to induce Ithacius to drop the part of persecutor, he turned to Maximus and extracted a promise from him to shed no blood.[10] But no sooner had Martin withdrawn, than Magnus and Rufus, two bishops of the Ithacian party, won the Imperial ear[11]; and the Priscillianists

[1] Sulp. Sev. *H. S.* ii, § 49 (*P. L.* xx. 157 C).

[2] Maximus knew the advantage to be had from the support of the clergy. He had taken the precaution of getting baptized before he set out from Britain, and he ascribes his successes to the help of God, *Epist. ad Siricium*, § 1 (*P. L.* xiii. 591 A).

[3] Ibid., § 3 (*P. L.* xiii. 592 A).

[4] Pacatus, *Panegyricus*, § 29 (*P. L.* xiii. 505 A).

[5] Sulp. Sev. *H. S.* ii, § 50 (*P. L.* xx. 158 B).

[6] Ibid., § 49 (*P. L.* xx. 157 C).

[7] Mansi, iii. 677; Hefele, ii. 384.

[8] Sulp. Sev. *H. S.* ii, § 49 (*P. L.* xx. 157 C); Babut, 174 sq.

[9] Maximus, *Ep. ad Siricium*, § 4 (*P. L.* xiii. 592 B).

[10] Sulp. Sev. *H. S.* ii, § 50 (*P. L.* xx. 158 A).

[11] Their sees are unknown, though possibly Rufus was bishop of Metz. We learn that there were crowds of episcopal sycophants at Court, Sulp. Sev. *Vita Martini*, § 20 (*P. L.* xx. 171 B); and these two are spoken of as 'antistites, revera autem satellites' by Pacatus, *Panegyricus*, § 29 (*P. L.* xiii. 504).

became a defenceless prey to their enemies. Maximus entrusted the prosecution to the tribunal of the Prefect Evodius, a stern and severe man. He found them guilty of magic,[1] and reported to the Emperor. Priscillian was executed, with four clergy, a poet Latronianus, and the widow Euchrotia; and Instantius was banished to the Scilly Isles.[2] Maximus then issued a military commission to hunt down their followers in Spain; and it was dangerous to appear with a pale face or in mean attire.[3]

But atrocities like these raised a storm of indignation. Ambrose, early in 385[4] and before the final sentences, had entered an ineffectual protest,[5] when on his second embassy to Trèves on behalf of Valentinian II. He refused to communicate with Ithacius. Theognis, a bishop at the Court, excommunicated him also: while Martin, returning at that moment to intercede for two Counts whose loyalty to Gratian had brought them into trouble, would have no dealings with the blood-guilty Ithacians. They were assembled just then to consecrate Felix who, though one of their party, was a good enough man, as successor to Britannius the late bishop of Trèves; and Maximus, by offering Martin the choice between joining in the consecration and the dispatch of the commission, got rid of his opposition. Martin communicated with the Ithacians to save further bloodshed; but he could never forgive himself. He left at once for Tours; and, for the remaining eleven years of his life, would never attend a meeting or council of bishops again.[6] His protest was followed up by the remonstrances of the new Pope, Siricius, 385–†99. Maximus hastened to assure him that the Priscillianists were Manichaeans. As such, they were liable to capital punishment. Nor had he condemned the guiltless: and he sent the Pope the minutes of their process.[7] But Siricius was not con-

[1] Sulp. Sev. *H. S.* ii, § 50 (*P. L.* xx. 158 B).
[2] Ibid., § 51 (*P. L.* xx. 158 B, C). [3] Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* iii, § 11 (*P. L.* xx. 218 A).
[4] For this date see Babut, app. III, 242 sq.
[5] Ambrose, *Epp.* xxiv, § 12, xxvi, § 3 (*ut sup.*).
[6] Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* iii, §§ 11–13 (*P. L.* xx. 217–19). The *Dialogues* are a comparison of the miracles of St. Martin with those of the Egyptian monks, Bardenhewer, 452.
[7] Maximus, *Ep. ad Siricium*, § 4 (*P. L.* xiii. 592 B), or *Collectio Avellana*, No. 40, § 4 (*C. S. E. L.* xxxv. i. 91). The *C. A.* is a collection of imperial and papal letters, ranging from 367–553, which was made *c.* 550–600. The name is due to a text—the *Collectio Avellana*, now in the Vatican—having once belonged to the Umbrian monastery, St. Crucis in fonte Avellana, Bardenhewer, 628.

vinced; and he joined Ambrose and Martin in withholding his communion from the persecuting Ithacians.

(3) Their supremacy, however, continued until, with the reaction that took place on the overthrow of Maximus,[1] 27 August 388, the third and last epoch in the fortunes of Priscillianism set in. The bishops of Merida and Ossonoba were exiled [2] to Naples; while the remains of their Priscillianist victims were carried to Spain and there buried with great veneration.[3]

In Gaul, there followed a schism; and Felix, the bishop of Trèves who had been consecrated by the Ithacians, became the scape-goat of the party. The case was gone into by a Synod at Milan,[4] 390; and the episcopate of Gaul was informed by Ambrose, and then by Pope Siricius, that they must choose between the communion of Felix and that of Italy.[5] Councils at Nîmes,[6] 396, and at Turin,[7] 401, sustained these decisions; but the schism continued till the death of Felix. Meanwhile, the credit of the Priscillianists increased as that of their persecutors declined. No doubt, these latter suffered as the partisans of Maximus; but their victims, said the heathen Pacatus, in the *Panegyric* which he addressed to Theodosius, 389, were really murdered for being too pious.[8]

In Spain, Priscillian was regarded as a saint, and men swore by his name. Gallaecia, where lay his tomb, kept the anniversary of his martyrdom,[9] and its episcopate, headed by the metropolitan, Symposius, bishop of Astorga, became almost entirely Priscillianist.[10] Theodosius himself, however, had been born in Gallaecia; and the scandal of his native province having turned unorthodox [11] was intolerable to him. Accordingly, Councils [12] of the remaining

[1] Gibbon, c. xxvii (iii. 164 sqq.); Hodgkin, *Italy* [2], &c. I. i. 466 sqq.
[2] Isidore, *De vir. illustr.*, § 19 (*Op.* vii. 148; *P. L.* lxxxiii. 1092 A); Babut, 184, n. 3.
[3] Sulp. Sev. *H. S.* ii, § 51 (*P. L.* xx. 158 D).
[4] Ambrose, *Ep.* li, § 6 (*Op.* II. i. 998; *P. L.* xvi. 1161 B).
[5] Conc. Taurin., c. vi (Mansi, iii. 862; Hefele, ii. 427).
[6] Mansi, iii. 685; Hefele, ii. 402 sq.; Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* ii, § 13 (*P. L.* xx. 211 A).
[7] Fleury, XXI, c. lii.
[8] Pacatus, *Paneg.*, § 29 (*P. L.* xiii. 504 B).
[9] Sulp. Sev. *H. S.* ii, § 51 (*P. L.* xx. 158 D); Babut, 185, n. 3.
[10] Ibid. 185, n. 4.
[11] Mansi, iii. 1006 B; Babut, 186, n. 1.
[12] The authority for the history of Priscillianism during the last fifteen years of the fourth century is in the records of the Co. of Toledo, A. D. 400. They consist of abjurations made by the accused: 'Dictinius episcopus dixit' (Mansi, iii. 1004 D), and 'Aera quae supra' (ib. 1005 B), and the *Diffinitiva sententia* of the Council (ib. 1005 D–1007 B); Babut, app. v, p. 291.

Spanish provinces, first at Saragossa,[1] 396, and then at Toledo,[2] before 400, attempted a settlement ; and between these two dates Symposius, with his son Dictinius, a presbyter and the literary champion of Priscillianism, sought the aid of Ambrose.[3] Yet, for all his abhorrence of their persecutors, Ambrose looked upon the Priscillianists as ' having wandered from the faith '.[4] The bishops of Gallaecia must disavow Priscillian,[5] if they were to enjoy the communion of Italy. Siricius supported Ambrose ; and, early in 397, they wrote to the bishops of Spain in this sense. Symposius for his part was not unwilling,[6] but he could not carry his province with him.[7] A Council then met at Toledo,[8] 1–6 September 400, to find a way out of the deadlock. Symposius, with five others,[9] rallied to the orthodox, but a minority of four, headed by Herenas,[10] stood out ; while, as for the orthodox themselves, the two provinces of Lusitania and Tarraconensis were prepared to meet the advances of Symposius on terms, but two others, Baetica and Carthaginensis, altogether declined. The matter was thereupon referred to Anastasius, the new bishop of Rome, 399–†402, and to Simplician,[11] the new bishop of Milan, 397–†400 ; and meanwhile, the rehabilitated prelates of Gallaecia were to refrain from bestowing Holy Orders,[12] as Symposius had done on his son Dictinius. But their decision was ignored by a recalcitrant handful of Priscillianists.[13] These, however, slowly gave way before a series of Imperial Edicts,[14] 407–10, and under pressure of the invasion of the Suevi,[15] 409. But their doctrines continued to excite alarm, and called for the intervention of Doctors and Councils. In 415 Augustine, in reply to Orosius,[16]

[1] Mansi, iii. 1005 D, E. [2] Mansi, iii. 1006 A ; Babut, 190, n. 2.
[3] Mansi, iii. 1006 A.
[4] Ambrose, *Ep.* xxiv, § 12 (*Op.* II. i. 891 ; *P. L.* xvi. 1039 B).
[5] By ceasing to recite his name at Mass, Mansi, iii. 1006 A.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid. 1006 B. They made Symposius consecrate his son Dictinius to the episcopate, in spite of the condition imposed by St. Ambrose that, for the peace of the Church, this theologian of the party should forgo that dignity and remain a presbyter.
[8] Mansi, iii. 997–1002 and 1004–7.
[9] Dictinius, Paternus of Braga, Isonius, Vegetinus, and Anterius. The abjuration of Symposius alone remains, Mansi, iii. 1005 A.
[10] Herenas, Donatus, Acurius, Emilius, ibid. 1006 C.
[11] Ibid. 1006 E, 1007 A. [12] Ibid. 1007 A ; Babut, 193, n. 1.
[13] Innocent I, *Ep.* iii [A. D. 402], §§ 1–6 (*P. L.* xx. 486–90) ; Jaffé, No. 292.
[14] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. v. 40, 43, 48.
[15] Gibbon, c. xxxi (iii. 345) ; Hodgkin, *Italy* [2], I. ii. 824.
[16] Aug. *Ep.* clxix, § 13 [end of A. D. 415] (*Op.* ii. 608 A ; *P. L.* xxxiii. 748).

wrote a long letter[1] dealing with their use of *apocrypha* and his *Ad Orosium, contra Priscillianistas et Origenistas*.[2] In 420 he put out his *Contra mendacium*[3] in refutation of the *Libra* of Dictinius, which was a defence of the Priscillianist practice of telling white lies to cover the secrets of the sect.[4] 'Iura, periura, secretum prodere noli' was the maxim attributed to them.[5] About 444 Turibius, bishop of Astorga, consulted St. Leo,[6] and, in a reply[7] of 21 July 447, the Pope exposed their errors. About 460 Pastor, bishop of Palencia, composed the *Regula fidei contra Priscillianos*,[8] once thought to be a conciliar document but now identified by Dom Morin with his *Libellus in modum symboli*.[9] Finally, the doctrines attributed to Priscillian were catalogued and condemned by the Council of Braga, 563.[10]

§ 3. We are now in a position, by comparing the charges thus made against him in documents of the fifth and sixth centuries with the positions asserted in his own writings lately discovered, to discuss the doctrines of Priscillianism. It certainly became a sect: was it also a heresy? To writers and synods of these centuries it was a medley of Gnosticism and Manichaeism: a composite system in which Sabellianism, astrology, and an exaggerated encratism are found side by side with secret immoralities.[11] It is now held that, in his own writings, Priscillian appears simply as a religious revivalist, devoted to the ascetic life and with a taste for apocryphal Scriptures. His movement was just a phase in the ever-recurring conflict between a worldly episcopate and the ascetic party.[12] But certain charges can be made good against him

[1] Aug. *Ep.* ccxxxvii [? 426–8, Babut, 32] (*Op.* ii. 849–53; *P. L.* xxxiii. 1034–8).

[2] Aug. *Op.* viii. 611–20 (*P. L.* xlii. 669–78).

[3] Aug. *Op.* vi. 447–74 (*P. L.* xl. 517–48).

[4] This is the usual view, but it is contended that the *Libra* did not recommend anything of the sort, and that Aug., in discussing that book in his *Contra mendacium*, did not have it at his elbow, but was merely relying on extracts from it, Babut, app. iv, 286 sqq.

[5] Aug. *Ep.* ccxxxvii, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 850 E; *P. L.* xxxiii. 1035); and *De Haeresibus*, § 70 (*Op.* viii. 22 D; *P. L.* xlii. 44).

[6] This letter was similar to that given in Leo, *Op.* i. 711–14 (*P. L.* liv. 693–5); Fleury, XXVII, c. ix.

[7] *Quam laudabiliter*, Leo, *Ep.* xv (*Op.* i. 693–711; *P. L.* liv. 677–92); Jaffé, No. 412; Fleury, XXVII, c. x. Some doubt this reply, e. g. J. Tixeront, *Hist. Dogm.* ii. 229, n. 31, but it is accepted by Babut, 32, n. 4.

[8] Mansi, iii. 1002 C–1004 C.

[9] Gennadius, *De Scr. Eccl.*, § 76 (*P. L.* lviii. 1103 A).

[10] Mansi, ix. 773–80; Hefele, iv. 382; Tixeront, *Hist. Dogm.* ii. 234–6.

[11] For this summary cf. J. Tixeront, *Hist. Dogm.* ii. 237–41.

[12] So Babut, c. iii, and esp. p. 135.

from his own writings ; and when it is borne in mind that three[1] of these are apologies, one a baptismal prayer,[2] and seven sermons [3] preached at a time when he was already suspect, it will seem not unlikely that in these *Tractatus* [4] we have only the unexceptionable side of his teaching. He certainly taught (1) that, so far from the Canonical Scriptures containing all that is inspired, certain extra-canonical writings [5] are to be received with veneration. He held (2) a doctrine of the divine Unity expressed in Sabellianizing terms [6] ; (3) a view of the Person of our Lord akin to Apollinarianism [7] ; (4) some Gnostic [8] ideas and tenets in disparagement of the body,[9] of marriage,[10] and of the use of flesh and wine.[11] On the other hand, he disavows dualism, Manichaeism,[12] star-worship,[13] docetism [14] ; he confesses the divine sanction of sex [15] and the resurrection of the flesh,[16] and he admits that the Gospels are but four.[17] The disavowals, however, are but in general terms ; and if it be said that the testimony of Sulpicius and Orosius, though they lived near the events, is to be put aside as biassed by the Ithacian tradition, still it is difficult to dispose so summarily of the rejection of Priscillianism by other, and more distinguished, contemporaries—men like Ambrose, Damasus, Martin and, later, Augustine, who were by no means out of sympathy with asceticism. Further, there are the admissions of Symposius [18] and Dictinius.[19] On the whole, we must conclude (1) that Priscillianism was a recrudescence of the false asceticism which rests on a dualistic basis ; (2) that it held an esoteric creed, not guiltless of Sabellianism and Apollinarianism ; and (3) that,

[1] *Tr.* I is a *Liber apologeticus* addressed to a group of bishops (Babut, 200) ; *Tr.* II is a *Liber ad Damasum* ; and *Tr.* III a *Liber de fide et de apocryphis.* [2] *Tr.* XI is a *Benedictio super fideles.* [3] *Tr.* IV–X.

[4] *C. S. E. L.* xviii. 1–106. The *Canones Priscilliani* (ibid. 107–47) are an exposition of Christian doctrine with ' testimonia ' from St. Paul to establish each ; but, as they stand, they have been edited by Peregrinus, an orthodox bishop, who says that he ' touched them up ' (ibid. 109, ll. 5 sq.) ; Babut, 2 sq., 212 sqq.

[5] e. g. the Epistle to the Laodiceans (ibid. 55, l. 17).

[6] *Tr.* XI (*C. S. E. L.* xviii. 103, ll. 15 sqq.) ; *Tr.* VI (ibid. 74, ll. 13 sqq.) ; Babut, 274 sqq. [7] *Tr.* VI (ibid. 74, ll. 8 sqq.).

[8] Cf. the letter of Priscillian, quoted by Orosius in his *Consultatio* [*Commonitorium*] *ad Aug.*, § 2 (*Op.* viii. 608 A ; *P. L.* xlii. 667 = *C. S. E. L.* xviii. 153).

[9] Canon xxxiii (*C. S. E. L.* xviii. 124). [10] *Tr.* IV (ibid. 60, l. 1).

[11] Canon xxxv (ibid. 125). [12] *Tr.* II (ibid. 39, ll. 8 sqq.).

[13] *Tr.* I (ibid. 14, ll. 14 sqq.). [14] *Tr.* I (ibid. 7, l. 20).

[15] *Tr.* I (ibid. 28, ll. 15 sqq.). [16] *Tr.* I (ibid. 29, l. 7).

[17] *Tr.* I (ibid. 31, ll. 21 sqq.). [18] Mansi, iii. 1005 A.

[19] Ibid. 1004 A ; and his defence of the ' mendacium necessarium ', *ut sup.*

in common with many other sects which have had one doctrine for the uninitiated and a more perfect one for the elect, Priscillianists held falsehood right to screen belief. Yet Priscillianism is entitled both to respect and compassion. Whether or no formally heretical, it was deeply religious. Perhaps for this very reason it was traduced and persecuted by bishops of worldly and sensual character; who were the first to remit a spiritual offence to a secular tribunal; the first to get heresy condemned by the State, by imputing to it depravity of life[1]; and the first, by 'a fatal precedent',[2] to set Christians to shed the blood of fellow-Christians. It is a relief to remember that other, and saintly, bishops made vehement protest; and to reflect that, in their plea for toleration, made at a moment when they themselves were not in danger of persecution, St. Ambrose[3] and St. Martin represent, on the whole, the mind of the Fathers of that age.[4] The Church thus rejected Priscillianism: no heresy, perhaps, but a system which her tradition could not assimilate. The rejection was afterwards definitely embodied in that anti-Priscillianist formulary of *c.* 420–30, known to us as the *Quicunque vult.* This *Exposition of the Faith* lays stress on (1) the responsibility of the intellect in matters of faith,[5] and Priscillian was not a clear thinker; on (2) the moral aspect of problems of belief, the will to believe[6] being, at least, as important as correct belief, and Priscillian's intention to believe was open to doubt; on (3) the inconsistency of faith with secret immorality,[7] and Priscillian was credited with that disregard of moral obligations which is often displayed by adherents of an esoteric religion. Further, the *Quicunque vult,* in its first part,[8] is anti-Sabellian, and in its second,[9]

[1] Priscillianists are 'scelerati', Maximus, *Ep. ad Siricium,* § 3 (*P. L.* xiii. 592 A).

[2] 'Pessimo exemplo,' Sulp. Sev. *H. S.* ii, § 51 (*P. L.* xx. 158 C).

[3] He denounces the 'cruentos sacerdotum triumphos' in *Ep.* xxvi, § 3 (*Op.* II. i. 894; *P. L.* xvi. 1042 C).

[4] For similar pleas for toleration see Hilary, *Ad Constantium,* I, § 6 (*Op.* ii. 538 sq.; *P. L.* x. 561); Ath. *Apol. de Fuga,* § 23, and *Hist. Ar.,* §§ 29, 33, 67 (*Op.* i. 264, 285, 287, 303; *P. G.* xxv. 673, 725, 729, 773); Chrysostom, *De sacerdotio,* ii, §§ 3, 4 (*Op.* I. ii. 374; *P. G.* xlviii. 634 sq.); Augustine. *Ep.* xciii [A. D. 408], § 17 (*Op.* ii. 237; *P. L.* xxxiii. 329 sq.); but contrast his later misuse of 'Compel them to come in' (Luke xiv. 23) in *Epp.* xciii, § 5, and clxxxv [A. D. 417], § 24 (*Op.* ii. 233, 653; *P. L.* xxxiii. 323, 803 sq.), on which cf. W. H. Lecky, *History of Rationalism,* ii. 20 sqq.

[5] Verses 1, 2, 28, 29, 30, 42, and Document No. 151.

[6] Cf. 'teneat' (verse 1), 'servaverit' (2), 'sentiat' (28), 'fideliter firmiterque crediderit' (42).

[7] Verse 41. [8] Verses 1–28. [9] Verses 29–42.

anti-Apollinarian. The theory, therefore, that it represents the final verdict of the Western Church upon Priscillianism has much to say for itself.[1]

II

We now pass to the last phase in the Church's struggle with Paganism.

§ 4. It centred in the contest over the Altar of Victory.[2]

Julian's attempted revival, 361–3, ended in failure. The very men who, as officers in his body-guard, threw up their commissions rather than tolerate its recognition, succeeded him on the throne. Jovian, 363–†4, had no time to formulate a policy; but Valentinian, 364–†75, and Valens, 364–†78, took a clear course. They were content with cautious readjustment. Property restored by Julian to the temples they claimed, by *Universa loca*[3] of 4 February 364, for the treasury; and while they conceded 'freedom of worship' to all and stopped short of the absolute prohibition of sacrifice,[4] yet by *Ne quis*[5] of 9 September 364, they forbade nocturnal rites. They were of a new dynasty; nervous about magic and divination, specially of the political future. Gratian, 375–†83, discharged himself of official responsibility for paganism by refusing, 382, the title *Pontifex Maximus*.[6] Theodosius actually put it down. A series of enactments—*Nemo se hostiis polluat*[7] of 24 February 391, *Nulli sacrificandi tribuatur potestas*[8] of 16 June 391, and *Nullus omnino*[9] of 8 November 392—involved the closing of the temples for worship though they might remain open for the display of their treasures of art as was the temple (probably of Harran) in Osrhoene[10]: while, religion

[1] A. E. Burn, *Introduction to the Creeds*, 142 sqq.; *The Ath. Creed*, 17; and 'Priscillian and Priscillianism' in *C. Q. R.* lxxiv, No. 147 (April 1912).

[2] Ambrose, *Epp.* xvii, xviii (*Op.* II. i. 824–42; *P. L.* xvi. 961–82); tr. *L. F.* xlvi. 87–114, and *N. and P.-N. F.* x. 411–22; Gibbon, c. xxviii (iii. 188 sqq.); Hodgkin, *Italy*[2], &c. I. ii. 416 sqq.; G. Boissier, *La Fin du Paganisme*, ii. 267 sqq.; Fleury, XVIII, cc. xxxi, xxxii.

[3] *Cod. Theod.* x. i. 8.

[4] Laws recalled by Valentinian I in his *Haruspicinam ego* of 29 May 371 (*Cod. Theod.* IX. xvi. 9); for his tolerance cf. Amm. Marc. xxx. ix, § 5.

[5] *Cod. Theod.* IX. xvi. 7.

[6] Gibbon, c. xxviii, n. 90 (iii. 190). As the priests retired from their audience, one of them was heard to mutter: 'If the Emperor does not choose to be called Pontifex, there will soon be another Pontifex, Maximus,' Hodgkin, *Italy*[2], &c., II. i. 400.

[7] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. x. 10, and Document No. 97.

[8] Ibid. XVI. x. 11. [9] Ibid. XVI. x. 12, and Document No. 98.

[10] *Aedem olim* of 30 November 382; *Cod. Theod.* XVI. x. 8; cf. XVI. x. 15.

apart, their social festivities might go on as before.[1] They might also be turned to account for public offices.[2] But whatever was thus put down by law in the towns, on the great estates and in the country more than was actually permitted went on for generations. The law was one thing, its enforcement was another. In some towns, too, paganism stood its ground, and nowhere so stubbornly as in Rome itself. When Constantius came there, May 357, to celebrate his triumph over Magnentius,[3] he saw temples, incense, and sacrifices in full vigour[4]—and all at the expense of the State. He pretended not to see. But, within a generation, all was changed. Only the great patrician houses clung to paganism. They kept up its colleges and priesthood out of family pride. At length, an edict of Gratian, the text of which has not come down to us, though it is referred to as his,[5] swept pagan establishments away—augurs, pontiffs, vestals, quindecemvirs and all.[6]

§ 5. Nothing remained but the Altar of Victory in the Senate-house, for 'paganism was still the constitutional religion of the Senate'.[7] Senators took the oaths before this Altar, and libations and incense were offered at every meeting. Victory and her Altar had been set up there by Augustus after the battle of Actium, 2 September 31 B.C. Constantius removed the Altar[8]—the only instance in which he interfered with the religion of the ancient capital—but it was restored by Julian. Valentinian I let it stand,[9] out of consideration, it may be supposed, for the majority of the Senate which was still pagan.[10] Ambrose, indeed, asserts that the majority was Christian.[11] But this is unlikely; or, at any rate, there can have been but few who were bold enough to make a stand for their religion. Valentinian would look upon statue and altar as a small compensation to be set off by the heathen party against the rich bishopric and the forty Christian

[1] *Ut profanos* of 20 August 399; *Cod. Theod.* XVI. x. 17.
[2] By *Templorum detrahantur* of 15 November 408; *Cod. Theod.* XVI. x. 19.
[3] Amm. Marc. XVI. x.
[4] *Relatio Symmachi*, § 8 (Ambrose, *Op.* II. i. 830; *P. L.* xvi. 968 B).
[5] 'Divi Gratiani constituta' is the phrase of Honorius and Theodosius II in *Sacerdotales pagani superstitionis* of 30 August 415, *Cod. Theod.* XVI. x. 20.
[6] Boissier, ii. 300; and, for the ranks and numbers of the pagan hierarchy, cf. Gibbon, c. xxviii (iii. 189).
[7] Ibid. iii. 190.
[8] *Relatio Symmachi*, § 7 (Ambr. *Op.* II. i. 829 sq.; *P. L.* xvi. 968 A).
[9] Ibid., § 3 (Ambr. *Op.* II. i. 829; *P. L.* xvi. 967 A).
[10] Boissier, ii. 315.
[11] Ambrose, *Epp.* xvii, § 9, xviii, § 31 (*Op.* II. i. 825, 840; *P. L.* xvi. 963 B, 980 B).

churches of Rome.[1] But Gratian removed the Altar again ; and within the next ten years, 382–92, ' four respectable deputations ' [2] addressed him, or his successors, for its restoration.

(1) The first, 382, was sent to Gratian at Milan,[3] and was headed by Quintus Aurelius Symmachus,[4] *c.* 340–†402, a senator of high rank and great wealth who had been proconsul of Africa, 373–5, and was, by common consent, the best orator of his day.[5] He was a man, too, whose exemplary life drew from St. Ambrose high but deserved compliment.[6] Gratian refused them audience [7] on a counter-petition addressed to him by the Christian senators, and forwarded to him through pope Damasus.

(2) On the death of Gratian advantage was taken of the embarrassments of the Court of Milan to send a second deputation, 384, to Valentinian II, 383–†92. Symmachus who, by this time, was Prefect of the City, 384, and was afterwards to become Princeps Senatus [8] 388, and Consul 391, again appeared on behalf of the heathen party, and presented the old petition ; and the interest of the proceedings lies in the debate which ensued. Paganism, resolved, as Augustine says, to die with *éclat*,[9] found its last champion in the *grand seigneur* and chief magistrate of ancient Rome. The new religion was upheld by Ambrose, bishop of the city where the petition was presented.

The argument of Symmachus is preserved in the *Relatio Symmachi*,[10] or report which, as Prefect of the City, he was bound to render, from time to time, to the Emperor of what went on in Rome. It shows that he was animated by zeal for paganism not so much from belief as from its historic and patriotic relations with Rome. Nevertheless, he makes ' the best ' plea that ' the

[1] Optatus, *De sch. Don.* ii, § 4 (*Op.* 34 ; *P. L.* xi. 954) ; cf. Bingham, *Ant.* VIII. i, § 17, IX. v, § 1.

[2] Gibbon, c. xxviii (iii. 191).

[3] Ambrose, *Ep.* xvii, § 10 (*Op.* II. i. 826 ; *P. L.* xvi. 963 c).

[4] For the letters of Symmachus, some 950 in all, see *P. L.* xviii. 141–405 ; and *Q. A. Symmachi quae supersunt*, ed. O. Seeck (= *Mon. Germ. Hist.* VI. i. Berolini, 1883), where there is an account of his life (pp. xxxix sqq.), with a ' Stemma Symmachorum ' (p. xl). Cf. G. Boissier, ii. 310 ; Hodgkin, *Italy* [2], &c., I. ii. 417 sq.

[5] O. Seeck, xlv.

[6] Ambrose, *Ep.* xvii, § 6 (*Op.* II. i. 825 ; *P. L.* xvi. 962 B).

[7] *Relatio Symmachi*, § 18 (Ambrose, *Op.* II. i. 832 ; *P. L.* xvi. 971 c).

[8] Socr. *H. E.* v. xiv, § 5.

[9] ' Cum strepitu pereant,' Aug. *De div. daemonum*, § 14 (*Op.* vi. 513 A ; *P. L.* xl. 590).

[10] Symmachus, *Epp.* x. 61 (*Mon. Germ. Hist.* VI. i. 280–3) ; and between Ambrose, *Epp.* xvii and xviii in *Op.* II. i. 828–32 (*P. L.* xvi. 966–71) and Document No. 72.

cause would bear '[1]; for, says he, § 3, 'we ask the restoration of that state of religion under which the Republic has so long prospered'. 'Connivance' is sufficient: Julian 'observed the rites of his ancestors'. Valentinian 'did not abolish them'. That is all that is wanted; and, § 4, if the Emperor could forget his debt to Victory, he cannot, § 5, overlook the claims of custom. 'At least, the ornaments of the Senate-house ought to have been spared.' From conservative he turns to patriotic arguments. Constantius, § 8, though of 'another religion', yet 'maintained the ancient one for the Empire'. He was right—and we notice here the deep background of scepticism—for various ceremonies have been assigned by the Divine Mind to various nations: and, 'where reason is in the dark', the best proof of a religion is the 'prosperity' that attends it. It was, § 9, the old Roman 'rites' that 'repulsed Hannibal from the walls and the Gauls from the Capitol'. Rome is too old to change now; and, § 10, after all, there is no one way to the great secret of the universe.[2] Rome's is not the only way; but it is hers; let her be allowed to keep to it. Then follows, §§ 11–13, a plea for the Vestal Virgins and for the restoration of their property. Its confiscation, §§ 14, 15, was the sacrilege that caused the late bad harvest; and, § 16, if the conscience of the Christian Prince forbids him to give back its own to a religion with which he does not agree, let him remember that he can have no responsibility in the matter; for it was not open to the Treasury to invade rights which had been guaranteed by law. So then let him, § 17, revert to the condition of things under his father; cancel, § 18, the act done in the name of his departed brother; and restore Victory and her altar to the Senate-house.

Arguments like these—conservative, patriotic, utilitarian, rationalistic—are thought to have weight to-day in defence of a national establishment of religion. They were weightier then; and Ambrose, on hearing that the memorial was being presented, wrote to Valentinian.[3] He presses upon him, §§ 1–3, his responsibility as a Christian Prince; and urges, § 4, that the heathen have deprived themselves of any equitable claim by their persecutions

[1] W. Cave, *Life of St. Ambrose*, iii, § 3 (*Lives of the Fathers*, ii. 381: London, 1683).

[2] 'Uno itinere non potest perveniri ad tam grande secretum,' § 10 (*Op.* II. i. 830; *P. L.* xvi. 969 A).

[3] Ambrose, *Ep.* xvii (*Op.* II. i. 824–7; *P. L.* xvi. 961–6).

of Christians in days gone by. Let not, § 5, the Emperor reverse his brother's policy, beguiled, § 6, by 'the merits of illustrious men'; but, §§ 7–8, let him put God first. It would be wrong, § 9, even for a heathen Emperor to force Christians to take part in heathen rites; and this petition, like that of two years previous, is only the work, § 10, of a minority or, § 11, of a snap division. Refer the matter, § 12, to your Majesty's father, Theodosius II; then, § 13, let me see the Memorial that I may answer it at large; and before you give your consent, think what answer you will make, §§ 14, 15, to the Church; § 16, to your brother Gratian; and, § 17, to Valentinian, your father, who never so much as knew that there was an Altar to Victory in the Senate-house. Above all, § 18, do that which you know will be profitable for your salvation.

The tone of the letter is dictatorial rather than fatherly, but it told at once with the helpless lad to whom it was addressed. He sent the Memorial; and, in a second letter,[1] duller and not so fiery, Ambrose proceeded to answer Symmachus point by point. If, §§ 4–6, the old gods of Rome were responsible for her successes, what about her misfortunes? At any rate, the misfortunes of her defeated enemies were suffered from the heathen gods. 'If these rites conquered in the Romans, they were vanquished in the Carthaginians.' Rome herself, § 7, would have said that her successes were due to her own arm. As for, § 8, the plea for toleration, based on the notion that, by a single path, men cannot arrive at so great a secret, Christians have a Revelation. And, § 10, as to the restoration of endowments, '*we*, § 11, have grown by wrongs, by want, by punishment; *they* find that, without money, their ceremonies cannot be maintained'. Then, § 12, the Vestals; there are but seven. Pagans can only buy virgins: whereas, § 13, Christian women, in multitudes, devote themselves to virginity for love of holiness. Again, §§ 14–16, if pagans complain that State-support and immunities ought to be restored to their priesthood, Christians have been deprived of these and are content; 'the wealth of the Church is in her support of the poor'. Next, § 17, the stock argument of paganism from public calamities has to be met. Were there then, §§ 18–19, no calamities before the world became Christian? And, §§ 20–1, how about the present

[1] Ambrose, *Ep.* xviii (*Op.* II. i. 833–42; *P. L.* xvi. 972–82), and Document No. 73.

splendid harvest? The writer then goes on to undermine the appeal to antiquity in favour of ancestral rites by dwelling on, §§ 23–30, progress and development as the law of all things—an argument that might easily prove too much; and, after insisting, §§ 31–3, that Christian Senators must not be forced, he concludes, §§ 34–9, by discussing the utilitarian test of the truth of a religion, whether it brings to its adherents prosperity or disaster. 'Gratian', for instance, 'was a most orthodox Emperor: but he has been left', a man may say, 'without his reward.' 'True,' answers Ambrose; 'but human affairs move in a certain cycle and order . . . and are subject to vicissitudes.' It is no wonder that capital has been made out of the rationalism of some of his arguments.[1] But, for all that, it is clear enough that his was the living faith and that of Symmachus a dying one; just as clear as it is from setting side by side the voluminous but vapid correspondence of Symmachus with the *Confessions* of his younger contemporary and *protégé*[2] Augustine. So the second petition for the restoration of the Altar of Victory came to nothing. 'Valentinian', writes St. Ambrose, 'did nothing but what our faith reasonably required.'[3]

(3) A third memorial was addressed to Theodosius[4] possibly when, to celebrate his triumph over Maximus, he paid a visit to Rome,[5] 13 June to 1 September 389, or, as others think,[6] in the spring of 391 at Milan: it only irritated the Emperor and ended in the banishment[7] of Symmachus to a distance of a hundred miles from the Court.

(4) The fourth and last deputation 'was sent from the Senate to the Emperor Valentinian [II] of blessed memory'—he was murdered at Vienne 15 May 392—'when he was in Gaul: but was able to extract nothing from him'.[8] Eugenius, indeed, the puppet-emperor set up by Arbogast, the murderer of Valentinian,[9] erected the Altar of Victory again[10] and restored to

[1] Gibbon, c. xxviii (iii. 193); W. H. Lecky, *Hist. of European Morals*, i. 409.
[2] Aug. *Conf.* v, § 23 (*Op.* i. 117 F; *P. L.* xxxii. 717).
[3] Ambrose, *Ep.* lvii, § 3 (*Op.* II. i. 1011; *P. L.* xvi. 1175).
[4] Ibid., § 4 (*Op.* II. i. 1011; *P. L.* xvi. 1175 sq.).
[5] Hodgkin, *Italy*[2], &c. I. i. 517 sqq.
[6] Symmachus, *Opera*, lviii (ed. O. Seeck). [7] Ibid., n. 236.
[8] Ambrose, *Ep.* lvii, § 5 (*Op.* II. i. 1011; *P. L.* xvi. 1176 A).
[9] Socr. *H. E.* v. xxv, § 1.
[10] Paulinus, *Vita Ambrosii*, § 26 (*Op.* I. i; *P. L.* xiv. 36 A); Rufinus, *H. E.* ii, § 33 (*Op.* 304; *P. L.* xxi. 539 A).

paganism its revenues.[1] But it was a short-lived reaction. Theodosius defeated Eugenius at the hard-fought battle of the Frigidus (now the Vippacco [2]), 5–6 September 394, in the pass of the Pear-tree which connected Sirmium with Aquileia [3]; and on his victory paganism was officially abolished in Rome. Then,[4] if not in 388 on the overthrow of Maximus, 'six hundred families of ancient lineage' went over to Christ. It was the death-blow to paganism, in its last stronghold, among the great patrician houses of the capital; and it also marks the last stage of another long process, viz. the Latinization of the Roman church. The *Canon of the Mass* can be traced back, much as it is, to this period [5]; and the form in which we have it may be that of a translation from the Greek which, though but one among other variants, established its superiority in Rome just before the time when, in numbers and dignity, the Roman church acquired further prestige by the passing of paganism and the absorption of its most distinguished patrons into her communion.

III

We may now look a little closer into the affairs of the church of Rome under the pontificates of Damasus, 366–†84, and Siricius, 384–†98.

§ 6. Damasus was bishop for nearly twenty years.

(1) His accession was marked, as we have seen, by tumults for which we do not accurately know his share of responsibility. His rival Ursinus, twice banished, 366–7, under Valentinian,[6] sent first to Gaul before October 368,[7] and then suffered to reside

[1] Ambrose, *Ep.* lvii, § 6 (*Op.* II. i. 1011; *P. L.* xvi. 1176 A).

[2] See map in Hodgkin, *Italy* [2], &c. I. i. 569.

[3] Socr. *H. E.* v. xxv; Gibbon, c. xxvii (iii. 182 sqq.); Hodgkin, I. i. 578. It was the route by which most of the invasions of Italy in the fifth century were made, ibid. 709.

[4] So Prudentius, *In Symmachum* [A. D. 402–4], i. 410, 545 sqq. (*Op.* ii. 733, 745; *P. L.* lx. 153, 164); and Zosimus [A. D. 425–50], *Hist.* iv, § 59 (*Corp. Script. Hist. Byz.* xlix. 244 sq.), but modern historians assign the change to 388, e. g. Tillemont; Gibbon, c. xxviii, n. 23 (iii. 194); Hodgkin, *Italy* [2], &c. I. i. 516, 581–2; Bury (Gibbon, iii. app. 10).

[5] The section from *Quam oblationem* to the end of *Supplices te* occurs, with some modifications, in Ps. Ambrose, *De Sacramentis* [written *c.* 400, possibly at Ravenna; L. Duchesne, *Chr. Worship*, 177], iv, §§ 21–7 (Ambr. *Op.* II. i. 371 sq.; *P. L.* xvi. 443–6); tr. T. Thompson and J. H. Srawley (S.P.C.K. 1919); q.v. pp. xxxi–xxxiv; J. Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*, 82 sq.; and A. Fortescue, *The Mass* [2], 128–32: see Document No. 117.

[6] Faustinus Marcellinus, *Libellus Precum*. Praef., §§ 2, 4 (*P. L.* xiii. 82 A, 83 A, B).

[7] Goyau, *Chronologie*, 525.

in north Italy,[1] 370–2, avenged himself on Damasus in the courts of law. About 370 he instituted a criminal suit,[2] appearing as accuser himself; and, in a second suit, after the accession of Gratian, he made further charges against the pope before the Vicar of the City, through one Isaac, a converted Jew,[3] who has now been successfully identified with Ambrosiaster.[4] But Gratian took the case into his own hands; banished the accusers, Isaac to Spain and Ursinus to Cologne,[5] and cleared the pope of the calumnies against him. Damasus was not satisfied. He knew how to rely on the secular arm; but he wished to have his innocence attested in an ecclesiastical assembly. Accordingly a Council met in Rome, perhaps in 378 or in May 382,[6] and probably the sixth under Damasus, and presented a petition to Gratian beginning *Et hoc gloriae vestrae*,[7] in which they make two important requests. The first, §§ 1–9, has reference to Ursinus: and asks that, the Government having restored order by banishing the disturbers of the peace, the Emperor should confirm[8] the privilege, previously acknowledged, of the bishop of Rome and his fellows to try the cases of bishops still recalcitrant, so that no bishop might be brought before a secular judge[9]—the bishops of Parma and Puteoli, Restitutus, an African bishop, and Claudian, the Donatist bishop of Rome, being the recalcitrant prelates in question. Let him order that such offenders, if living in Italy, should be compelled to appear in Rome; if further off, before the local metropolitan; if metropolitans themselves, either in Rome or before judges appointed by the bishop of Rome. The see of Rome would thus acquire a widely extended authority in cases of first instance. But let provision be also made for its intervention in appeals. Any bishop, who had been condemned and had doubts about

[1] *Coll. Avell. Epp.* xi, xii (*C. S. E. L.* xxxv. 52–4).

[2] Alluded to by Gratian in *Ordinariorum sententiae*, § 4 (*P. L.* xiii. 585 sq.), or *Coll. Avell. Ep.* xiii, § 9 (*C. S. E. L.* xxxv. 57).

[3] So the Roman Council in their letter, *Et hoc gloriae vestrae*, § 8 (*P. L.* xiii. 580 B).

[4] So L. Duchesne, *Early Hist. Ch.* ii. 371, n. 2; and C. H. Turner in *J. T. S.* i. 155, and vii. 364. His '*Commentaries* are the earliest extant commentary . . . on all the Pauline Epistles', and his '*Quaestiones* too are the earliest substantial book on Biblical difficulties that has come down to us', ibid. 361; but the identification is rejected by A. Souter in *A study of Ambrosiaster*, 5 (*Texts and Studies*, vii, No. 4).

[5] Gratian, *Ord. sent.*, § 2 (*P. L.* xiii. 584 sq.).

[6] For this date, see F. W. Puller, *Prim. Saints*[3], 145, n. 1.

[7] Text in *P. L.* xiii. 575–84; cf. Puller[3], 145 sq., and Document No. 58.

[8] Gratian, *Ord. sent.* §§ 1, 4 (*P. L.* xiii. 576 A, 579 A).

[9] Ibid., § 2 (*P. L.* xiii. 577 sq.).

the fairness of his metropolitan or other episcopal judges, should be allowed the right of appeal either to the bishop of Rome or to a synod of, at least, fifteen neighbouring bishops.[1] A second request, §§ 10, 11, looked back to the indignity heaped on Damasus by Isaac in summoning the pope before the ordinary courts. The bishop of Rome should be sheltered from such calumniators, and any cases to which he was party, if not committed to his Council, should be heard by the Emperor in person.[2] Gratian replied with the rescript *Ordinariorum sententiae*[3] addressed to Anulinus, Vicar, 378–9, of the City, i.e. to the official who, as the immediate subordinate of the Praetorian Prefect of Italy, governed the suburbicarian provinces. The Emperor begins by remarking, § 1, that, if his letters to Simplicius, predecessor of Anulinus, in 374, had not been ignored, Ursinus and other disturbers of the peace, §§ 2–3, would by this time have disappeared. The innocence of Damasus, § 4, had been vindicated by Valentinian, and, § 5, they must be sent off at once. Then, as to the two requests of the Roman Synod, in § 6, he adopts its distinction between bishops of the suburbicarian provinces,[4] where the pope was sole metropolitan, and bishops who live in ' the more distant regions ' of the Western empire. He orders that the former are to be tried either at Rome or by synods elsewhere (such as were usual in Sicily[5] and, perhaps, in Sardinia and Corsica) ; but that the latter—bishops, that is, of Africa, Spain, North Italy, and Gaul—when under accusation, are to be remitted by the local magistrates to the court of the metropolitan. So far the rescript dealt with suits of first instance in the case of ordinary bishops ; and there was no enlargement of papal powers. But in the case of metropolitans, and by way of appeal, Gratian proceeds to confer two new powers on the Roman see. ' The pope was made master of the judicial process by which all accused metropolitans throughout the West were to be tried. He might either have them summoned to Rome to be tried there, or he might appoint judges by whom

[1] *Ord. sent.* § 9 (*P. L.* xiii. 581 sq.). [2] Ibid., § 11 (*P. L.* xiii. 583 A).

[3] *P. L.* xiii. 583–8; *Cod. Avell. Ep.* xiii. (*C. S. E. L.* xxxv. 54–8); of this rescript § 6 is the most important ; q.v. in Document No. 65.

[4] The nearer regions must be the suburbicarian provinces, Puller[3], 150. Hence the bishops in *Et hoc gloriae vestrae*, § 9 (*P. L.* xiii. 581 A) ask that the law may be enforced by the *Vicarius Urbis*. If these regions had extended further, they would have added the *Vicarius Italiae* and the *Vicarius Africae*.

[5] Ath. *Ad Afros*, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 712 ; *P. L.* xxvi. 1029 B).

they would have to be tried elsewhere. And, in the second place, ordinary bishops throughout the Western Empire, who had been tried in the first instance away from Rome by the provincial synod or by some local synod of bishops, might, if they chose, appeal either to the pope or to a synod of fifteen bishops having sees in the neighbourhood '.[1] This was a great step forward in the growth of papal authority ; but it was no recognition of inherent spiritual rights. On the contrary, the new jurisdiction was both created and annexed to the Roman See by the civil power, which was thus very complaisant to Damasus and to the first request of his Council that bishops should be tried by their fellow-bishops and by the pope in particular. The second, that the bishop of Rome himself should be saved the indignity of appearing before the ordinary courts was quietly refused. Gratian confined himself to directing, § 7, that, where the accusers were known to be persons of doubtful morals or mere calumniators, their evidence should not be admitted.[2] Not long after this Rescript, Ursinus, the arch-calumniator, died, 381, three years before Damasus himself. The old pope's success had been hotly contested through nearly the whole of his episcopate.

(2) Damasus—now nearly eighty—had used his episcopate well : and in the three following ways.

He was a stout defender of orthodoxy. If he was not very ready to mix himself up in Eastern quarrels, 371–7, by lending an ear to Basil and his friends, Damasus could say that his own see was not a bed of roses ; and that, as the constant friend of Peter of Alexandria, 373–†80, and of Paulinus at Antioch, 362–†88, he was doing his utmost for the maintenance of the faith in the East.

He put the wealth of his church to excellent use. Men might point to the luxury of his table and the ostentation of his horses and carriages, and say, as did Praetextatus, Prefect of the City, that it would be worth while to turn Christian if one could become bishop of Rome. But Damasus was a great patron of building and art. In particular, he spent much on the Catacombs [3] which he opened up and beautified with inscriptions in ' Damasine character '[4] from the chisel of a very able artist, Furius Dionysius

[1] Puller, *Prim. Saints* [3], 151. [2] *Ord. sent.*, § 7 (*P. L.* xiii. 588).

[3] For the Catacombs, see R. Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, c. vii ; M. A. R. Tuker and H. Malleson, *Handbook to Chr. and Eccl. Rome*, i. 422 sqq. ; and F. Cabrol, *Dict. d'arch. chrétienne*, i. 2375–450.

[4] Cabrol, *Dict.* iv. 160–97 ; T. and M. i. 427.

Filocalus. Four of these inscriptions are to be found in the ' papal crypt ' of the Cemetery of St. Callistus : so-called because of the popes buried there, such as Fabian, †250, and Lucius, †254. Damasus speaks of these as a ' numerus ' or guard of honour, the term for ' the goodly fellowship of the Prophets ' in the *Te Deum* ; and he says he hopes to be buried there.[1]

He discerned the ability of Jerome, and made him his secretary.

§ 7. Jerome,[2] *c.* 340–†420, was born of Christian, Catholic and well-to-do, parents, at Striden, a town on the borders of Dalmatia and Pannonia, whose site is uncertain owing to its destruction by the Goths,[3] *c.* 378.

In early youth, *c.* 354, he came to Rome and learned grammar of Donatus,[4] whose *Ars grammatica* was the basis of all rudiments or introduction, in the way of Latin grammar, till the end of the Middle Ages.[5] Rhetoric he learned while the fame of the Christian teacher Victorinus was at its height.[6] He did not escape the temptations of the capital[7] ; but he drew back, and was baptized there, *c.* 363, before the death of pope Liberius in 366, so that he regarded himself as a member of the Roman church. Then he went, with his foster-brother Bonosus, to Gaul,[8] and spent some time at Trèves.[9] Athanasius had passed his first exile there, and had left a strong tradition of asceticism[10] behind him. It may therefore have been under these influences that in Trèves Jerome resolved to devote himself to a life of piety.[11] Such a life he found, at the suggestion of Rufinus, *c.* 350–†410, a fellow-student, in the latter's native town of Aquileia.[12] Here he settled, *c.* 370–3, as one of a company of like-minded young men, mostly clerics, with whom he thought himself already ' among the blessed '.[13]

[1] Damasus, *Carmen*, xxxiii (*P. L.* xiii. 408 A) ; Lanciani, 219.

[2] See the *Vita* in Jerome, *Op.* i (*P. L.* xxii. 5–176) ; Tillemont, *Mém.* xii. 1–356 ; G. Grützmacher, *Hieronymus* (Leipzig, 1901–6) ; Bardenhewer, 455–73 ; Letters and select Works, tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* vi.

[3] Jerome, *De vir. illustr.*, § 135 (*Op.* ii. 953 ; *P. L.* xxiii. 715).

[4] Jerome, *Adv. Rufinum*, i, § 16 (*Op.* ii. 472 ; *P. L.* xxiii. 410).

[5] Reginald Pecock, bishop of Chichester, 1450–†7, wrote a *Donet into Christen Religion* (= an introduction to the Christian Religion), *c.* 1449.

[6] Jerome, *Chron.* ad ann. 354 (*Op.* viii ; *P. L.* xxvii. 687 sq.).

[7] *Epp.* iv, § 2, vii, § 4, xiv, § 6 (*Op.* i. 14, 19, 32 ; *P. L.* xxii. 336, 340, 350).

[8] *Adv. Iovin.* ii, § 7 (*Op.* ii. 335 ; *P. L.* xxiii. 296 A).

[9] *Comm. in Gal.* lib. ii (*Op.* viii. 430 ; *P. L.* xxvi. 357) ; *Ep.* v, § 2 (*Op.* i. 15 ; *P. L.* xxii. 337).

[10] Cf. the story of Pontitian in Aug. *Conf.* viii, §§ 14, 15 (*Op.* i. 150 sq. ; *P. L.* xxxii, 755).

[11] *Ep.* iii, § 5 (*Op.* i. 12 ; *P. L.* xxii. 334).

[12] *Epp.* iii, § 3, ix (*Op.* i. 10, 22 ; *P. L.* xxii. 333, 342).

[13] Chorus beatorum, *Chron.* ad ann. 378 (*Op.* viii ; *P. L.* xxvii. 698) ;

But it did not last long. There was ' a sudden whirlwind ' and ' an impious disruption ',[1] the first of those disturbances which—owing to Jerome's capacity for making enemies as fast as he made friends—were periodical in his career. The ' company ' was disbanded. Bonosus went to live as a hermit on a rock in the Adriatic,[2] Rufinus to Alexandria,[3] and Jerome himself to Antioch, 373. Here he fell ill ; and, as the result of a vision, determined, though the style of the prophet put him off, to devote himself once and for all to Christian literature and to be a classic no more.[4] He began to learn Greek, and took his first lessons in Biblical exegesis from Apollinaris,[5] in whom he came under the influence of the exact and literalist methods of interpretation distinctive of the school of Antioch. The next five years, 374–9, he spent in the desert of Chalcis, east of Antioch, sharing the austerities of other solitaries.[6] At this time he began the study of Hebrew—a severe penance, he says, for a Ciceronian ; and so he became the only scholar among the Fathers to be acquainted with ' the rasping and gasping words ' [7] of that sacred but barbarous tongue. His first work dates from the desert [8] ; for in 374 he wrote the life of the hermit Paul of Thebes.[9] But again, as at Aquileia, storms broke in upon his retreat. The controversies of Antioch reached the wilderness ; and Jerome, speedily involved in them, found the place too hot to hold him. Besides the official bishop of Antioch, the Arian Euzoïus, 361–†78, there were at this juncture, 376, three other claimants of that see : Meletius, 361–†81, who had the support of St. Basil ; Paulinus, 362–†88, who relied upon Rome and Alexandria ; and Vitalis, consecrated, 376, by Apollinaris to that dignity.[10] Moreover, Meletius, with the East in general, spoke of ' three *hypostases* ' in the Godhead ; whereas Paulinus acknowledged, with the West, but ' one *hypostasis* '. Jerome had never communicated at the

where note ' chorus ' = company, as in *Te Deum* ; ' gloriosus Apostolorum chorus ', and cf. ' numerus ', *supra*.

[1] *Ep.* iii, § 3, *ut sup.*

[2] Ibid., § 4 (*Op.* i. 11 ; *P. L.* xxii. 334).

[3] Ibid., § 2 (*Op.* i. 10 ; *P. L.* xxii. 333).

[4] *Ep.* xxii, § 30 (*Op.* i. 115 ; *P. L.* xxii. 416).

[5] *Ep.* lxxxiv, § 5 (*Op.* i. 523 ; *P. L.* xxii. 745).

[6] *Ep.* xxii, § 7 (*Op.* i. 92 ; *P. L.* xxii. 309).

[7] ' Stridentia anhelantiaque verba,' *Ep.* cxxv, § 12 (*Op.* i. 940 ; *P. L.* xxii. 1079).

[8] *Ep.* x, § 3 (*Op.* i. 24 ; *P. L.* xxii. 344).

[9] For the *Vita S. Pauli primi eremitae* see Jerome, *Op.* ii. 1–14 (*P. L.* xxiii. 17–28) ; tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* vi. 299–303.

[10] Basil, *Ep.* cclxv, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 409 ; *P. G.* xxxii. 985).

hands of Paulinus; but only from those Egyptian confessors whom Valens had exiled to Diocaesarea in Palestine.[1] He knew that they were recognized by the Roman church. But as a member of that church, he would sympathize with Paulinus. To Jerome 'three *hypostases*' would spell 'three Gods'.[2] But his fellow-solitaries sided with Meletius. Jerome should express his Trinitarian faith in the language of the new Nicenes or Cappadocians, and acknowledge three *hypostases* or Persons in one Substance.[3] Hence the storm. He turned to the church of his baptism for answer; and in the first two of his six[4] letters to Damasus, he took that pope for an oracle, as if his predecessor Liberius had never deserted the Nicene Faith, and wrote, with characteristic vehemence, in terms that stand alone among the writings of the Fathers, on the authority of the Roman See.[5] 'Since the East tears into pieces the Lord's coat . . . therefore by me is the chair of St. Peter to be consulted, and that faith which is praised by the Apostle's mouth; thence now seeking food for my soul whence of old I received the robe of Christ. . . . I speak with the successor of the fisherman, and the disciple of the Cross. I, who follow none as my chief but Christ, am associated in communion with thy blessedness, i.e. with the see of Peter. On that rock the Church is built, I know. Whoso shall eat the lamb outside that house is profane. If any one shall not be in the ark of Noah, he will perish when the flood prevails. . . . I know not Vitalis; I reject Meletius; I am ignorant of Paulinus. Whoso gathereth not with thee, scattereth; i.e. he, who is not of Christ, is of anti-Christ.'[6] It was the letter of a young man[7] in a hurry; and Damasus, though Jerome wrote him a second letter,[8] made no reply; but he let it be seen that he upheld Paulinus. Pressed further by the Meletian clergy, Jerome withdrew from the desert[9] and returned to Antioch, 379. Uniting himself to Paulinus, he accepted ordina-

[1] Jerome, *Ep.* xv, § 2 (*Op.* i. 39; *P. L.* xxii. 356).
[2] Ibid., § 4 (*Op.* i. 40 sq.; *P. L.* xxii. 357).
[3] Ibid., § 3 (*Op.* i. 40; *P. L.* xxii. 356).
[4] *Epp.* xv, xvi, xviii, xix, xxi, xxvi. [5] Puller, *Prim. Saints*[3], 162.
[6] Jerome, *Ep.* xv, §§ 1, 2 (*Op.* i. 38 sq.; *P. L.* xxii. 355 sq.), and Document No. 136.
[7] Written after the letter [*Ep.* xiv] to Heliodorus, which he describes, nineteen years later, as having been written 'Dum essem adolescens, immo paene puer', *Ep.* lii. [A. D. 394], § 1 (*Op.* i. 254; *P. L.* xxii. 527); Puller[3], 162, n. 2.
[8] *Ep.* xvi (*Op.* i. 42; *P. L.* xxii. 358).
[9] *Ep.* xvii, §§ 2, 3 (*Op.* i. 44; *P. L.* xxii. 360).

tion to the priesthood from him ; though he never exercised his office,[1] and stipulated from the first that he should be monk rather than priest, and so free to go where he would.[2] Accordingly, we find him, 380–1, in Constantinople, taking as a second master in exegesis St. Gregory of Nazianzus, by whom he was brought under the influence of the allegorical school of Origen. He applauded Gregory's sermons ; and afterwards passed on to Nepotian a warning that Gregory gave him about the danger of applause in churches. 'There is nothing so easy as, by sheer volubility, to deceive an uneducated congregation ; the less they understand, the more they admire' [3] the preacher. Jerome now began to translate the *Homilies of Origen on Isaiah*,[4] *Jeremiah, and Ezekiel* [5] ; and, at the same time, he translated the *Chronicle* of Origen's admirer, Eusebius,[6] and completed it to the death of Valens,[7] 378. But all this while he says not a word of the Second Oecumenical Council then sitting. Possibly he was preoccupied. Possibly, as it ignored his bishop, Paulinus, and dealt unsympathetically with his two teachers in exegesis, condemning Apollinaris and disgusting Gregory, he would be out of temper with it. We may feel some surprise, in that case, at his not saying so ; but it may have been enough, for once, that to review the acts of this Council he was going to Rome, in the train of Paulinus,[8] for the seventh synod under pope Damasus in the autumn of 382.

No sooner was it over than Jerome and Damasus, 382–4, came to stand to each other as confidential adviser to patron. Jerome wrote the *Dialogus adv. Luciferianos*,[9] to put down the pretensions of a handful of the followers of Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari *c.* 353–†71, in Rome, who were a source of constant

[1] So Epiphanius to John of Jerusalem, in Jerome, *Ep.* li, § 1 (*Op.* i. 242 ; *P. L.* xxii. 518).

[2] *Contra Ioann. Ier.*, § 41 (*Op.* ii. 452 ; *P. L.* xxiii. 393). The Co. of Chalcedon ultimately put an end to such possibilities, (1) by forbidding ordination to the priesthood except on a title, c. 6 ; and (2) by requiring that a monk should be kept to one place, cc. 4, 6, 24 ; W. Bright, *Canons* [2], 166, &c.

[3] Jerome, *Ep.* lii, § 8 (*Op.* i. 263 ; *P. L.* xxii. 534).

[4] *Op.* iv. 1101–44 (*P. L.* xxiv. 901–56).

[5] *Op.* v. 741–1004 (*P. L.* xxv. 583–786).

[6] *Op.* viii (*P. L.* xxvii. 33–674).

[7] Ibid. 675–702 : from the death of Valens to A. D. 449 it was continued by Prosper of Aquitaine, †463 ; ibid. 703–24.

[8] Jerome, *Ep.* cxxvii [A. D. 412], § 7 (*Op.* i. 955 ; *P. L.* xxii. 1091).

[9] Jerome, *Op.* ii. 171–202 (*P. L.* xxiii. 155–82) ; written 379 acc. to Bardenhewer, 465 ; but 382–5 acc. to Duchesne, *Early Hist. Ch.* ii. 383, and Grützmacher, i. 59 ; tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* vi. 320–34.

worry to Damasus. Of its interest we have already spoken. The pope then set Jerome to work on Holy Scripture.

First, he consulted him as to its interpretation: e.g. on the meaning of Hosanna,[1] on the parable of the prodigal son,[2] on the vengeance to be exacted for Cain, on distinctions between clean and unclean, on discrepancies about the date of the Exodus, on how it was that a good man like Isaac was allowed to be deceived.[3] Jerome was once more in the seventh heaven—the heaven of a scholar who found, all of a sudden, that his learning was in demand. He had already sent the pope from Constantinople, 381, a disquisition about the Seraphim.[4] Now, 383–4, he replied on the subjects of Hosanna[5] and the prodigal,[6] and on the points which puzzled the pope from the stories of the patriarchs.[7]

Second, Damasus employed him on the text of Holy Scripture[8]; and, about 383, at his patron's request, he began a revision of the various Latin versions, comparing them with the Greek. The oldest Latin version had been made not later than the second century in Africa, the Old Testament portion being from the Septuagint. It is called 'the African Latin'. A second, sufficiently different to be, in all probability, independent, was in use in North Italy in Jerome's time, and has a type of text known as 'the European Latin'. Successive revisions of this, whether casual or systematic, produced, after *c.* 350, a third type of text called 'the Italian Latin'. These three types are classed together under the common name of the 'Old Latin' version. Jerome was to take various manuscripts of this version, and bring the text into agreement with the Greek.[9] He felt that it was a heavy task. It would bring him into collision with a good many 'two-egged asses'[10] among the Roman clergy as well as with many

[1] Damasus, *Ep.* viii (*P. L.* xiii. 371 B, C) = Jer. *Ep.* xix (*Op.* i. 63; *P. L.* xxii. 375).

[2] Jer. *Ep.* xxi, § 1 (*Op.* i. 68; *P. L.* xxii. 379).

[3] Damasus, *Ep.* ix (*P. L.* xiii. 371 sqq.); Jer. *Ep.* xxxv (*Op.* i. 158; *P. L.* xxii. 451).

[4] Jer. *Ep.* xviii (*Op.* i. 45–64; *P. L.* xxii. 361–76).

[5] *Ep.* xx (*Op.* i. 63–8; *P. L.* xxii. 375–9).

[6] *Ep.* xxi (*Op.* i. 68–87; *P. L.* xxii. 379–94).

[7] *Ep.* xxxvi (*Op.* i. 160–71; *P. L.* xxii. 452–61).

[8] B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *The N. T. in Greek*, ii. (Introduction) 78 sq.; H. B. Swete, *Introduction to the LXX*, 88 sqq.; Bardenhewer, 459.

[9] Jer. *Praef. in iv Evangelia* [ad Damasum] (*Op.* x; *P. L.* xxix. 525 C); reprinted in *Novum Test. Latine*, ed. H. J. White (1913); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* vi. 487 sq., and Document No. 138.

[10] *Ep.* xxvii (*Op.* i. 134; *P. L.* xxii. 432).

pious associations.[1] But, he says, truth[2] and the original[3] must come first. So he began with the Gospels; and then went on, probably by request, to the Psalter. This he revised 'cursorily', as he says, 'from the Septuagint'.[4] This Psalter, the fruit of Jerome's first revision of the psalms in 383, became known as *The Roman Psalter*, and was used by the Roman Church till the pontificate of Pius V, 1566–†72. Its version of the *Venite*[5] is still retained in the Roman Mattins; but, as a whole, its use is now confined to St. Peter's at Rome, St. Mark's at Venice, and a few churches in the diocese of Milan.[6] It would appear also that, before he left Rome, Jerome had carried further his revision of the New Testament from the Greek[7]; and, before leaving, he dealt in the *Contra Helvidium*,[8] 382–4, with 'a rustic and illiterate' author[9] who had denied the perpetual virginity of our Lady. Damasus, he says, was still alive when he wrote it. The pamphlet would have had his approval; for he was 'the virgin doctor of the virgin Church'.[10]

Jerome was now in high esteem, both as scholar and as ascetic; and many thought of him as the next pope.[11] He began to exercise a powerful influence over his patron's supporters among the great ladies of Rome. They were attracted by his learning and his austerity. First among them was the rich patrician widow, Marcella,[12] 325–†410. She came of the Marcelli, the noble house which had given so many Consuls and Prefects to Rome[13]; and her beauty had been the talk of the town when, as a girl of about eighteen, she sat at the feet of Athanasius during his exile in Rome, 341–3, and learned from him of the monks of Egypt.[14] As a young widow, she refused the offer of a second marriage from the wealthy old consular, Cerealis, with no little spirit.

[1] *Praef. in iv Evang.* (*Op.* x; *P. L.* xxix. 526 c).
[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. 527 A.
[4] *Praef. in lib. Psalm.* (*Op.* x; *P. L.* xxix. 117); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* vi. 494, and Document No. 141. [5] *Op.* x (*P. L.* xxix. 296).
[6] E. Martene, *De ant. eccl. rit.* iii. 7, and P. Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, 70 sq. [7] Grützmacher, i. 220.
[8] *Op.* ii. 205–30 (*P. L.* xxiii. 183–206); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* vi. 334–46.
[9] *Adv. Helvidium*, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 205; *P. L.* xxiii. 183).
[10] *Ep.* xlviii, § 18 (*Op.* i. 230; *P. L.* xxii. 508).
[11] *Ep.* xlv, § 3 (*Op.* i. 196; *P. L.* xxii. 481).
[12] For a sketch of Marcella see the *Epitaphium Marcellae* of Jerome, *Ep.* cxxvii (*Op.* i. 950–60; *P. L.* xxii. 1087–95); Tillemont, *Mém.* xii. 66–76; Fleury, xviii. xx; Grützmacher, i. 225 sqq.
[13] Jerome, *Ep.* cxxvii, § 1 (*Op.* i. 951; *P. L.* xxii. 1087).
[14] Ibid., § 5 (*Op.* i. 954; *P. L.* xxii. 1089).

'Were I wanting to marry,' she said, 'I should look for a husband, not for an inheritance.' About 360–70 she devoted herself to a life of study and piety, in her great house on the Aventine [1]; and was the first lady of rank at Rome to do so, before a fresh zeal for asceticism had been kindled there by the visit, as an exile, of Peter of Alexandria, 373–†80. It was for the study of the Scriptures that she attached herself to Jerome.[2] Then there was another widow, Lea,[3] November 384; a virgin, Asella,[4] 334–†*a.* 405, whose knees, from constant prayer, grew as hard as a camel's [5]; and a third widow, Paula,[6] 347–†404, the heiress of the Gens Aemilia. Her father, Rogatus, traced his descent back to Agamemnon,[7] and her mother, Blaesilla, had the blood of the Scipiones and the Gracchi in her veins [8]; while her husband, Toxotius, †380, claimed kinship with Aeneas and the Julian house.[9] On his death she devoted herself to charity and good works [10]; with her two daughters, the girl-widow,[11] Blaesilla,[12] 365–†84, and Eustochium, 367–†419. Paula entertained Epiphanius,[13] bishop of Salamis, with whom Jerome travelled when he came to Rome, 382; and from that time forward she and her daughters became the most ardent of his adherents. It was an invidious position; nor was he the man to occupy it with discretion. There were scenes between Jerome and his opponents which ended by their spitting in each other's faces [14]; and his quarrelsomeness disgusted Marcella,[15] though Paula was too meek [16] to see anything amiss in the manners of her spiritual guide. In a pamphlet on virginity addressed to Eustochium [17] there is a freedom [18] which shocked even the heathen society of Rome, familiar, as it was, with the

[1] Jerome, *Ep.* cxxvii, §§ 3, 4 (*Op.* i. 952 sq.; *P. L.* xxii. 1088 sq.).
[2] Ibid., § 7 (*Op.* i. 955 sq.; *P. L.* xxii. 1091).
[3] *Ep.* xxiii (*Op.* i. 126–8; *P. L.* xxii. 425–7); Tillemont, *Mém.* xii. 65 sq.; Fleury, xviii. xxi; Grützmacher, i. 266.
[4] *Ep.* xxiv (*Op.* i. 128–31; *P. L.* xxii. 427–30); Tillemont, *Mém.* xii. 63 sq.; Fleury, xviii. xxi; Grützmacher, i. 267 sq.
[5] Ibid., § 5.
[6] Cf. the *Epitaphium Paulae*; Jer. *Ep.* cviii (*Op.* i. 690–725; *P. L.* xxii. 878–906); Tillemont, *Mém.* xii. 84–6; Fleury, xviii. xxi; Grützmacher, i. 242 sqq.
[7] *Ep.* cviii, § 3 (*Op.* i. 692; *P. L.* xxii. 879).
[8] Ibid., §§ 1, 3.
[9] Ibid., § 4.
[10] Ibid., § 5.
[11] *Epp.* xxii, § 15, xxxix, § 1 (*Op.* i. 98, 176; *P. L.* xxii. 403, 465).
[12] *Ep.* xxxviii (*Op.* i. 173–6; *P. L.* xxii. 463–5) for her conversion.
[13] *Ep.* cviii, § 6 (*Op.* i. 696; *P. L.* xxii. 881).
[14] *Ep.* l, § 4 (*Op.* i. 239; *P. L.* xxii. 515).
[15] *Ep.* xxvii, § 2 (*Op.* i. 134; *P. L.* xxii. 432).
[16] *Ep.* cviii, § 26 (*Op.* i. 719; *P. L.* xxii. 902).
[17] *Ep.* xxii (*Op.* i. 88–126; *P. L.* xxii. 394–425).
[18] e. g. ibid., §§ 13, 25

grossness of paganism. Jerome speaks, moreover, of Eustochium as the spouse of Christ,[1] and of Paula therefore as the mother-in-law of God.[2] One need not wonder that the fashionable world of Christian Rome took advantage of the handle which he thus offered them. Its ladies, who combined a little piety with much frivolity,[3] its clerical fops [4] and toadies,[5] its hypocritical monks [6] all smarted under Jerome's tongue. They were glad to make things unpleasant for him [7]; and when, on the death of Damasus, 11 December 384, Siricius succeeded, who had no sympathy with him, Jerome would feel that the situation was becoming unbearable. By the death of Blaesilla, 385, under the austerities which he prescribed, things reached the limit. There was a riot at her funeral. Monks in general and Jerome in particular became the object of universal detestation.[8] At length, in a letter to Asella of August 385, he gave vent to his feelings, and announced his intention of retiring from 'Babylon' to Jerusalem.[9] Paula and Eustochium speedily followed him.[10] They visited the solitaries of Egypt in his company; and, with them in attendance, he arrived in Palestine, to settle at Bethlehem,[11] not long after the death, 18 March 386, of Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem,[12] 350–†86.

§ 8. To Siricius, the new pope,[13] 384–†99, Jerome's retirement was, no doubt, a relief. It was usual, at Rome, to choose the bishop from among the local clergy; and this system, while it rarely gave to the Roman church men of mark for its leaders, as the more open methods of election prevalent at Milan gave that see a St. Ambrose, at any rate provided it with wise rulers, by the promotion of clerics of long experience in an official career. Such a prelate was Siricius. He had been a supporter of Damasus against Ursinus when, 15, 22, or 29 December 384, he was elected by the church to the exclusion of Ursinus who appears to have come forward

[1] *Ep.* xxii, §§ 8, 16.
[2] Ibid., § 20. Rufinus took him to task for this irreverent exaggeration, *Apol. c. Hieronymum*, ii, § 10 (*Op.* 363; *P. L.* xxi. 593).
[3] *Ep.* xxii, §§ 16, 28, 34.
[4] Ibid., § 28, and Document No. 139.
[5] Ibid., § 16.
[6] Ibid., §§ 14 and 28, and Document No. 139.
[7] *Ep.* xxvii, § 2 (*Op.* i. 134; *P. L.* xxii. 432).
[8] *Ep.* xxxix, § 5 (*Op.* i. 184; *P. L.* xxii. 472).
[9] *Ep.* xlv, § 6 (*Op.* i. 198; *P. L.* xxii. 482); Fleury, XVIII. xxxvi.
[10] Ibid., § 2 (*Op.* i. 196; *P. L.* xxii. 481); and *Ep.* cviii, §§ 7 sq. (*Op.* i. 695; *P. L.* xxii. 882).
[11] *Ep.* cviii, § 14 (*Op.* i. 704; *P. L.* xxii. 889); Fleury, XVIII. xxxvii.
[12] Tillemont, *Mém.* viii. 435.
[13] Fleury, XVIII. xxxiii.

again. The choice was confirmed, 24 February 385, by a letter,[1] in terms complimentary to Siricius, which Valentinian II addressed to Pinian, *fl.* 376–†420, the Vicar of the City. One of the first events of the new pontificate was the enlargement, by imperial munificence, of the church of St. Paul-without-the-walls to something of its present proportions[2]—a sure proof that the church in Rome was growing in numbers.

(1) There was a parallel growth of the pope's authority as patriarch of the West, not unconnected[3] with the powers which the State had conferred upon the Roman see by Gratian's rescript *Ordinariorum sententiae.* Thus, in administrative oversight, Siricius continued the policy of Damasus (who treated Eastern Illyricum[4] as, for ecclesiastical purposes, part of the West when, for civil purposes it had been incorporated into the Eastern empire)[5] by renewing, 385, to Anysius, bishop of Thessalonica 383–†410, the powers of papal Vicar there.[6] But he also replied, in the first of the genuine papal Decretals, *Directa ad decessorem*[7] of 10 February 385, to certain questions which Himerius, bishop of Tarragona, had addressed to Damasus; and so acquired for the Roman see the character of a tribunal of reference throughout the West. Not content, moreover, to base such authority on the grants of Emperors, Siricius rests it on his duty, as successor of St. Peter, § 1, 'to bear the burden of all who are heavily laden', or rather on the ground 'that the blessed Apostle Peter bears them in us; for he, as we trust, in all things protects and defends us who are the heirs of his government'. The mystical presence of St. Peter, in and with his successors, thus appears for the

[1] *Populum Urbis Aeternae, Coll. Avell.*, No. iv (*C. S. E. L.* xxxv. 47 sq.), and *P. L.* xiii. 593, and Document No. 74.

[2] *Desiderantibus Nobis, Coll. Avell*, No. iii (*C. S. E. L.* xxxv. 46 sq.), and Document No. 99.

[3] Puller, *Prim. Saints*[3], 181 sqq.

[4] i. e. the 'Dioceses' of Dacia and Macedonia, including Sardica and Thessalonica.

[5] When Gratian handed it over to Theodosius, 379; Soz. *H. E*, VII. iv, § 1; Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* v. 716 sqq.; Gibbon, c. xxvi (iii. 120); Puller, *Prim. Saints*[3], 156, n. 1. Damasus, by the legislation of Valentinian and Gratian, had become a sort of Praetorian Prefect of the West. It was the custom of Prefects to rule by Vicars. So, to retain his authority, for ecclesiastical purpose, over Eastern Illyricum, he hit upon the device of making Ascholius, bishop of Thessalonica 380–†3, papal Vicar, and so retaining that region as part of his patriarchate: see Innocent I, *Ep.* i (*P. L.* xx. 465 A); Jaffé, No. 285.

[6] Siricius, *Ep.* iv (*P. L.* xiii. 1148 sq.); Jaffé, No. 257.

[7] *Ep.* i (*P. L.* xiii. 1131–47); Jaffé, No. 255; Fleury, XVIII. cc. xxxiv, xxxv, and Document No. 75.

first time in support of the papal powers ; and Siricius outlined the theory which St. Leo filled in.[1] Himerius is then informed, § 2, that Arians must not be rebaptized ; § 3, that baptism is only to be bestowed, save under stress of necessity,[2] at Easter and Pentecost ; § 4, that renegades to heathenism are to be excommunicated and, if penitent, to be reconciled only at death ; § 5, that a girl who is betrothed may not be married to another man ; § 6, that Christians who, after penance, return to heathen lusts, are to be denied Communion ; § 7, that unchaste ' religious ' are to be expelled their convents ; §§ 8–11, that married men, after ordination, are not to cohabit with their wives ; § 12, that digamists are not to be ordained ; § 13, what qualifications are necessary for the several Orders ; § 14, what for a layman who, in middle life, wishes to be ordained ; § 15, that digamist clerks are to be deposed ; § 16, that superfluous women are to be removed from the houses of clerks ; § 17, that monks might well be ordained ; § 18, that, as no clerk may be put to penance and remain a clerk, so a layman, after penance, is disqualified for Holy Orders ; § 19, that, where penitents, digamists, and such as have married widows, have been ordained, they must not be promoted to higher rank. To all the points, then, § 20, on which Himerius ' had referred himself to the Roman church as to the head of the body to which he belonged ', Siricius trusts that he has given sufficient answers. Let them be communicated to the other provinces of Spain : an indication, by the way, that the metropolitan system was already in operation there. There are two points of interest about the letter. It is quite in the papal tone[3] ; and its contents show that Siricius, however much out of sympathy with Jerome on personal grounds, by no means looked unfavourably on the growing asceticism.

(2) Five years later he summoned a Council at Rome,[4] 390, to deal with its critic, Jovinian, *fl.* 390–†*c.* 405. Our knowledge of

[1] Leo I, Sermo iii, § 3 (*Op.* i. 12 ; *P. L.* liv. 146 c).

[2] This is an early instance of the explicit statement of the necessity of baptism, ' where it may be had ' (*Baptism of such as are of Riper Years*): whence (*a*) baptism of infants, (*b*) baptism by a layman or a woman. It was the reaffirmation of this necessity by the schoolmen, e. g. St. Thomas Aq. (*Summa* III. lxvii. 3), that provoked the wrath of Calvin (*Institutes*, IV. xv. 20), and led the Puritans to affirm that baptism could only be by a minister (R. Hooker, *E. P.* v. lxii).

[3] § 20, and Document No. 75.

[4] Mansi, iii. 663 sq. ; Hefele, ii. 391 ; and for the synodal letters of the Council of Rome, Siricius, *Ep.* vii (*P. L.* xiii. 1168–72) ; and of the Co. of Milan, Ambrose, *Ep.* xlii (*Op.* i. 966–70 ; *P. L.* xvi. i. 1124–9).

Jovinian comes from Siricius and Ambrose, the two prelates who condemned him at Rome, 390, and at Milan, 391 ; and, from his two contemporaries, Jerome[1] and Augustine,[2] who recurred to his tenets after their condemnation. It is likely enough that these authorities, for want of sympathy, have damaged his reputation ; but there is no reason to think that they have misrepresented his opinions. They reproduce them, indeed, in fragments,[3] and only for criticism ; but they give them in his own words.

(*α*) Jovinian[4] then was a monk of Rome who had passed from ascetic to luxurious habits, from fasting to dainty fare,[5] and from a coarse coat and a black shirt to fine linen and silk. He then began to teach[6] :

That virgins, widows and married persons, if baptized and equally earnest in conduct, had the same merit, i.e. that virginity is not a higher estate than matrimony.[7]

That those who, with full faith, had been born again in baptism could not be overthrown by the devil ; and, conversely, that baptized persons, who had so fallen away, were *ipso facto* proved to have been baptized with water only and not with the Spirit : for this he quoted 1 *John* iii. 9 and v. 18.[8]

That abstinence from meats is no better than partaking thereof with thanksgiving.[9]

That all who had kept their baptism would have the same reward in the kingdom of heaven ; and, similarly, there would be no degrees but a strict equality in the condition of the lost.[10] Here he revived the old Stoic[11] notion of there being no grades, but an absolute equality between virtues and between vices.

[1] Jerome, *Adv. Iovinianum* [A. D. 392–3] (*Op.* ii. 237–384 ; *P. L.* xxiii. 211–338) ; tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* vi. 346–416 ; and *Epp.* xlviii. 1 [A. D. 392–3] (*Op.* i. 211–41 ; *P. L.* xxii. 493–516) ; tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* vi. 66–82).

[2] Aug. *De Haeresibus*, § 82 (*Op.* viii. 24 ; *P. L.* xlii. 45 sq.), A. D. 428.

[3] The fragments, together with patristic and other references to Jovinian, are given in *Iovinianus*, von W. Halle (*T. und U.*, Neue Folge II, ii : Leipzig, 1897).

[4] Tillemont, *Mém.* x. 224–9 ; Fleury, XIX. xix ; H. H. Milman, *Hist. Chr.* iii. 233 ; Newman, *Church of the Fathers*, c. xv ; Grützmacher, ii. 145 sqq.

[5] Jerome, *Adv. Iov.* ii, § 21 (*Op.* ii. 357 sq. ; *P. L.* xxiii. 315 c).

[6] The four propositions of Jovinian are given by Jerome, *Adv. Iov.* i, § 3, and ii, § 35 (*Op.* ii. 241, 379 ; *P. L.* xxiii. 214 B, 333). They are the first four in the text : see Document No. 143.

[7] Discussed in *Adv. Iov.* i, §§ 4–49 (*Op.* ii. 241–320 ; *P. L.* xxiii. 214–82).

[8] Discussed in *Adv. Iov.* ii, §§ 1–4 (*Op.* ii. 321–9 ; *P. L.* xxiii. 281–90).

[9] Discussed in *Adv. Iov.* ii, §§ 5–17 (*Op.* ii. 329–54 ; *P. L.* xxiii. 290–312.

[10] Discussed in *Adv. Iov.* ii, §§ 18–34 (*Op.* ii. 354–78 ; *P. L.* xxiii. 312–33).

[11] Ibid. ii, § 21 (*Op.* ii. 357 ; *P. L.* xxiii. 315 B).

So far Jerome's evidence; but a fifth opinion is attributed to Jovinian by Ambrose[1] and Augustine,[2] viz. that the virginity of Mary was violated not by her conception of the Lord but by her giving Him birth; whereas the orthodox view represented our Lord as issuing from the 'closed' womb[3] precisely as He passed through closed doors after His resurrection.[4] Jovinian's view differs from this and also from the tenet, less radical than his, associated with the names of Helvidius, 'a disciple of Auxentius and an imitator of Symmachus'[5]; of Bonosus,[6] bishop of Naissus (Nish), condemned after the Synod of Capua,[7] 391–2; and of a sect known as the Antidicomarians[8] (called forth by the extravagances of the Collyridians[9] in devotion to Mary)—all of whom denied not the virginity but the perpetual virginity of our Lady.

(*b*) These opinions Jovinian published at Rome, by way of a timely protest, as he believed, against Manichaeism. For he looked upon the exaggerated value attached by authority to fasting and virginity as a sure sign of the inroads of that creed. According to Jovinian, Catholics in general and Ambrose in particular were Manichaeans.[10] There was considerable sympathy with him in Rome, though he was not known elsewhere. Jerome had done much to make the profession of asceticism deservedly

[1] 'Virgo concepit, sed non virgo generavit': so Jovinian, acc. to Ambrose, *Ep.* xlii, § 4 (*Op.* II. i. 967; *P. L.* xvi. 1125 A), and Document No. 87.

[2] 'Virginitatem Mariae destruebat, dicens eam pariendo fuisse corruptam,' Aug. *De Haeres.*, § 82 (*Op.* viii. 24 B; *P. L.* xlii. 45 sq.).

[3] So Ambrose, relying on Ezek. xliv. 2, as in *Ep.* xlii, § 6 (*Op.* II. i. 967; *P. L.* xvi. 1126 A), 'quia virgo concepit et genuit', and in his hymns, No. iv ('Veni, redemptor gentium'), where verse 2 is of the Virginal Conception, and verse 3 of the Virgin Birth, and No. xii, which runs (verse 1):

> Fit porta Christi pervia,
> Referta plena gratia,
> Transitque Rex et permanet
> Clausa, ut fuit, per saecula.

(*Op.* II. i. 1221, 1224; *P. L.* xvi. 1410, 1412). No. xii is not Ambrose's; but 'présente des expressions authentiquement ambrosiennes' (F. Cabrol, *Dict. d'arch. chr.* i. 1352), specially upon this point.

[4] John xx. 19.

[5] Gennadius, *De vir. illustr.*, § 32 (*P. L.* lviii. 1077 A).

[6] Ambrose, *De inst. virg.*, § 35 (*Op.* ii. 257; *P. L.* xvi. 314).

[7] Hefele, ii. 392.

[8] Epiph. *Haer.* lxxviii (*Op.* ii. 1033–57; *P. G.* xlii. 699–740).

[9] Epiph. *Haer.* lxxix (*Op.* ii. 1057–67; *P. G.* xlii. 739–56).

[10] Ambrose, *Ep.* xlii, §§ 12, 13 (*Op.* ii. 969; *P. L.* xvi. 1128); Jerome, *Adv. Iov.* i, § 35 (*Op.* ii. 244; *P. L.* xxiii. 217 C); Aug. *De nupt. et conc.* ii, §§ 15, 38 (*Op.* x. 308 F, 320 E; *P. L.* xliv. 443, 458); *Contra duas epist. Pel.* i, § 4 (*Op.* x. 413 C: *P. L.* xiiv. 552).

unpopular in the capital; and the feeling against it is traceable in allusions to 'a church made up of true and false confessors'[1] [*sc.* ascetics, as in 'Edward the Confessor'], which occur in such portions of the *Leonine Sacramentary* as may thus run back to the pontificate of Siricius. Jovinian therefore induced many Religious of both sexes in Rome to marry. But he established no hold upon the clergy.[2] For Pammachius, the son-in-law of Paula,[3] brought his book to the notice of Siricius,[4] who thereupon assembled a synod and excommunicated Jovinian with eight adherents.[5] Looking for protection from Theodosius, who was now at Milan, January to June 391, Jovinian hurried thither[6]; but only to find that the pope had warned Ambrose of the sentence against him by a letter in which, while careful not to put any disparagement upon marriage, he condemns the one-sidedness of Jovinian. And not without reason. Jovinian, no doubt, had cause to be afraid of the rising fashion of a formal piety. But he ignored the reality and the sacredness of special calls,[7] as by explaining away the words, 'He that is able to receive it, let him receive it'.[8] He taught that the common salvation was incompatible with degrees of blessedness hereafter, by overlooking the 'many mansions'[9] and dwelling on the penny apiece . . . dealt out to all the labourers alike.[10] As if he held the indefectibility of grace,[11] he gave out that once regenerate, always regenerate; and if, to all seeming, fallen away, then the sacrament in that case must have been baptism with water only and not with the Spirit—a sign, in short, and no sacrament.

(*c*) Not unnaturally Jovinian has been hailed with acclamation

[1] *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, 9, ll. 8, 9 (ed. C. L. Feltoe), and 59 sq., 175; and L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*[4], 142 sqq.

[2] Aug. *De Haer.*, § 82 (*ut sup.*); *Retract.* [A. D. 427], ii, § 22 (*Op.* i. 49 sq.; *P. L.* xxxii. 839).

[3] Pammachius m. Paulina, the second daughter of Paula, Jerome, *Ep.* cviii, § 4 (*Op.* i. 693; *P. L.* xxii. 880).

[4] *Ep.* xlviii, § 2 (*Op.* i. 212; *P. L.* xxii. 494); and Siricius, *Ep.* vii, § 3 (*P. L.* xiii. 1170 sq.).

[5] Ibid., § 4 (*P. L.* xiii. 1171); Hefele, ii. 392.

[6] Ambrose, *Ep.* xlii, § 12 (*Op.* II. i. 969; *P. L.* xvi. 1128 A).

[7] Jerome, *Adv. Iov.* i, § 12 (*Op.* ii. 257; *P. L.* xxiii. 228 A).

[8] Matt. xix. 12

[9] *Adv. Iov.* ii, §§ 19, 28 (*Op.* ii. 356, 368; *P. L.* xxiii. 314 B, 324 B); John xiv. 2.

[10] Ibid., § 32 (*Op.* ii. 374 sq.; *P. L.* xxiii. 329 B, C); Matt. xx. 10; Aug. *De sancta virginitate*, § 26 (*Op.* vi. 353; *P. L.* xl. 410).

[11] For the indefectibility of grace, for which Jovinian's texts were quoted by the reformers, see Calvin, *Institutes*, III. ii. 12, xxiv. 6, 7; *Westminster Confession*, xi. 5, xvii. 1.

as the ' protestant ' [1] of his age. There is nothing to show that he anticipated the reformers of the sixteenth century in what he ' protested for ' ; but he had a kinship with them in what he ' protested against ' [2]—an exaggerated value put upon celibacy and fasting, together with mechanical notions of the sacraments. Unfortunately, in the days of Jovinian as in the days of Luther and Calvin, the leaders of the Church were not free from the temper of hostility displayed by their critic. They met him with authority, not with argument ; he was denounced, but not convinced. For Ambrose repeated the Roman sentence,[3] at the Council of Milan,[4] 391 ; and Pammachius, †409, having now procured two pronouncements in Italy, begged his friend Jerome to intervene.[5] It would be a rare opportunity for Jerome—to champion the cause for which he had done and suffered so much, and that before the public of Rome. In 392 Jerome wrote off two books, *Adversus Iovinianum*[6] ; but they were written with such indiscretion and violence as to damage his own cause. Pammachius was sorry he had called him in, and tried to suppress the work[7] ; while Domnio, another friend of Jerome's, remonstrated with him also.[8] But to no purpose. At length, in order to take the edge off the extravagances of the winning side, which ' had exalted virginity at the expense of matrimony ',[9] Augustine interposed with the *De bono coniugali*,[10] 401, where he ' places in their true light the institution of marriage and its dignity '.[11] Not long afterwards, Jovinian—if indeed it was he—was deported, by order of Honorius, to an island off the coast of Dalmatia, where he died.[12] Such a place of exile, however, is scarcely consistent with Jerome's coarse jeer that ' amid pheasants and pork he belched out, rather than breathed out, his spirit '.[13]

Siricius died 399. His pontificate marks a definite advance in the authority enjoyed by the Roman see. But he himself was overshadowed by his great contemporary, Ambrose.

[1] ' A premature protestant,' H. H. Milman, *Hist. Chr.* iii. 233.
[2] Newman, *Ch. F.* 289.
[3] *Ep.* xlii, § 14 (*Op.* II. i. 969 ; *P. L.* xvi. 1128 B).
[4] Hefele, ii. 392.
[5] Jerome, *Adv. Iov.* i, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 237 ; *P. L.* xxiii. 211 A).
[6] Jerome, *Op.* ii. 237–384 (*P. L.* xxiii. 211–338).
[7] *Ep.* xlix, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 234 ; *P. L.* xxii. 511).
[8] *Ep.* l, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 238 ; *P. L.* xxii. 514).
[9] Aug. *Retract.* ii, § 22 (*Op.* i. 49 sq. ; *P. L.* xxxii. 639).
[10] Aug. *Op.* vi. 319–40 (*P. L.* xl. 373–96).
[11] Bardenhewer, 492.
[12] *Cod. Theod.* xvi. v. 53 ; Duchesne, *Early Hist. Ch.* ii. 562, n. 2.
[13] *Adv. Vigilantium*, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 387 ; *P. L.* xxiii. 340 A).

IV

§ 9. We must now go back five and twenty years to take up the story of Milan during the episcopate of St. Ambrose,[1] 374–†97.

(1) Auxentius, the Arian bishop of Milan, 355–†74, was the last representative in Italy of the traditions of Ariminum. He outlived his opponents, Hilary and Athanasius; and, by the favour of Valentinian I, he was able to maintain himself in the see till his death in 374. There were riots between Arians and Catholics over the choice of a successor; until, to maintain order, Ambrose, the newly appointed governor of north-west Italy, appeared in the church. A child, catching sight of him, cried, 'Ambrose is bishop'; and both parties, as if yielding to higher inspiration, united to elect him.[2] He was the youngest son of high-born Christian parents; and was born at Tr ves, about 340, when his father, also named Ambrose, was Praetorian Prefect of Gaul.[3] The father died while Ambrose was still a boy; and the mother returned, with her three children, to Rome. Such were his abilities that, when only four and thirty, he became, by the favour of Sextus Patronius Probus,[4] who from 368–75 was Praetorian Prefect of Italy, Consular of Aemilia and Liguria with his residence at Milan; and he was still a catechumen when elected to the see. The people would take no refusal[5]; and he was baptized 30 November, and consecrated 7 December 374, within a week.[6] As bishop his first care was to complete his theological education[7]; and, under the guidance[8] of Simplician, a presbyter who afterwards succeeded him,[9] he devoted himself to study specially of

[1] For the life of St. Ambrose see the *Vita* by his secretary, Paulinus, which was written in Africa, *c.* 412–22, at the suggestion of Augustine (§ 1) in *Op.* i (*P. L.* xiv. 27–46); Tillemont, *Mém.* x. 78–306; Fleury, xvii. xxi–xx. xx *passim*; Newman, *Ch. F.* cc. i–iii; W. Bright, *The Roman See*, &c., c. ii. His works are in *P. L.* xiv–xvii; tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* x. His letters tr. *L. F.* xlv, and see Bardenhewer, 431–44.

[2] Paulinus, *Vita*, § 6 (*Op.* i; *P. L.* xiv. 29 A.)

[3] Ibid., § 3 (*Op.* i; *P. L.* xiv. 28 A).

[4] For the 'Stemma Aniciorum' see *Mon. Germ. Hist.* vi. i, p. xci.

[5] *Vita*, §§ 7, 8 (*Op.* i; *P. L.* xiv. 29 sq.); *Ep.* lxiii, § 65 (*Op.* ii. i. 1037; *P. L.* xvi. 1206 C).

[6] *Vita*, § 9 (*Op.* i; *P. L.* xiv. 30 A).

[7] *De officiis*, i, § 4 (*Op.* ii. i. 3; *P. L.* xvi. 25 A).

[8] Ambrose, *Ep.* lxv, § 10 (*Op.* ii. i. 1054; *P. L.* xvi. 1224 C); Aug. *Conf.* viii, § 3 (*Op.* i. 145 F; *P. L.* xxxii. 749).

[9] *Vita*, § 46 (*Op.* i; *P. L.* xiv. 43 A); Gennadius, *De vir. illustr.*, § 36 (*P. L.* lviii. 1078 C). He was a correspondent of Augustine who addresses him in a very flattering letter of about A. D. 397 (*Ep.* xxxvii [*Op.* ii. 81 sq.; *P. L.* xxxiii. 15 sq.]), and in two books, *De diversis questionibus ad Simplicianum* of the same year, in which occur the earliest traces of Augustine's

the Greek Fathers—Clement, Origen, Basil (who wrote to congratulate him on his consecration), and Didymus; while his writings show that he must have read widely in Philo too. Like Cyprian, he distributed his great wealth among the poor.[1] As a pastor, he made himself accessible to every one, and was full of sympathy. As a teacher, his treatment of Baptism, Confirmation, and the Eucharist in the lectures, of uncertain date, entitled *De mysteriis*,[2] is testimony to his diligence. As a preacher, he wielded an extraordinary power, and cultivated men, like Augustine, 'hung upon his lips'.[3] The influence that he exercised upon Emperors was unique. We have already seen how he became father and spiritual guide to Gratian. He wrote for him the *De fide*,[4] 378–80, the *De Spiritu sancto*,[5] 381, and the *De Incarnationis dominicae sacramento*,[6] 382; and when, on the murder of that prince in 383, the Empress Justina, his stepmother, whom he had settled at Milan with a Court for herself and her son, Valentinian II, 383–†92, placed the child in the bishop's hands. Ambrose undertook a mission, in the winter of 383–4, to the usurper Maximus on their behalf. The mission turned out well; and Valentinian II was left in undisturbed possession of Italy, Africa, and Western Illyricum.[7]

§ 10. But Justina was an Arian. She had concealed her sympathies during the lifetime of her husband, Valentinian I. She now avowed them; and, 385–6, made two attempts to obtain a church in Milan where an Arian worship could be celebrated, for herself and the Goths [8] of her Court, by her chaplain—a second Auxentius.[9]

predestinarianism, I. ii, §§ 16, 18 (*Op.* vi. 97–9; *P. L.* xl. 121, 123), and Document No. 161.

[1] *Vita*, § 38 (*Op.* i.; *P. L.* xiv. 40 B); *Ep.* xx, § 8 (*Op.* II. i. 854; *P. L.* xvi. 997 A).

[2] *Op.* II. i. 325–42 (*P.L.* xvi. 389–410); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* x. 317–25, and in 'Early Christian Classics', by T. Thompson and J. H. Srawley (S.P.C.K. 1919).

[3] Aug. *Conf.* v, § 23 (*Op.* i. 118 A; *P. L.* xxxii. 717); *Ep.* cxlvii, § 52 (*Op.* ii. 495 B; *P. L.* xxxiii. 621).

[4] *Op.* II. i. 443–596 (*P. L.* xvi. 527–698); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* x. 201–314.

[5] *Op.* II. i. 599–700 (*P. L.* xvi. 703–816); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* x. 93–158.

[6] *Op.* II. i. 703–30 (*P. L.* xvi. 817–46); on its origin see *Vita*, § 18 (*P. L.* xiv. 33 A, B).

[7] *Ep.* xx, § 23 (*Op.* II. i. 858; *P. L.* xvi. 1001 B).

[8] For the Goths of the army, see ibid., §§ 9, 16, 20 (*Op.* II. i. 855–7; *P. L.* xvi. 997 A, 998 C, 1000 A), and of the Court, § 12 (*Op.* II. i. 855; *P. L.* xvi. 997 C).

[9] There was an anti-Ambrosian ring in Milan consisting of (1) the friends of the late bishop Auxentius, clergy and others, attached to the creed of Ariminum; (2) Ursinus, the anti-pope, who fished in these troubled waters,

(1) Justina's first attempt belongs to 385; and the story of it has special interest for the light that it throws not only on the Church-life of the time but on the liturgical customs of Milan at that date. In Milan,[1] as elsewhere, the earliest Christian churches were connected with the cemeteries outside the walls. One of them was S. Victor ad Corpus, west-south-west of the city, marking a spot connected with St. Victor who, during the episcopate of Myrocles, bishop of Milan 304–†15, suffered in the Diocletian persecution. It is now represented by the sixteenth-century church of S. Vittore al Corpo, but was known, in the days of St. Ambrose, as the Portian basilica. On Thursday in Passion Week, 3 April 385, Ambrose was summoned to the place, and required to give it up[2]; but, supported by the townsfolk who were Catholics,[3] he refused. Next day Counts of the Consistory came to demand 'the new basilica, that is, the one within the walls, which is the larger'[4]—apparently one of the two Cathedral churches[5] which Milan possessed at this time. The older and smaller was the church of St. Thecla, demolished in 1548 to enlarge the Piazza del Duomo. The other, which was 'new' in the time of St. Ambrose and occupied the site of the present Cathedral, was on this Friday in Passion Week, 4 April, the church in question.[6] 'I replied, as a matter of course,' writes Ambrose, in the letter to his sister, Marcellina,[7] which is the

Ep. xi, § 3 (*Op.* II. i. 811; *P. L.* xvi. 945 B, C); (3) Julianus Valens, the Arian rival to Mark, the Catholic bishop of Petavio (Pettau, in Styria). Valens was half-Goth, and wore the collar and bracelets of his kinsfolk, and was a refugee at the Court of Milan, *Ep.* x, § 9 (*Op.* II. i. 809; *P. L.* xvi. 943 A); and (4) Mercurianus, who took the name of Auxentius, after the late bishop, by way of holding his party together. He is probably to be identified with Auxentius, bishop of Dorostorum (Silistria, on the lower Danube), Ambrose, *Sermo contra Auxentium* [A. D. 386], § 22 (*Op.* II. i. 869; *P. L.* xvi. 1013 sq.); and was a refugee, no doubt, because Theodosius would not have an Arian bishop in his part of the Empire.

[1] See the article 'Ambrosienne (Basilique)' and map, 'Emplacement de la communauté primitive des fidèles à Milan', in F. Cabrol, *Dict. d'arch. chr.* i. 1442 sqq.

[2] Ambrose, *Sermo c. Auxentium*, § 18 (*Op.* II. i. 868; *P. L.* xvi. 1012 C).

[3] *Ep.* xx, § 6 (*Op.* II. i. 853 sq.; *P. L.* xvi. 996 A).

[4] *Ep.* xx, §§ 1, 2 (*Op.* II. i. 853; *P. L.* xvi. 994 C).

[5] For 'les deux cathédrales' and a map of 'Les églises principales et baptistères de Milan', see F. Cabrol, *Dict. d'arch. chr.* i. 1381 sq., s.v. 'Ambrosien (Rit)': 'Ce qui est particulier [au rit milanais], c'est que la liturgie, outre le baptistère, suppose deux églises comme centre du culte,' ibid. 1381.

[6] i. e. 'basilica maior' (ibid. 1385) contrasted with 'ecclesiae basilica minor' of *Ep.* xx, § 24 (*Op.* II. i. 857; *P. L.* xvi. 1001 C).

[7] *Ep.* xx (*Op.* II. i. 852–9; *P. L.* xvi. 994–1002), and Document No. 106.

authority for these scenes, 'that a bishop could not give up the house of God'. On Saturday, 5 April, Neoterius, the Praetorian Prefect of Italy came, and harked back to the demand for the Portian basilica,[1] probably by way of compromise and for fear of the people. Then came Palm Sunday, 6 April, when, 'having dismissed the catechumens after lessons and sermon', the bishop 'was explaining the creed to some candidates for baptism in the baptistery of the church'. News was brought that officials from the palace were claiming the Portian basilica for the Treasury by the usual method of putting up the Imperial hangings about it. 'But', says Ambrose, 'I continued my ministrations, and began to say Mass.'[2] It is the earliest instance of the use of the term for the Eucharistic service as a whole; for he goes on to speak of an attack that was made on an Arian priest 'while I was offering' and 'making the oblation'.[3] On Monday in Holy Week, 7 April, the tradesmen of Milan were fined and imprisoned.[4] On Tuesday, the 8th, some Counts and Tribunes came to interview the bishop, and urged him 'to give up the basilica without delay, declaring that the Emperor was within his rights, as everything belonged to him'. 'Sacred things', was the reply, 'are not subject to the power of the Emperor.' The interview took place in 'the old basilica', apparently the pre-Ambrosian church of St. Thecla, to the west of the Duomo, or the smaller of the two Cathedral basilicas; and, in the evening, Ambrose 'went home to sleep', after spending the day in the church.[5] Next day, 9 April, Wednesday in Holy Week, he was there again (for the 'new' basilica was surrounded with soldiers)[6]; and, during the lessons from Job, they began to enter the 'basilica minor', or old church of St. Thecla, as they said, for prayer, but much to the alarm of the women in the congregation.[7] Ambrose began to preach on the trials of Job,[8] without taking notice of a request for his presence in the 'new basilica' (on the other side of the Piazza del Duomo), which was now filling with people. Recalling

[1] *Ep.* xx, § 3.

[2] Ibid., § 4. This *Traditio Symboli*, according to the non-Roman rite of the West, took place on Palm Sunday, Duchesne, *Chr. Worship*[5], 319, n. 1. At Rome, on Wednesday of the third week in Lent, H. A. Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, 53; Duchesne, 300 sq. The Mass is so called because it succeeded the dismissal (*Missa=missio*) of the catechumens.

[3] *Ep.* xx, § 5.

[4] 'Corpus omne mercatorum,' ibid., § 6. It is their official title in the Inscriptions, F. Cabrol, *Dict. d'arch. chr.* i. 1385.

[5] Ibid., §§ 8–10. [6] Ibid., § 11. [7] Ibid., § 13. [8] Ibid., § 41.

the command, 'Render therefore unto Caesar the things that are Caesars and unto God the things that are Gods', 'palaces', he reiterated, 'belong to the Emperor, but the churches are the bishop's'.[1] Thereupon news arrived that the Imperial hangings in the 'new' church were being taken down, and that 'his presence was required' again. Taking advantage of the *sortes liturgice*, he continued: 'Remember, brethren, what was read at Mattins, and how we responded "O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance"'[2]—with an allusion to the Gothic soldiery. But he refused to go out, for fear of exciting the crowd; and sent presbyters instead, as it seems, to the 'new' basilica.[3] Then a Secretary came with a mandate, and charged him with domineering. He repudiated the charge; and, meanwhile, the boys tore up the Imperial hangings in the streets. So the day ended; and Ambrose 'recited the psalms with the brethren in the little basilica belonging to the church', i.e. in the basilica of St. Thecla, where he spent the night.[4] Next day, 10 April, was Maundy Thursday; and the next, 11 April, Good Friday, was in Milan the solemn day for the absolving of penitents.[5] The book of Jonah was being read,[6] and Ambrose was applying the lessons to the situation of the moment, when tidings were brought that the Emperor had withdrawn the soldiers, and restored the tradesmen's fines. A scene of tumultuous joy ensued,[7] and the first attempt of Justina collapsed. Valentinian could not dissemble his indignation. 'You would deliver me up to chains', he exclaimed, 'if Ambrose bade you'[8]; and the Provost of the Sacred Bedchamber took up the defence of his master: 'You despise Valentinian', he said to St. Ambrose, 'while I am alive? I'll have your head.' 'God grant', was the rejoinder, 'you may fulfil your threat! I shall suffer as becomes a bishop: and you will act as befits an eunuch.'[9] But nothing came of the threats of Calligonus; and, from Easter, 385, to the end of the year all was quiet. Ambrose rested his refusal to give up the churches simply on the basis of the Divine law. He made no appeal to any law of the Empire. There was none. But the Empress was determined to have human law on her side.

[1] *Ep.* xx, § 19. [2] Ib., § 20; Ps. lxxix. 1. [3] *Ep.* xx, § 22. [4] Ib., § 24.
[5] Ibid., § 26. The ceremonies of 'the Indulgence' were part of a long office distributed over Maundy Thursday and Good Friday, Duchesne, *Chr. Worship*, 442 sq.
[6] Ibid., § 25. [7] Ibid., § 26. [8] Ibid., § 27. [9] Ibid., § 28.

(2) And hence Justina's second attempt, 386. At the suggestion of Auxentius, who exalted the decisions of Ariminum and rebaptized converts from the Catholic Church, she persuaded her son, by the edict *Damus copiam*[1] of 23 January 386 to make it a capital offence, in any one, either by overt act or privately by petition, to attempt anything against the assemblies of those who held to that Council. The edict was hardly, as Ambrose described it, 'an edict of blood'[2]; though it might be interpreted oppressively. And, perhaps, it was because he foresaw how it might be used for oppression, that Benevolus, the Secretary of State who was commissioned to draft it, flung down his insignia of office at the feet of the Empress rather than accept the task.[3] Then who should intervene on behalf of the oppressed Catholics but Maximus the usurper of Gaul? For he sent a letter to the Court of Milan not obscurely hinting his intention of championing their cause.[4] Justina was, indeed, to have but short shrift; for the present, however, she persisted in her purpose of getting possession of the Portian basilica. In March 386 she sent a Tribune named Dalmatius to Ambrose, with a summons to appear before the Imperial Consistory, and there dispute with Auxentius, in the presence of Valentinian as arbitrator, on the issue between Arians and Catholics[5]: otherwise he might leave Milan.[6] Ambrose consulted some of his colleagues[7]; and then wrote in reply the famous letter to Valentinian saying that he would neither plead nor leave the city.[8] Taking his stand on the rescript[9] of Valentinian I that was issued in 367 after the disputes over the election of Damasus, he bade the boy on the throne to be true to 'the opinion of that great Emperor' his father.[10] 'When was it ever heard, most gracious Sovereign, that, in a question of faith, laymen should be judges of a bishop? . . . If a conference is to be held on a matter of faith, it ought to be a conference of bishops.'[11] . . . As for appearing in the Consistory, 'I have never learned how to stand up there, except in your Majesty's behalf'.[12]

[1] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. i. 4.
[2] *Sermo c. Auxent.*, §§ 24, 28 (*Op.* II. i. 870, 871; *P. L.* xvi. 1014 C, 1016 A).
[3] Sozomen, *H. E.* VII. xiii, §§ 5–7.
[4] Maximus, *Ep. ad. Val. II*; *Coll. Avell.* XXXIX, §§ 3, 4, 7 (*C. S. E. L.* XXXV. i. 88); Hodgkin, *Italy*, &c., I. ii. 458.
[5] Ambrose, *Ep.* XXI, § 1 (*Op.* II. i. 860; *P. L.* xvi. 1003 A).
[6] *Sermo*, § 1 (*Op.* II. i. 864; *P. L.* xvi. 1007 C).
[7] *Ep.* XXI, §§ 13, 17 (*Op.* II. i. 862 sq.; *P. L.* xvi. 1005 B, 1006 B).
[8] *Ep.* XXI (*Op.* II. i. 860–4; *P. L.* xvi. 1002–7).
[9] Ibid., § 2. [10] Ibid., § 3. [11] Ibid., § 4. [12] Ibid., § 20.

It was a reminder of the debt which Valentinian owed him for his mission, 383–4, to the Court of Maximus; and he concluded by offering 'this remonstrance . . . to the most clement Emperor . . . Valentinian'.[1] The order of what followed on the receipt of the letter is a little uncertain; but, apparently, the Court renewed its request that Ambrose should give up the Portian basilica, or, at any rate, the altar-vessels.[2] 'No.' 'Then leave Milan.'[3] 'Impossible.' He must throw all responsibility for a separation between himself and his church upon the Government. Expecting the worst, he took up his lodging within the precincts of 'the new basilica'—now the Duomo—and then called the Roman basilica because it was situated near the Porta Romana, on the road to Rome.[4] Crowds of the faithful were with him: among them, Monnica,[5] waiting, as they thought, to see the end. Soldiers were sent, as before, to surround the church,[6] and prevent the Catholics holding service there; but they were Christian, and afraid of excommunication. They let the people in. But they would not let them out.[7] Ambrose and his flock therefore were blockaded within the Cathedral, and the agitation and distress of the congregation were intense. 'Let Auxentius take himself off, with that law of his.'—'The bishop's going to leave us.'—'There's a carriage at the door to take him away.'[8]—To calm their excitement, Ambrose set them to sing the Psalms antiphonally, thus introducing to the West a custom which had already established itself in the East,[9] and was soon to serve the same purpose on a similar occasion at Antioch. But he also added hymns of his own[10]; and so the blockade became an epoch in the history of the music of the Western Church. Twelve of these are printed with the works of Ambrose,[11] and are acknowledged

[1] *Ep.* xxi, § 21. [2] *Sermo*, § 5 (*Op.* II. i. 865; *P. L.* xvi. 1008 C).
[3] Ibid., § 15 (*Op.* II. i. 867; *P. L.* xvi. 1011 C).
[4] *Ep.* xxii, § 1 (*Op.* II. i. 874 B; *P. L.* xvi. 1019 B), and map in F. Cabrol, *Dict. d'arch. chr.* i. 1383.
[5] Aug. *Conf.* ix, § 15 (*Op.* i. 162 F; *P. L.* xxxii. 779), and Document No. 170.
[6] *Sermo*, § 4 (*Op.* II. i. 864; *P. L.* xvi. 1008 B).
[7] Ibid., § 10 (*Op.* II. i. 866; *P. L.* xvi. 1010 A); *Vita*, § 13 (*Op.* i; *P. L.* xiv. 31 C).
[8] Ibid., § 15 (*Op.* II. i. 867; *P. L.* xvi. 1011 C).
[9] Aug. *Conf.* ix, § 15, x, § 50 (*Op.* i. 162 F, 187 sq.; *P. L.* xxxii. 779, 800), and Document No. 170.
[10] *Sermo*, § 34 (*Op.* II. i. 873; *P. L.* xvi. 1017 sq.), and Document No. 107.
[11] *Op.* II. i. 1219–24 (*P. L.* xvi. 1409–12); and for a discussion of them, see F. Cabrol, *Dict. d'arch. chr.* i. 1348. The writer admits the first four, among them No. 2, *Deus, creator omnium*, of which Aug. says that it consoled him for the loss of his mother (*Conf.* ix, § 32; *Op.* i. 169; *P. L.* xxxii. 777), and

by the Benedictine editors to be genuine. Some of them, perhaps, were composed for the occasion ; but they are all of that strongly theological character, whether in praise of the Trinity or in thanksgiving for the great things of God, which would have put heart into Catholics besieged by Arians and which afterwards distinguished the metrical hymnody of the West. Then Ambrose preached the *Sermo contra Auxentium de basilicis tradendis*.[1] 'I see', he began, 'that you are in an unusual state of excitement.'[2] Referring to St. Peter in prison,[3] one Easter long ago, he told them the celebrated story of the *Domine, quo vadis?*[4] by way of assuring them that he, too, was ready to suffer. Then he went on to the lessons of the day, about Naboth, who would not surrender 'the inheritance of his fathers',[5] and to the Triumphal Entry[6] where he compares the money-changers to the Arian bishop 'who would sell the simple minds of the faithful'.[7] It was Palm Sunday,[8] 29 March 386. Then follows an account of Auxentius[9] ; and he ends by reaffirming the principle on which he had taken his stand throughout, that 'the Emperor is within the Church, not over the Church'.[10] Certainly, Valentinian was no match for the Church as represented by Ambrose. For quite suddenly the Court drew back, and the troops were withdrawn. The archbishop was left free to dedicate a new[11] church, the ninth-century successor of which is still there to bear the name of S. Ambrogio.[12] With its consecration is connected the discovery, and translation thither, of the relics of St. Gervasius and St. Protasius, 17–19 June. The miracles which attended them, and are attested by Ambrose,[13] Augustine,[14] and the archbishop's biographer,

No. 4, *Veni, Redemptor gentium* (at second vespers on Christmas Day), the opening verse of which, ending 'Talis decet partus Deum', was quoted, Aug. 430, at the Council of Rome by pope Coelestine in support of Cyril's doctrine of Θεοτόκος in the Nestorian controversy : see Coelestine, *Ep. x* (*P. L.* li. 457 B). The writer then discusses eight more, not seriously doubted, including *Aeterna Christi munera* (for Apostles and Evangelists, at Mattins). For their place in the Breviary see P. Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, 136 sqq. For collections see C. Blume and G. M. Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, l. [=*Hymnographi Latini*] 10–21 ; J. Mearns, *Early Latin Hymnaries*, an index of hymns before 1100 ; and H. Lietzmann, *Lateinische altkirchliche Poesie* ('Kleine Texte', No. 47/49, Bonn, 1910).

[1] *Op.* II. i. 863–74 (*Op.* II. i. 1007–18). [2] Ibid., § 1. [3] Ibid., § 12. [4] Ibid., § 13. [5] Ibid., § 17 ; 1 Kings xxi. 3. [6] Ibid., § 19. [7] Ibid., § 21. [8] Ibid., § 8. [9] Ibid., § 22. [10] Ibid., § 36.

[11] *Ep.* xxii, § 1 (*Op.* II. i. 874 ; *P. L.* xvi. 1019 B).

[12] For a full account of it, see F. Cabrol, *Dict. d'arch. chr.* i. 1446 sqq.

[13] *Ep.* xxii, § 2 (*Op.* II. i. 874 ; *P. L.* xvi. 1019 sqq.) ; Newman, *Ch. F.*, c. iii.

[14] Aug. *Conf.* ix, § 16 (*Op.* i. 163 A, B ; *P. L.* xxxii. 770) ; *Ep.* cclxxxvi, § 4 (*Op.* v. 1150 A, B ; *P. L.* xxxviii. 1299) ; *De civ. Dei*, XXII. viii § 2 (*Op.* vii. 663 E, F; *P. L.* xli. 701).

Paulinus,[1] were at least sufficient to dispel all further danger from the Court. But Maximus also put an end to its power for mischief. He was now preparing to advance upon Italy, and in the character of a champion of orthodoxy.[2] At the request of Justina, now no persecutor of Ambrose but once more his suppliant, the bishop undertook a second mission[3] to the usurper, May 387; but, this time, without success. He refused the kiss of peace proffered by Maximus,[4] and he declined to communicate with bishops 'who communicated with Maximus', the murderer of Gratian, or 'who persecuted to death some persons erring though they were from the faith',[5] i.e. the Priscillianists. He could not away with what he called 'the bloody triumphs of bishops'.[6] But these were the prelates that surrounded Maximus; and they procured a peremptory order that Ambrose should leave Trèves.[7] In August the troops of Maximus were crossing the Alps by the Col de Genèvre[8]; but Ambrose, on his way back, had warned the Court of Milan, in a letter to Valentinian, of the danger now afoot.[9] Milan, moreover, was a disaffected city. Early in September, therefore, Justina and her son took flight to Aquileia; and thence by sea to Thessalonica, where they implored the aid of Theodosius.[10] Next spring, the Eastern Emperor began to prepare for the struggle. He defeated Maximus, and put him to death, near Aquileia, 28 July 388.[11] Justina died about this time; and did not live to see the whole Empire of the West restored to her son, Valentinian II, in August. But, as she lay dying, she would reflect how Theodosius, who had become her son-in-law by marriage with her beautiful daughter Galla,[12] the sister of Valentinian, had

[1] *Vita*, § 14 (*Op.* I. i; *P. L.* xiv. 31 sq.).
[2] See his letters to Valentinian and to Siricius in *Coll. Avell.*, Nos. 39, 40 (*C. S. E. L.* xxxv. i. 88–91); Hodgkin, *Italy*[2], I. ii. 458.
[3] Ambrose, *Ep.* xxiv (*Op.* II. i. 888–91; *P. L.* xvi. 1035–9).
[4] Ibid., § 3. [5] Ibid., § 12.
[6] *Ep.* xxvi, § 3 (*Op.* II. i. 894; *P. L.* xvi. 1042 C).
[7] *Ep.* xxiv, § 12. [8] Hodgkin, *Italy*[2], &c. I. ii. 460, n. 1.
[9] *Ep.* xxiv, § 13 (*Op.* II. i. 891; *P. L.* xvi. 1039 B).
[10] Hodgkin, *Italy*[2], &c. I. ii. 463.
[11] Socr. *H. E.* v. xiv, § 1, says 27 Aug., but there is some doubt about this.
[12] Galla was one of the three daughters of Valentinian I and Justina, the other two being Justa and Grata, Socr. *H. E.* IV. xxxi, § 17. She was married to Theodosius, ? 386–8, and died 394. Justina was one of the most beautiful women of her time, but in Galla she had a daughter even lovelier than herself. When Galla, the much-loved wife (Gibbon, c. xxvii, nn. 76, 114) of Theodosius, besought him to avenge the murder of one brother, Gratian, and the spoliation of another, Valentinian II, he could not resist her, Hodgkin, *Italy*[2], &c. I. ii. 464.

'gently admonished her that the guilt of heresy was sometimes punished in this world as well as in the next'.

§ 11. While Ambrose was still in conflict with Justina, there stood among his hearers—perhaps on those two memorable Palm Sundays of 385–6—a young man who had lately come to Milan as professor of Rhetoric, and was to exercise an influence over the Christian world greater and more lasting than his own. His name was Augustine, 354–†430.

Augustine[1] was born at Thagaste,[2] an insignificant town of Numidia, 13 November[3] 354; and for his life to his conversion we have abundant information in the first nine books of his *Confessions*.[4] They were written *c.* 400; and they are matchless among autobiographies because, by 'confessions' he meant, as did St. Patrick,[5] not so much the setting down of his past as the setting forth of the praises of God for His hand shown in it.[6] Augustine would prove, out of his personal experience, the truth of a conclusion laid down at the beginning: 'It is a joy to praise Thee; for Thou hast created us unto Thyself, and our heart finds no rest until it rests in Thee.'[7] His father, Patricius, was one of the respectable citizens of Thagaste,[8] but a heathen; and became a Christian[9] only a short time before his death,[10] 371. Monnica,[11] 331–†87, his mother, came of a Christian family, and was a pattern of Christian holiness.[12] Augustine tells us of his boyish love of play instead of lessons[13]; how he loved his Virgil[14] but hated Greek,[15] a hatred which, in after-years, told with bad

[1] See the *Vita* in Aug. *Op.* xi. 1–492, and *P. L.* xxxii. 65–578; Tillemont, *Mém.* xiii; Newman, *Ch. F.*, c. xiii; W. Bright, *Lessons*, &c. 109–83; and for the literary history of his works, *Retractationes* [A. D. 427] (*Op.* i. 1–64; *P. L.* xxxii. 583–656); Bardenhewer, 473–508.

[2] *Conf.* ii, § 5 (*Op.* i. 83 B; *P. L.* xxxii. 677).

[3] Aug. *De beata vita*, § 6 (*Op.* i. 300 A; *P. L.* xxxii. 962).

[4] Aug. *Op.* i. 69–244 (*P. L.* xxxii. 659–868); tr. *L. F.*, vol. i, and by C. Bigg in 'The Library of Devotion' (7th ed., Methuen, 1909). For the remainder of his life we are indebted to his lifelong friend and disciple, Possidius, bishop of Calama 397–†437, who wrote his *Vita* in 432; q. v. in Aug. *Op.* x, App. 257–80, and *P. L.* xxxii. 33–66. Possidius begins where the Confessions leave off.

[5] St. Patrick, *Confessio*, § 3, *ap. Libri S. Patricii*, p. 6, ed. N. J. D. White (S.P.C.K. 1918).

[6] *Conf.* v, § 1.

[7] Ibid. i, § 1.

[8] Ibid. ii, § 5.

[9] Ibid. ii, § 6.

[10] Ibid. iii, § 7.

[11] Ibid. ix, §§ 17–22; Tillemont, *Mém.* viii. 455–78; *Vita*, II. xii (*Op.* xi. 77–85; *P. L.* xxxii. 144–52).

[12] *Conf.* v, § 17.

[13] Ibid. i, § 15.

[14] Ibid. i, §§ 20–2.

[15] Ibid. i, § 23.

effect upon his theology.[1] He bemoans his youthful escapades: how, with a lot of bad companions, he robbed a pear-tree, not because he wanted the pears—for he had plenty, and much better ones[2]—but 'from the full-fed insolence of sin'.[3] He was then in his sixteenth year[4]—wild, but clever. As a child, he had learned the elements[5] at Thagaste; then he had been sent, for Literature and Rhetoric, to the neighbouring Madaura[6]: at the end of 369 a well-to-do friend of the family, Romanianus,[7] sent him up, as a poor youth, to the University of Carthage.[8]

At Carthage he fell into vicious ways; and he was not yet eighteen when, in the summer of 372, his son Adeodatus, †388, was born. Ambitious of success at the African bar, he soon rose high in the school of Rhetoric.[9] But, when lectures were over, he would go about with a 'fast set'—'the Wreckers', as they called themselves—though he took no part in their doings; for 'they made wanton attacks upon shy freshmen' and 'ragged' their rooms.[10] In his nineteenth year, 372–3, the course of his reading brought him across the *Hortensius* of Cicero—a treatise now lost, but for a few fragments on the praise of wisdom. 'That book', he says, 'changed my mind . . . . Thenceforth began my upward way . . . for not to sharpen my tongue did I pore over that book.' So he began to look for truth instead of for charm of style[11]: and having 'never forgotten "the name of Christ" which I had sucked in with my mother's milk',[12] he took to reading the Scriptures. But he found them 'far inferior to the dignity of Tully',[13] and gave up the attempt. Then he fell a victim

[1] e. g. (1) he translated *ἐφ' ᾧ* of Rom. v. 12 by 'In quo', and commented 'Hoc propagationis est, non imitationis', *De pecc. merit.* i, § 10 (*Op.* x. 7 C, D; *P. L.* xliv. 115). The comment may be right, but the Greek will not bear it; on it, see the essay on 'St. Augustine as an interpreter', by R. C. Trench, in *St. Aug. and the Sermon on the Mount*[4], 121, n. 3; and (2) 'Quid est enim aliud "iustificati" [Rom. iv. 5] quam iusti facti?' *De Sp. et litt.*, § 45 (*Op.* x. 109 E; *P. L.* xliv. 228). But 'justify' in St. Paul means '*treat* as righteous', not '*make* righteous', and Augustine fails to preserve St. Paul's distinction between 'justification' and 'sanctification'.

[2] *Conf.* ii, § 12. [3] Ibid. ii, § 9.

[4] Ibid. ii, § 4. [5] Ibid. i, § 14. [6] Ibid. ii, § 5.

[7] *Contra Academicos*, ii, § 3 (*Op.* i. 262 F; *P. L.* xxxii. 920).

[8] *Conf.* iii, § 1. [9] Ibid. iii, § 1. [10] Ibid. iii, § 6, and Document No. 164.

[11] 'Neque locutionem, sed quod loquebatur,' ibid. iii, § 7, and Document No. 164. [12] Ibid. iii, § 8.

[13] Ibid. iii, § 9. Clement and Origen were also tried by what they thought the vulgarity of Scripture: see C. Bigg, *The Conf. of St. Aug.*, preface, p. 14. Tatian, on the other hand, was attracted by their simplicity, but he was an Assyrian, not a Greek, and lived in the second century, not the fourth, when taste had become florid.

to Manichaeism; for it caught him 'on the rebound'.[1] It flattered his academic pride by assuring him that he was under no necessity to believe the Hebrew Scriptures. And it condoned his lust by its teaching that sin, being an illusion, he was not responsible for his evil life.[2] For nine years,[3] 373–82, he was spellbound by it. He was just at the age when, as he afterwards reminded Honoratus, a friend whom he had perverted and was trying to recover from Manichaeism, its fascinations were at their strongest. For it scoffed at Catholics for putting faith before reason. '*We* don't ask any one to believe without having first investigated and unravelled the truth.'[4] And it held out the promise, which the Church has never pretended to make, of clear and absolute knowledge,[5] especially of such problems as the origin of evil.[6] 'Boyishly proud, then, of having found his way to a rational religion, he began to take a mischievous pleasure in puzzling simple folk with Manichaean objections,[7] and perverted three of his friends to the same misbelief'[8]—Alypius,[9] afterwards bishop of Thagaste, 403–†29, Romanianus[10] his patron, and Honoratus.[11]

At twenty-one he returned, as it would seem, to Thagaste,[12] 375, and began to teach grammar. Monnica, mother-like, tried to set a bishop at him; but the old man was too wise. To reason with the lad, he said, would but harden him in the pride of his supposed discovery. 'Leave him alone: only, go on praying for him. It cannot be that the son of those tears should perish.'[13] So Monnica had to wait, and to see her son leave Thagaste, which had become distasteful to him because of the death of a friend.[14]

About 378 he returned to Carthage as professor of Rhetoric.[15] The change revived his spirits.[16] He won a prize for declamation: though 'the head which received the crown from Vindicianus[17] the proconsul, was still too disordered' to be convinced by him of the follies of astrology,[18] so dear to Manichees. He was now

[1] Bigg, preface, p. 19. [2] *Conf.* v, § 18. [3] Ibid. iv, § 1.
[4] Aug. *De utilitate credendi* [A. D. 391], § 2 (*Op.* viii. 46; *P. L.* xlii. 66), and Documents i, No. 213.
[5] *Conf.* iii, § 10. [6] Ibid. iii, § 12, vii, § 17. [7] Ibid. iii, § 21.
[8] Bright, *Lessons*, &c. 118. [9] *Conf.* vi, § 12.
[10] *Contra Acad.* i, § 3 (*Op.* i. 251 B; *P. L.* xxxii. 907).
[11] *De util. cred.*, § 2 (*Op.* viii. 46 D; *P. L.* xlii. 66).
[12] *Conf.* iii, § 19. [13] Ibid. iii, § 21. [14] Ibid. iv, §§ 7–9.
[15] Ibid. iv, § 12. [16] Ibid. iv, § 13. [17] Ibid. vii, § 8. [18] Ibid. iv, §§ 5, 6.

a 'Hearer'[1]; and it was the inconsistent lives of their 'Elect' that led him first to sit loose to the system.[2] Moreover, he could not reconcile parts of it with what he knew of physical fact.[3] For a time, *c.* 380, his thoughts were turned away to meditating and writing *De pulchro et apto*,[4] 'on the Fair and the Fitting'. But the difficulties of Manichaeism would come back; only, all would be put right, they assured him, when Faustus, the celebrated Manichaean bishop,[5] should pay his long-expected visit.[6] At last, they met in the autumn of 382. Augustine found him—not, indeed, a quack, for he was modest enough to own to ignorance now and then[7]—but an ill-educated and superficial fellow—all mother-wit and glib tongue[8]—who could not answer his questions. The spell of Manichaeism began to break. It could not give the universal knowledge to which it pretended.[9] Disappointed then with Manichaeism—'It fell dead as soon as I came across Faustus'[10]—and vexed with the unruliness of his pupils, he determined to seek work in Rome: not for higher fees, he says, nor for greater dignity, but because the undergraduates there were not so rowdy. They did not burst noisily into class-rooms. Indeed, they were not admitted at all without the permission of the lecturer.[11]

In Rome he spent about a year, 383–4, associating provisionally with the Manichaeans, who were strong there, but inclining to the scepticism of the Academics.[12] He was, in fact, for a time an agnostic. But the activity of the human mind and its great capacities forbade him to think that truth was undiscoverable.[13] The way to it, then, must be by Revelation. 'Begin by acknowledging a God, and you will see that a Revelation is to be expected.'[14] This he now accepted: the only question was, Where was the true one? But he did not discover the answer to it in Rome. He was ill there,[15] in the summer of 383; and he

[1] *Contra Fortunatum* [A. D. 392], § 3 (*Op.* viii. 94 B; *P. L.* xlii. 113).
[2] *De moribus Manichaeorum*, § 68 (*Op.* i. 740 D; *P. L.* xxxii. 1374).
[3] *Conf.* v, § 6. [4] Ibid. iv, §§ 21–7. [5] Ibid. v, § 3.
[6] Ibid. v, § 10. [7] Ibid. v, § 12. [8] Ibid. v, § 11.
[9] Aug. *De actis cum Felice Manichaeo* [A. D. 404], i, § 9 (*Op.* viii. 477 A; *P. L.* xlii. 525).
[10] *Conf.* v, § 13. [11] Ibid. v, § 14. [12] Ibid. v, §§ 18–20.
[13] *De util. cred.*, § 20 (*Op.* viii. 57 F; *P. L.* xlii. 78), and Document No. 159.
[14] Ibid., §§ 21, 34 (*Op.* viii. 58 C, 67 sq.; *P. L.* xlii. 79, 89 sq.), and Document No. 159; and, for modern expositions of this truth, see J. H. Newman, *University Sermons*[3], 239 sq., and H. P. Liddon, *Advent Sermons*, i. 194.
[15] *Conf.* v, §§ 16, 17.

had not found the Roman undergraduates all that he expected. True, there were no 'Wreckers' among them, as at Carthage, to 'rag' the lecture-rooms. But they had their own little ways of making themselves unpleasant to the Dons. They would not pay their fees.[1] Just at this juncture Milan wanted a professor of Rhetoric; and wrote to Symmachus, now Prefect of the City, to send them one. Augustine's Manichaean friends made application for him; and Symmachus gave him the appointment.[2]

In the spring of 384, then—ten years after the consecration of Ambrose as bishop and a year before the first breach with Justina—Augustine came to Milan. Attracted by the personality of Ambrose, and by the charm of his preaching, though critical, as yet, of the truth which he taught, he began to draw away openly from Manichaeism. He found in the bishop's use of allegorism the answer to 'one difficulty after another' in the Old Testament[3]: and so he resumed his old position of a catechumen of the Church.[4] Misconceptions of its teaching, e.g. that it held an anthropomorphic doctrine of God,[5] still clung to his mind. But slowly his intellectual and speculative difficulties disappeared—the last to go being questionings as to the origin of evil.[6] There remained but one hindrance, his youthful sins which found him out.[7] They hindered his conversion because he felt that the Christian Faith is not only a creed but a law of life. Meanwhile, Monnica had followed her son to Milan. She was rejoiced to find him no longer a Manichaean; and she expressed her confidence that she would live to see him a faithful Catholic.[8] Still, he would not commit himself; though now he saw Truth as well as Charm in the sermons of Ambrose. So he went to consult Simplicianus,[9] then the spiritual father [10] of the archbishop, and afterwards his successor. Simplicianus told him the story of the conversion of Victorinus, June 362, which made a profound impression upon him [11]; and profounder still was the effect of a visit paid at the house,

[1] *Conf.* v, § 22, and Document No. 165.
[2] Ibid. v, § 23, and Document No. 165.
[3] Ibid. v, § 24, and Document No. 166.
[4] Ibid. v, § 25, and Document No. 166.
[5] Ibid. v, § 20; and for this change of view, from Manichaean to Catholic conceptions about God, see also *De moribus eccl. Cath.*, §§ 16, 17 (*Op.* i. 693 sq.; *P. L.* xxxii. 1317 sq.); *De beata vita*, § 4 (*Op.* i. 299 B; *P. L.* xxxii. 962); *Sermo*, xxiii, § 5 (*Op.* v. 123 sq.; *P. L.* xxxviii. 157); *De util. cred.*, § 13 (*Op.* viii. 53 sq.; *P. L.* xlii. 74).
[6] *Conf.* vii, §§ 7, 11. [7] Ibid. vi, § 25, vii, § 23. [8] Ibid. vi, § 1.
[9] Ibid. viii, § 1. [10] Ibid. viii, § 3. [11] Ibid. viii, §§ 3–5.

where he and Alypius were lodging, by Pontitianus, an official of rank in the Imperial Household.[1] Pontitianus, to his surprise, found a volume of St. Paul on Augustine's table. The latter had to confess that he now spent much time on the Apostle; and his guest was led on to speak of Antony and the monastic life; as he knew it in Milan, and as he had seen it at Trèves, drawing his own friend, in the office of the Ministry of the Interior,[2] from worldly ways. The story pricked Augustine to the heart. 'All his soul's arguments had been tried and found wanting; yet it resisted in sullen disquiet.'[3] Pontitianus left, having finished his business; and forthwith Augustine fled into the garden[4] to fight out the battle between sinful habit and the new life now dawning. He flung himself down under a fig-tree, saying: 'To-morrow? Why not now? Why not this hour make an end of my vileness?'[5] Just then he heard a child's voice repeating, in a kind of chant, the words, 'Take up, and read! Take up, and read!' Hurrying back to Alypius who had followed him into the garden, but had let him go further by himself, Augustine took up the volume of St. Paul where he had left it. 'I opened it, and read in silence the passage on which my eyes first fell—"Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof".' The decision was taken. He told Alypius; and together they went indoors to tell Monnica.[6] It was in August 386, in his thirty-second year.

Deferring the resignation of his professorship till the vintage-holidays,[7] he retired to the country-house at Cassiciacum,[8] near Milan, which was lent him by his friend and colleague Verecundus. Here Augustine spent the winter, preparing for baptism, and in the company of his mother, his son Adeodatus, then a boy of about fourteen, his brother, two cousins, two young pupils, and his friend Alypius.[9] They were a merry party, but a serious one. Augustine sometimes had to remonstrate with them, and say, 'Do be good fellows!'[10] and Monnica cut short their discussions[11]

[1] *Conf.* viii, §§ 13–15, and Document No. 168.
[2] He was one of the *Agentes in rebus*, for whom see *Cambr. Med. Hist.* i. 36.
[3] *Conf.* viii, § 18. [4] Ibid., § 19. [5] Ibid., § 28.
[6] Ibid., §§ 29, 30, and Document No. 169. [7] Ibid. ix, § 2.
[8] Ibid. ix, § 5. [9] *De beata vita*, § 6 (*Op.* i. 300; *P. L.* xxxii. 962).
[10] *De ordine*, i, § 29 (*Op.* i. 327 B; *P. L.* xxxii. 991).
[11] *Conf.* ix, § 7.

by hurrying them in to breakfast.[1] These discussions are preserved[2] in the books which Augustine wrote from Cassiciacum: *Contra Academicos*,[3] in refutation of their scepticism[4]; a dialogue *De beata vita*[5], in proof that the only true happiness is the knowledge of God; another dialogue *De ordine*,[6] on the place and purpose of evil in God's dealings with His world; and two books of *Soliloquia*[7] (he apologizes for the word[8]: it is coined from the mint of Augustine when preparing for baptism) on the means of attaining to supersensible truth, e.g. the immortality of the soul. When the time came for giving in names, the party broke up and returned to Milan; and, at last, on Easter Even, 24 April 387—a year after Ambrose's defeat of Justina, and a month before his second embassy on her behalf to the usurper Maximus, Augustine was baptized by him at Milan in his thirty-third year. Alypius and Adeodatus were baptized with him.[9]

The story which connects the origin of the *Te Deum* with the occasion is a legend of the eighth century.[10] But Milan was at this time a school of ecclesiastical hymnody[11] and a centre of Church life. Prominent among prelates who went to and fro there in the days of Ambrose was Niceta,[12] bishop of Remesiana (now Bêla Palanka, 24 miles south-east of Nish in Serbia), *c.* 380–400, in Dacia Mediterranea. He was a friend of Paulinus,[13] bishop of Nola 409–†31; who often makes mention of him[14] as missionary bishop[15] and writer of Christian hymns. He was the author of the *Te Deum*,[16] the finest missionary hymn of Christendom, in which the writer celebrates the triumph throughout the Empire[17]

[1] *De ordine*, ii, § 18 (*Op.* i. 337 E; *P. L.* xxxii. 1003).
[2] *Contra Acad.* i, § 4 (*Op.* i. 251 E; *P. L.* xxxii. 908).
[3] *Op.* i. 249–96 (*P. L.* xxxii. 905–58); *Retract.* I. i (*Op.* i. 3; *P. L.* xxxii. 585).
[4] *Contra Acad.* iii, § 22 (*Op.* i. 284 A; *P. L.* xxxii. 915).
[5] *Op.* i. 297–312 (*P. L.* xxxii. 959–76); *Retract.* I. ii (*Op.* i. 5; *P. L.* xxxii. 588).
[6] *Op.* i. 315–52 (*P. L.* xxxii. 977–1020); *Retract.* I. iii (*Op.* i. 5 sq.; *P. L.* xxxii. 588 sq.).
[7] *Op.* i. 355–86 (*P. L.* xxxii. 869–904); *Retract.* I. iv (*Op.* i. 6 sq.).
[8] *Soliloq.* ii, § 14 (*Op.* i. 374 D; *P. L.* xxxii. 891).
[9] *Conf.* ix, § 14.
[10] A. E. Burn, *Niceta of Remesiana*, xcviii.
[11] *Conf.* ix, § 15.
[12] A. E. Burn, *op. cit.*, introduction, §§ 3, 10.
[13] Ibid., § 4.
[14] Paulinus, *Ep.* xxix, § 14 (*Op.* 185; *P. L.* lxi. 321); Burn, 141.
[15] Paulinus, *Carmen*, xvii (Ad Nicetam, redeuntem in Daciam) (*Op.* 413 sqq.; *P. L.* lxi. 483 sqq.); Burn, 142–52, esp. l. 249, 'Et Getae currunt et uterque Dacus', i. e. 'Dacia ripensis' as well as 'Dacia mediterranea', ibid. 149.
[16] Text in Burn, 83–7; authorship, *Introd.*, § 7, and Document No. 116.
[17] Verses 7–13.

of the Catholic Faith in the Trinity[1] and the Incarnation.[2] He has also left us two sermons on hymnody—*De vigiliis servorum Dei*[3] and *De psalmodiae bono*.[4] Both of them concern the non-eucharistic service of Christians in the Vigils[5] which led up to the Eucharist. This service was now being celebrated with increasing zeal by groups of Religious, but eventually came to be maintained only by the clergy ; and, in another form, by the Monastic Orders. We gather from Niceta that the Eucharist was celebrated daily at that time, and in those lands[6] ; speaking of psalmody, he tells people not to join in the singing unless they can sing in time and tune, and he reproves the love of ostentation in singing.[7] Niceta was also the author of a series of six books of instruction[8] to candidates for Baptism : fifth among which is the *De Symbolo*[9] or lectures on the Creed. It is of first importance, as we have seen, for the history and the meaning of the Western Creed.[10]

But to return to Augustine. His mother lived to see him at last a Catholic Christian. But she died at Ostia,[11] November 387, as they were returning to Africa. Augustine delayed his passage, after offering ' the Sacrifice of our Redemption '[12] for her as she had requested[13] at her funeral ; and spent the winter in Rome. Here he began the *De moribus ecclesiae Catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum*,[14] to show up the ways of the sect he had left ; and also the *De libero arbitrio*,[15] in which he starts from their favourite question ' Unde malum ? '[16] These treatises were finished respectively in 389 and *c.* 395, i.e. after his return to Africa. For he landed at Carthage in the autumn of 388, ' shortly after the death ', as he says, ' of the usurper Maximus '.[17]

[1] Verses 1–13. [2] Verses 14–21. [3] Text in Burn, 55–67.
[4] Ibid. 67–82. [5] Described in ibid. lxxxix–xcvi.
[6] *De diversis appellationibus*, § 1 (Burn, 3, l. 1).
[7] *De psalm. bon.*, § 13 (Burn, 80, l. 5).
[8] Burn, 6–54, and *Introd.* lix sqq. ; fragments only ; written *c.* 375 (ibid. lxx). [9] Ibid. 38–54.
[10] It contains, as does the *Fides Hieronymi*, the clause ' Communionem sanctorum ', which is probably neither anti-Donatist (Swete) nor anti-Vigilantian (Harnack), but unconnected with either of these controversies and to be taken, as Niceta interprets it (*De symbolo*, § 10), in the traditional sense, Burn, lxxx–lxxxiii, and Document No. 66.
[11] *Conf.* ix, § 17. [12] Ibid. ix, § 32. [13] Ibid. ix, § 17.
[14] *Op.* i. 687–744 (*P. L.* xxxii. 1309–78) ; *Retract.* i, c. vii (*Op.* i. 9–11 ; *P. L.* xxxii. 591). [15] *Op.* i. 569–642 (*P. L.* xxxii. 1221–1310).
[16] *Retract.* i, c. ix (*Op.* i. 11–15 ; *P. L.* xxxii. 595).
[17] *Contra Litt. Petil.* iii, § 30 (*Op.* ix. 311 F ; *P. L.* xliii. 362).

CHAPTER XII

THEODOSIUS, 379–†95
HIS LAST YEARS, 388–†95

BEFORE the overthrow of Maximus, Theodosius was (I) at Constantinople; from 388–91 he was (II) in Italy; from 391–4 (III) at Constantinople again; until, in 394, he set out for (IV) Italy, on his last campaign.

I

Maximus was still north of the Alps when Theodosius, at Constantinople, celebrated his triumph over the Goths, 12 October 386,[1] and married, for his second wife, Galla,[2] 387–†94, the sister of Valentinian II. But the expenses of the Gothic War had to be paid; and the 40,000 Goths, now enrolled as *Foederati*[3] in the Roman armies, had to be kept in good temper. They were expecting a donative at the coming celebration of the Emperor's *Decennalia*, which was to be kept, with the *Quinquennalia* of his son Arcadius, on 17 January 387. Letters were accordingly written to impose fresh taxation on the great cities of the Eastern Empire. Alexandria confined itself to demonstrations in the theatre—groans for Theodosius and cheers for Maximus[4]: but elsewhere there was tumult.

§ 1. Antioch rose in insurrection,[5] March 387; and we have vivid accounts of it in the orations of the pagan rhetorician, Libanius,[6] 314–†95, and in the sermons of his pupil, St. John Chrysostom,[7] both in Antioch at the time. As soon as the edicts reached the city the people appealed to the magistrates against them, but were roughly repelled. The mob then rushed to the public baths where the Images of the Imperial Family met their gaze. An offence against these was *laesa maiestas*, or high treason[8]: for an image, or a symbol, in those days was not taken as a substi-

[1] Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* v. 258. [2] Ibid. 259 sq.
[3] Gibbon, c. xxvi (iii. 130); *Cambr. Med. Hist.* i. 237.
[4] Libanius, *Orat.* xix, § 14 (*Op.* ii. 390, ed. R. Förster: Teubner, Lipsiae, 1904); Hodgkin, *Italy*[2], &c. I. ii. 476, n. 1.
[5] Gibbon, c. xxvii (iii. 169 sqq.); Hodgkin, *Italy*[2], &c. I. ii. 474 sqq.
[6] *Orat.* xix–xxiii (*Op.* ii. 384–507).
[7] *Hom. xxi ad pop. Ant.* (*Op.* II. i. 1–224; *P. G.* xlix. 15–221).
[8] 'Qui statuas an imagines Imperatoris iam consecratas conflaverint aliudve quid simile admiserint, lege Iulia maiestatis tenentur,' Justinian I, *Digesta*, XLVIII. iv, § 6 (ed. T. Mommsen, ii. 803); Hodgkin, *Italy*[2], &c. I. ii. 487.

tute for an absent original, but as a token of its presence. On 4 March[1] the rioters threw them down and so were guilty of insulting Theodosius; his first Empress, the gentle and pious Flaccilla, †385; his father; and his two sons, Arcadius, a boy of about ten but co-Augustus, and Honorius, a child of three. The tumult was short but furious; and then Antioch began to think of the punishment to follow.[2] Knowing the ungovernable temper of Theodosius, the people begged their bishop, Flavian, 381–†404, to go and intercede for them. He undertook the mission; and, though in advanced age,[3] started 6 March, on his journey of 800 miles to Constantinople. He overtook, about the 10th, the messengers who were carrying an official report of the outrage to the Emperor. But there was an interval of dire suspense in Antioch till 29 March, the Monday after mid-Lent Sunday, when Caesarius, Master of the Offices,[4] and Hellebichus, Master of the Horse and Foot,[5] arrived as Imperial Commissioners to open an inquiry.[6] The interval is memorable for the occasion which it gave to the most eloquent of Christian preachers.

§ 2. St. John Chrysostom,[7] 345–†407, was born at Antioch, about 345–7, of Christian parents. His father, Secundus,[8] was a military officer[9] of rank and wealth, who died while Chrysostom was an infant; his mother was the pious Anthusa. She would not marry again, but devoted herself to the education of her boy[10]; and an Antiochene professor, on hearing this story of the lad who was attending his lectures, exclaimed, 'Good heavens! what women these Christians have!'[11] Anthusa should rank with Monnica,

[1] For this, and the other dates of this affair, see the table in Hodgkin, I. ii. 473.

[2] *Hom. ad pop. Ant.* ii, § 4 (*Op.* ii. 25; *P. G.* xlix. 38).

[3] Ibid. iii, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 35; *P. G.* xlix. 47).

[4] For the 'Magister Officiorum', or chief of the civil administration, see Gibbon, c. xvii (ii. 183); Hodgkin, I. ii. 609 sq.; *C. M. H.* i. 35 sq.

[5] For the 'Magister utriusque militiae', see Gibbon, c. xvii (ii. 175); Hodgkin, I. ii. 612; *C. M. H.* i. 46.

[6] Theodoret, *H. E.* v. xx, § 4.

[7] For Chrysostom, see the *Vita* by Palladius, bishop of Helenopolis, *c.* 400–†30 (who also wrote the *Historia Lausiaca*: there seems to be no real doubt about the identification) in *Op.* xiii. 1–89, and *P. G.* xlvii. 5–82; the *Vita* of the Benedictine editors in *Op.* xiii. 91–177 (*P. G.* xlvii. 83–264); Tillemont, *Mém.* xi; W. R. W. Stephens, *Life of St. Chrysostom*[2] (Murray, 1880); J. H. Newman, *Hist. Sketches*, ii. 217–312; W. Bright, *Lessons*, &c. 48–108; Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, 323–49.

[8] Socr. *H. E.* VI. iii, § 1.

[9] Palladius, *Vita*, § 5 (*Op.* xiii. 16 E; *P. G.* xlvii, 18).

[10] Chr. *De Sacerdotio*, i, § 5 (*Op.* I. ii. 363; *P. G.* xlviii. 625 sq.).

[11] Chr. *Ad viduam iuniorem*, i. § 2 (*Op.* I. ii. 340; *P. G.* xlviii. 601).

the mother of Augustine, and Nonna,[1] the mother of Gregory of Nazianzus, and Osburh,[2] the mother of King Alfred, as a pattern of Christian womanhood ; and there were many such in Antioch, though some, like the mother of Theodoret,[3] were wealthy and fashionable as well as religious, for Julian seems to have thought that he might have succeeded there but for the Christian women,[4] and there is similar testimony from Libanius.[5] He was a pagan professor of Rhetoric, the intimate of Julian and the tutor of St. Basil. He had now come, c. 354, to settle in his native town ; and Chrysostom, as a young student for the Bar, attended his lectures,[6] *c.* 365. Years afterwards Libanius was asked which of his pupils was worthiest to succeed him. 'John,' he replied, 'if the Christians had not stolen him from us.'[7] But Chrysostom developed a distaste for the law. He could not bring himself to think of taking fees for making the worse appear the better reason.[8] The distaste was shared by his inseparable[9] friend Basil, afterwards bishop of Raphanaea[10] in Syria II. The ascetic life was their aim ; though, after the fashion of their age, Chrysostom was still unbaptized. He put himself under instruction for baptism with Meletius, bishop of Antioch 361–†81 ; and after the usual three years' catechumenate[11] was baptized by him, probably in 369. At the same time he was admitted a Reader. His mother was urgent that, in pursuit of his ascetic ideals, he should not retire to the desert. She begged of him not to leave her a widow again. He yielded,[12] and, not without some excess of enthusiasm, carried out his life of self-discipline at home. About 373 the two friends, Basil and Chrysostom, were selected for the episcopate. Chrysostom agreed to submit to consecration should it be forced upon

[1] Greg. *Naz. Orat.* xviii, § 7 (*Op.* i. 334 ; *P. G.* xxxv. 993 A).

[2] Asser, *De rebus gestis Aelfredi* (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* i. 469) ; and for the illuminated book she promised to her son and gave him as soon as he could read it, ib. 474.

[3] Theodoret, *Hist. Rel.*, c. ix (*Op.* iii. 1188 sq. ; *P. G.* lxxxii. 1381), and Newman, *Hist. Sketches*, ii. 309 sqq.

[4] Julian, *Misopogon*, 363 A (*Op.* ii. 468 : Teubner, 1876).

[5] Libanius, *Ep.* mlvii, p. 501 (Amstelodami, 1738), and Document No. 102.

[6] Soz. *H. E.* VIII. ii, § 5. [7] Ibid., § 2.

[8] For an account of the lawyers of this period, see Amm. Marc. XXX. iv, §§ 3–8.

[9] *De sacerdotio*, i, § 1 (*Op.* I. i. 362 ; *P. G.* xlvii. 623).

[10] For this identification see Tillemont, *Mém.* xi. 551 sq.

[11] Palladius, *Vita*, § 5 (*Op.* xiii. 16 F ; *P. G.* xlvii. 18).

[12] *De sacerdotio*, i, § 5 (*Op.* I. i. 363 ; *P. G.* xlvii. 624). There is a striking picture here of the defencelessness of a widow in such a civilization as that of the fourth century.

his friend ; and Basil, on this understanding, submitted, only to find that Chrysostom, filled with distrust of himself, had taken to flight.[1] Shortly after this, his mother seems to have died ; for, next year, he betook himself to the mountains near Antioch, where he spent six years, 374–80, as an anchorite.[2] One of the little company was Theodore,[3] afterwards bishop of Mopsuestia, 392–†428. But he left it and gave up asceticism ; for he fell in love with a girl named Hermione, and this was the occasion of the earliest, and one of the liveliest, of Chrysostom's works. *Ad Theodorum lapsum*[4] was its title ; and it met, from the author's point of view, with complete success. Two books, *De compunctione*,[5] followed, 375–6 ; when, at length, Chrysostom's health broke down and, 380, he returned to Antioch. There he served as deacon, 381–6, being ordained by Meletius[6] just before he left to preside at the Second Oecumenical Council. To these five years of teaching and writing belong, besides three books, *Adversus oppugnatores vitae monasticae*,[7] and three of consolation, *Ad Stagirium, ascetam, a daemonio vexatum*,[8] a letter of sympathy, *Ad viduam iuniorem*,[9] 380–1, and its sequel, *Ad eandem de non iterando coniugio*,[10] written from the point of view of 1 *Cor.* vii. 40 ; while closely related is the pamphlet *De virginitate*,[11] in which he expounds 1 *Cor.* vii. 38 to the effect that marriage is good but virginity better. The pamphlet presents curious features of the domestic life of his age. Next year, Chrysostom turned to apologetics ; and, 382, in a pamphlet, *De S. Babyla, contra Iulianum et gentiles*,[12] argued from the miracles of our Lord and those done in His Name ' to confirm ', as he says, ' an already more than complete victory.'[13]

Meletius died at the Council of Constantinople ; and the first act of Flavian, his successor as bishop of Antioch, 381–†404, was

[1] *De sacerdotio*, i, § 6 (*Op.* I. i. 365 ; *P. G.* xlvii. 626).
[2] Palladius, *Vita*, § 5 (*Op.* xiii. 17 A ; *P. G.* xlvii. 18) ; *De Compunctione*, § 6 (*Op.* I. i. 132 ; *P. G.* xlvii. 403).
[3] Socrates, *H. E.* VI. iii, § 4.
[4] *Op.* I. i. 1–34 (*P. G.* xlvii. 277–308) ; for poor Hermione, § 14.
[5] *Op.* I. i. 122–53 (*P. G.* xlvii. 393–422).
[6] Palladius, *Vita*, § 5 (*Op.* xiii. 17 C ; *P. G.* xlvii. 18).
[7] *Op.* I. i. 43–115 (*P. G.* xlvii. 319–86).
[8] *Op.* I. i. 154–227 (*P. G.* xlvii. 423–94).
[9] *Op.* I. ii. 338–49 (*P. G.* xlviii. 599–610) ; Stephens, *Chrysostom*, 92 sqq.
[10] *Op.* I. ii. 349–59 (*P. G.* xlviii. 609–20).
[11] *Op.* I. ii. 268–355 (*P. G.* xlviii. 533–96) ; Stephens, 95 sqq.
[12] *Op.* II. ii. 536–77 (*P. G.* l. 533–72) ; Stephens, 100 sqq.
[13] Ibid., § 4 (*Op.* II. ii. 542 ; *P. G.* l. 539).

to ordain Chrysostom to the priesthood,[1] 386. For twelve years, 386–98, he became ' the great clerk and godly preacher '[2] of his native city.

To the early days of his presbyterate belong the six books, *De sacerdotio*,[3] 386–90. In Part I (i. 1–ii. 6), he describes the events of 373 which preceded Basil's consecration, and then sets out to prove that the ' pious fraud ' or ' economy '[4] by which he got his friend made bishop and escaped himself deserves praise rather than blame, since thereby a Christian flock obtained so good a pastor. It is some relief to know that this elaborate justification of deceit for a religious or otherwise good end would have been odious to other great Christian teachers. Augustine, for instance, indignantly repudiates the ' pious fraud '.[5] And here it mars only the opening of a great Christian classic ; for in Part II (ii. 7–vi. 18) Chrysostom goes on to explain that he had not the requisite qualities for the episcopate and felt himself unequal to its responsibilities and dangers. Chrysostom devotes one book[6] to the need of careful preparation before preaching. That was, no doubt, part of the secret of his own splendid triumphs as a preacher. His extant sermons[7] can only be a selection from the whole number ; for he preached every Saturday and Sunday, as well as in Lent and on Holy Days.[8] Nor, except eloquence,[9] had he any advantage, as of a fine presence. He was small in stature : thin, pale, and hollow-cheeked, with a wrinkled brow, a broad forehead, and a bald head.[10] But he took immense pains over preaching, and felt deeply the responsibilities of the task.[11] No sooner had he taken his place, because of his small stature, in the

[1] Palladius, *Vita*, § 5 (*Op.* xiii. 17 c ; *P. G.* xlvii. 19).

[2] *The Homilies*, p. 8 (Oxford, 1859). His first sermon, preached at his Ordination or soon after it, is given in *Op.* i. ii. 436–43 (*P. G.* i. ii. 693–700). It is flowery and rhetorical, more like the age than the man, Stephens, 104.

[3] Text in *Op.* i. ii. 362–436 (*P. G.* xlviii. 623–92), and ed. J. A. Nairn in ' Cambridge Patristic Texts ' ; tr. T. A. Moxon in ' Early Chr. Classics ' (S.P.C.K. 1907) ; Stephens, c. iv.

[4] *De sacerdotio*, i, § 9 (*Op.* i. ii. 370 ; *P. G.* xlviii. 631).

[5] Aug. *Contra mendacium* (*Op.* vi, 447–94 ; *P. L.* xl. 517–48) ; *Enchiridion*, § 6 (*Op.* vi. 202 c ; *P. L.* xl. 240), and *Ep.* xl, § 5 (*Op.* ii. 85 F ; *P. L.* xxxiii. 156).

[6] Lib. v.

[7] For their value, esp. as evidence for the life and the religion of his day, see two anonymous works : *St. Chrysostom's Picture of his Age* (S. P. C. K. 1875) and *St. Chrysostom's Picture of the religion of his Age* (S.P.C.K. 1876).

[8] Tillemont, *Mém.* xi. 34.

[9] For the secret of his eloquence see Newman, *Hist. Sketches*, ii. 234.

[10] Stephens, 625 sqq.

[11] W. Bright, *Lessons*, &c., app. v.

ambo where he sat [1] (as was the custom of preachers), while the people stood; or, at the altar-steps, where he would stand to preach, than multitudes were present to hear—of all classes, from the Praetorian Prefect [2] downwards. The cathedral was packed, and, while the crowd was listening in rapt attention or bursting into enthusiastic applause,[3] pickpockets were making a good harvest.[4]

It was just when Chrysostom had established his reputation as a preacher that the riot of Thursday, 4 March 387, took place; and he redeemed the occasion by the twenty-one *Homilies on the Statues*, 6 March–25 April. In these sermons he strove to encourage the people under their cloud of extreme dejection,[5] but, at the same time, to turn their anxiety and terror to spiritual account: rebuking their follies and vices, such as ostentatious luxury,[6] and specially their favourite sin of 'vain and rash swearing',[7] and urging that Lent, as coming in spring, was the time for spiritual renovation.[8] Nos. 1 and 2 were preached soon after the outbreak of the sedition. In No. 3 he describes the departure of Flavian. Nos. 4–8 and No. 15 belong to the first week of Lent, 14–20 March. No. 16 belongs to the second week, 21–7 March, and indicates, by its opening, that the Prefect of the East was among the audience.[9] Nos. 9 and 20 (where he reproves the habit of talking in Church [10]) also belong to this middle period of suspense. Then came the third Sunday in Lent, 28 March, and the next day the arrival of the Commissioners. They brought with them the Imperial Sentence.[11] It was received with relief for, instead of putting any one to death, its decree was only that the theatre, the circus, and the baths should be closed [12]; that the largesses of corn were

[1] Socr. *H. E.* VI. v, § 5.

[2] *Hom. xvi ad pop. Ant.*, § 1 (*Op.* II. i. 160; *P. G.* xlix. 161).

[3] e. g. *Hom. ii ad pop. Ant.*, § 4 (*Op.* II. i. 25; *P. G.* xlix. 38); J. Bingham, *Ant.* XIV. iv, § 27.

[4] *De incomprehensibili Dei natura*, iv, § 6 (*Op.* I. ii. 479; *P. G.* xlviii. 734 sq.); on these twelve discourses against the Anomoeans, *c.* 386–7, see Stephens, 109 sqq.

[5] *Hom. ii ad pop. Ant.*, § 2 (*Op.* II. i. 21 sq.; *P. G.* xlix. 35 sq.).

[6] Ibid., §§ 4, 5 (*Op.* II. i. 25 sq.; *P. G.* xlix. 39).

[7] e. g. *Hom. xiv ad pop. Ant.*, § 1 (*Op.* II. i. 142; *P. G.* xlix 145); and *passim* in these Homilies.

[8] *Hom. iii ad pop. Ant.*, § 3 (*Op.* II. i. 39; *P. G.* xlix. 50).

[9] *Hom. xvi ad pop. Ant.*, § 1 (*Op.* II. i. 160; *P. G.* xlix. 161).

[10] *Hom. xx ad pop. Ant.*, § 1 (*Op.* II. i. 200; *P. G.* xlix. 199).

[11] For its contents see *Hom. xvii ad pop. Ant.*, § 2 (*Op.* II. i. 175; *P. G.* xlix. 176); and Thdt. *H. E.* V. xx, § 2.

[12] *Hom. xiv ad pop. Ant.*, § 6 (*Op.* II. i. 149; *P. G.* xlix. 151). They made up for this by mixed bathing in the Orontes, which Chrysostom reproves, ibid. xviii, § 4 (*Op.* II. i. 187; *P. G.* xlix. 187).

to cease; and that Antioch was to be degraded and take rank henceforth after her neighbour and rival Laodicea,[1] sixty-five miles away on the sea-coast. Theodosius thus took everything away that made life worth living for the gay and pleasure-loving Antiochenes; but he left them their lives. Yet severer measures were to be dealt out to their leading men. After, 30 March, a preliminary inquiry, the Commissioners, on Wednesday, 31 March, opened 'the dread tribunal which shook the hearts of all the citizens with terror, and made the day seem black as night'.[2] Its object was to extort confessions of complicity with the rioters; and while, in Court, torture was being freely applied to the rich and mighty of Antioch, outside, in the hall of the Praetorium, lay the wives and sisters of senators imploring the unseen judges within. Chrysostom describes the scene, and draws from it the picture of the Day of Judgement[3]—a notable instance of the way in which, owing to the barbarities of human justice, men's minds became so accustomed to cruelties, and to punishment out of all proportion to the offence, that they saw, in God's punishments of sin, not eternal loss but eternal torment.[4] On this occasion, however, Hellebichus and Caesarius did their work with reluctance; and when the hermits came down from the mountains and trooped into the city to intercede, they were more than half-ready to meet them. One of them, Macedonius,[5] plucked the cloak of Hellebichus as he rode through the city, and bade him go and tell the Emperor 'to think of human nature as well as of the Imperial dignity. You are making all this stir about statues of bronze which it is easy to replace; but if, for the sake of these statues, you put men to death, not one hair of their heads can be remade.' 'If you slay any of these men,' said the other monks, 'we are resolved that we will die with them'[6]; and they begged that they might be sent to mediate with the Emperor. This the Commissioners declined. But they had assured Libanius that no capital sentence should be inflicted until the further pleasure of Theodosius was known[7]; and on Thursday, 1 April, Caesarius

[1] Hodgkin, *Italy*, &c. II. i. 494.
[2] *Hom. xiii ad pop. Ant.*, § 1 (*Op.* II. i. 133; *P. G.* xlix. 135), and Document No. 76.
[3] Ibid., §§ 1, 2 (*Op.* II. i. 134 sq.; *P. G.* xlix. 137 sq.), and Document No. 76.
[4] J. R. Illingworth, *Reason and Revelation*, 230 sq.
[5] Thdt. *H. E.* v. xx, §§ 5–8.
[6] *Hom. xvii ad pop. Ant.*, § 1 (*Op.* II. i. 172 sq.; *P. G.* xlix. 172 sq.).
[7] Libanius, *Orat.* xxi, § 8 (*Op.* 683; ii. 453, Teubner).

himself departed to plead with him for the city and its senators. He had eight hundred miles to go ; but travelled at the rate of a hundred and thirty miles a day, and covered the distance in six days. Chrysostom, meanwhile, sustained the courage of the citizens in *Homilies* 11–13, 17, 14, 18. It was Wednesday, 7 April, of the fourth week in Lent, that the Master of the Offices arrived at Constantinople. But the wrath of Theodosius had already subsided. Flavian had been there for a fortnight, and had had several audiences of the Emperor which Chrysostom, for the sake of effect, described as one. 'The credit of Christianity', pleaded Flavian, 'is at stake, in your Majesty's hands. All nations are watching you, and, if you show humanity in this case, they will all cry, "Ah! what a wonderful thing is the power of this Christianity that a man, who has no equal upon earth and is absolute lord of all things to kill and to destroy, should have so restrained himself."'[1] It was at this moment that Caesarius came in, with a recommendation to mercy from himself and his colleague ; and 'Theodosius', says Chrysostom, 'pronounced the sweet word "pardon", which became him better than any diadem'.[2] The twentieth *Homily*, of 15 April, or ten days before Easter, belongs to the interval between the dispatch of Flavian's courier[3] and his arrival in Antioch with the news about, 18 April, Palm Sunday. There were great rejoicings when the Imperial Pardon was read, which restored the joys of living to the citizens and their city to its rank. Antioch was illuminated, and there were banquets in the streets.[4] But the pardon had been obtained by the prayers of a Christian bishop to a Christian Emperor[5] ; and greatest of all the rejoicings was the Easter Eucharist, 25 April, when, with the aged Flavian on his throne, and none the worse for his long and toilsome journey,[6] Chrysostom brought the triumphs of his eloquence 'on the Statues' to a close. He described the interview of the archbishop with his Sovereign[7] ; dwelt earnestly on the loving-kindness of God, and gave thanks not only that He had delivered them from the recent calamity but also that He had permitted it to occur.[8] One happy result it had—the conversion of numbers

[1] *Hom. xxi in pop. Ant.*, § 3 (*Op.* II. i. 220 ; *P. G.* xlix. 217).
[2] Ibid., § 4 (*Op.* II. i. 223 ; *P. G.* xlix. 219).
[3] Ibid., § 4 (*Op.* II. i. 223 ; *P. G.* xlix. 220).
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid., § 3 (*Op.* II. i. 222 ; *P. G.* xlix. 219).
[6] Ibid., § 1 (*Op.* II. i. 213 sq. ; *P. G.* xlix. 211).
[7] Ibid., §§ 2, 3 (*Op.* II. i. 217 sqq. ; *P. G.* xlix. 213 sqq.).
[8] Ibid., § 4 (*Op.* II. i. 224 ; *P. G.* xlix. 220).

of heathen to the Christian faith[1]; and if the story illustrates the almost superhuman majesty of a Roman Emperor,[2] it illustrates also the influence now exerted, even over the Purple, by Jesus Christ.

For a year after the pardon of Antioch, Theodosius, first at Constantinople and then at Thessalonica, was preparing for the attack on Maximus. He began to advance against him about May 388, and in August overthrew him at Aquileia. He then restored Valentinian II to his dignities in Italy,[3] and added to them the territories of Gratian.

II

In the autumn of 388 the two Emperors arrived together in Italy, where Theodosius remained till 391.

§ 3. At Milan he spent the winter, October 388–May 389, resting after his campaign. The interest of his residence in Milan lies in the relations into which it brought him with the bishop. It is hardly to be expected that the two most lordly spirits of their age, Theodosius and Ambrose, would not come into collision. But each was too great to quarrel permanently with the other; and they had much in common; but, most of all, the fear of God. Ambrose assumed an authority with Theodosius which was felt and accepted by him even to a greater degree than by Gratian or Valentinian II. One day the Emperor came to church, and was about to seat himself, as the custom was at Constantinople, within the sanctuary. The archbishop sent his archdeacon to tell him that none but ordained persons were allowed to occupy the sanctuary; and Theodosius retired. On his return to Constantinople, he made his offering, on one occasion, at the altar, as usual; and then withdrew. But he was recalled by the archbishop, Nectarius. The difference between his two prelates was not lost on the Emperor. 'Of all whom I have met', said he, 'Ambrose is the only bishop.'[4] But, shortly afterwards, Ambrose pushed his influence too far. The Christians of Callinicum,[5] an obscure town of Osrhoene on the Euphrates, had burnt down a Jewish synagogue[6]; while some orthodox monks, who were celebrating,

[1] *De Anna Sermo*, i, § 1 (*Op.* IV. ii. 701; *P. G.* liv. 634).
[2] *Hom. ii ad pop. Ant.*, § 2 (*Op.* II. i. 23; *P. G.* xlix. 36).
[3] Aug. *De civ. Dei*, v. xxvi, § 1 (*Op.* vii. 142 D; *P. L.* xli. 172).
[4] Soz. *H. E.* VII. xxv, § 9; Thdt. *H. E.* v. xviii. 20–5.
[5] The authority for this incident is Ambrose, *Epp.* xl, xli (*Op.* II. i. 946–63; *P. L.* xvi. 1101–21): see also Tillemont, x. 200–6; Fleury, XIX. xiv; Hodgkin, *Italy*, &c. I. ii. 510 sqq.; W. Bright, *Roman See*, &c., 236 sqq.
[6] *Ep.* xl, § 6.

1 August 388, the feast of the Maccabean martyrs, had set fire to a Valentinian conventicle.[1] Theodosius ordered that the bishop of Callinicum should rebuild the synagogue at his own cost, and that condign punishment should be visited on the disorderly monks. It was a sentence, December 388, which we should call one of even-handed justice, and well within the province of the civil authority. But this was not the view of Ambrose. In a letter of remonstrance he contended that the order was a challenge to the bishop of Callinicum, if he had encouraged the rioters, to quail at the prospect of martyrdom, and so become an apostate[2]; or, if he had not encouraged them, to pretend by a 'blessed falsehood' that he had, and so to win the martyr's crown.[3] Further, it would be a triumph for the Jews.[4] The Jews, no doubt, were formidable at this time; and this may explain, though it can scarcely excuse, the fanaticism displayed by Ambrose in this unfortunate and ill-balanced letter. It was deservedly unsuccessful. Theodosius received it in dignified silence. But Ambrose followed it up by a personal appeal from the pulpit.[5] 'You have been preaching at Us,' said the Emperor, 'and We did make too harsh a decree concerning the reparation of the synagogue by the bishop.'[6] 'Then quash the whole matter,' replied the archbishop. The Emperor promised; and Ambrose went on with the offering of the Sacrifice on his behalf.[7] Ambrose was overbearing and Theodosius was weak; and the victory lay, all undeservedly, with the former. But his triumph marks the stealthy growth of sacerdotalism, in the bad sense of the word; and from its spirit even so great a bishop as Ambrose was not wholly free. During the summer Theodosius escaped, for a while, from his somewhat oppressive tutelage.

§ 4. He was at Rome, 13 June–1 September 389. On 13 June he made a triumphal entry into the city, with his young colleague, Valentinian II, at his side and, on his knees, his little son Honorius, whom he thus presented to the Roman people.[8] With this visit are associated several events, some of which have been dealt with in other connexions: the *Panegyric* of Pacatus, 'on the faith of

[1] *Ep.* xl, § 16. [2] Ibid., § 6.
[3] Ibid., § 8. [4] Ibid., §§ 10, 20.
[5] The sermon is given in his letter to his sister, *Ep.* xli, §§ 2–26.
[6] Ibid., § 27, and Document No. 109.
[7] Ibid., § 28, and Document No. 109.
[8] Claudian [A. D. 365–† after 408], *De vi cons. Honorii*, ll. 53–68; *Carmina*, 178 sq. (ed. I. Koch: Teubner, 1893).

whose words', as the orator anticipated, 'history', but only for lack of better authority, 'has been fain to recount the past'[1]; the third petition for the restoration of the Altar of Victory, when 'the gods of antiquity were dragged in triumph at the chariot-wheels of Theodosius'[2] and the petition refused; and the conversion of Rome itself. Six hundred of the great patrician families—the Probi, the Anicii, the Paulini, the Bassi, and the Gracchi—were baptized, says Prudentius, 348–†408, and submitted to the yoke of the Gospel.[3] One contributory cause, no doubt, was the recent influence of Jerome with the great ladies of the capital, and another was the example of the Emperor; and one possible and, if so, interesting consequence of the complete Latinization of the Roman church thus effected may have been the sole pre-eminence, from this time forward, of the Canon of the Mass in its present form. The Canon, much as we have it, certainly dates from this epoch; and it may have been one, among other variants not so fortunate, to find its way out of the Greek tongue into the Latin just at the favourable moment when there arose a sharp demand for a Latin formulary of worship.

§ 5. On leaving Rome Theodosius settled again at or near Milan from November 389 till he left Italy in July 391. In the spring of 390 he gave orders for a massacre at Thessalonica.[4] There had for some time been much ill-feeling on the part of the citizens against soldiers, because the latter, who were for the most part Gothic *foederati*, were billeted upon them. Botheric, the commandant of the garrison, had among his slaves a beautiful boy who excited the passions of a popular charioteer. The fellow was thrown into prison by the General's orders; and, when the day for the games came round, he refused to release the people's favourite. The mob rose in fury, and murdered Botheric with several of his staff.[5] The first burst of the Emperor's indignation was assuaged by St. Ambrose; for he extracted a promise from Theodosius that he would deal gently with the guilty city.[6]

[1] Pacatus, *Panegyricus*, § 47 (*P. L.* xiii. 522 A).

[2] Gibbon, c. xxviii (iii. 193).

[3] Prudentius [A. D. 348–†408], *Contra Symmachum*, i, ll. 544–69 (*Op.* ii. 745; *P. L.* lx. 164–7). On Prudentius, see C. Bigg, *Wayside Sketches in Eccl. Hist.* 1–26, and Bardenhewer, 444–7.

[4] Soz. *H. E.* VII. xxv; Thdt. *H. E.* v. xvii, xviii; Rufinus, *H. E.* II. xviii (*Op.* 288; *P. L.* xxi. 525); Gibbon, c. xxvii (iii. 172 sqq.); Hodgkin, II. i. 527 sqq.; Newman, *Ch. F.*, c. iv; W. Bright, *Roman See*, 240 sqq.

[5] Sozomen, *H. E.* VII. xxv, § 3.

[6] Ambrose, *Ep.* li, § 6 (*Op.* II. i. 998; *P. L.* xvi. 1161); Paulinus, *Vita*, § 24 (*Op.* II. i; *P. L.* xiv, 35 C).

Perhaps the thought of his illness and his baptism there may have moved him to relent. But Rufinus, †395, then Master of the Offices, considered the outrage too serious to be passed over with safety to the State, particularly as a riot had been pardoned in Antioch only three years before. So far, his judgement was right. A judicial inquiry should have been held, and the actual offenders punished. But Theodosius, who was the victim by turns of indolence and rage,[1] in the rare intervals when he was not a pattern of noble clemency,[2] could not wait. He sent secret orders for a massacre. Soldiers surrounded the amphitheatre, and, when the people had gathered to view the games, a signal was given and a promiscuous slaughter ensued, in which seven thousand fell.[3] The Emperor, indeed, had revoked the order after it was sent off, but too late to prevent its execution. Ambrose, who had avoided the Court of late,[4] now wrote to remonstrate. He reminded the Emperor of his vehemence of temper, but also of 'his well-known clemency'. He urged him to penitence and warned him: 'If you purpose being present, I dare not offer the Sacrifice.'[5] We do not know how Theodosius took the warning. But, after a time, he presented himself at church while Ambrose was officiating, and was repelled from the doors. Theodosius withdrew, and continued suspended from Christian communion for eight months. At last, when Christmas came, he made a second attempt to join in the worship of the Church. 'Beggars and slaves may enter the House of the Lord,' he said, 'but its doors are closed to me.' It was Rufinus to whom he thus complained. He persuaded the Emperor to let him go and ask for indulgence. But Ambrose was obdurate. Impatient at the delay, Theodosius set out for the church before the return of Rufinus. 'I will go', he exclaimed, 'and receive the censure which I deserve.' He interviewed Ambrose in the archbishop's parlour by the basilica; and there Ambrose promised to receive him back into the Church on two conditions: first, that he should undergo a public penance; and, next, that he should enact that, in future, thirty days should elapse between sentence and execution in all cases of death and confiscation.[6] Theodosius agreed; and then, on Christmas Day, 390, he entered the church.

[1] *Ep.* li, § 4 (*Op.* II. i. 998; *P. L.* xvi. 1161 C).
[2] Ibid., § 12 (*Op.* II. i. 999; *P. L.* xvi. 1162 C).
[3] Thdt. *H. E.* v. xvii, § 3.
[4] *Ep.* li, § 2 (*Op.* II. i. 997; *P. L.* xvi. 1160).
[5] Ibid., § 13 (*Op.* II. i. 1000; *P. L.* xvi. 1163 A).
[6] Whence *Si vindicari* of 18 August 390; *Cod. Theod.* IX. xl. 13.

With vehement grief, and stripped of his Imperial Ornaments, he prostrated himself on the floor like one of the kneelers, and, reciting the Psalm ' My soul cleaveth unto the dust,' &c.,[1] he let his subjects behold the wholeheartedness of his repentance. It was ' the culminating point of pure Christian influence '[2]; and it is hard to say which is the nobler, the courage and fidelity of the Christian bishop or the spirit of a true penitent displayed by the Christian Emperor. ' The cause of humanity and that of persecution ', adds Gibbon, ' have been asserted by the same Ambrose with equal energy and with equal success.'[3] Six months later, in July 391, Theodosius left Italy.

III

He arrived at Constantinople, November 391, and remained there till May 394, the date of the death of his beautiful and much-loved wife, the Arian[4] Empress Galla; and, for lack of events on the grander scale, we may use the interval for a glance at the condition of Eastern Christendom in the last years of Theodosius—its divisions, and the secularized tone of the age.

§ 6. Arianism, now under the ban of the Empire, had made a second home among the Goths.[5] It was about the end of the reign of Alexander Severus, 222–†35, that the Goths appeared on the northern shores of the Black Sea. They made inroads into Moesia II, 238 and 248; and their half-legendary king, Kniva, in 250, crossed the Danube at Novae, now Novograd in Bulgaria, and led an invading host across the Balkans, which inflicted a great disaster upon the Empire by the defeat and death of Decius, 251, about thirty miles S.E. of Dorostorum (now Silistria), towards the mouths of the Danube. Bought off for a time, by the promise of a yearly subsidy, the Goths took to raids by sea. They pillaged the temple of Ephesus, 262, and threatened Athens, 267. Once more they invaded Moesia in force; but this time, the

[1] Ps. cxix. 25 sqq.

[2] H. H. Milman, *Hist. Chr.* iii. 167. It is interesting to note that Hooker, with his theory of the Christian Prince, has some difficulty in admitting that any precedent is to be drawn from the excommunication of Theodosius. He deals with it warily, so as to meet the Puritan argument for the power of the Church to excommunicate the Sovereign, *E. P.* VIII. ix, § 5.

[3] Gibbon, c. xxvii (iii. 176).

[4] Philostorgius, *H. E.* x, § 7 (*P. G.* lxv. 588 B).

[5] On the Goths see Gibbon, c. xxvi (iii. 91 sqq.); Hodgkin, I. i. 23 sqq., and map, p. 237; *Cambr. Med. Hist.* i. 203 sqq.; C. A. A. Scott, *Ulfilas the Apostle of the Goths*, c. i (1885).

Emperor Claudius, 268–†70, dealt them a blow at Naïssus (now Nish in Serbia) so crushing that, save for a brief interval of war with Constantine, 331–2, it kept them quiet neighbours of the Empire for a hundred years, till the reign of Valens, 364–†78. Aurelian, 270–†5, resigned to the Visigoths the province of Dacia.

(1) Catholic Christianity[1] made some progress amongst the Ostrogoths[2] of the Crimea[3] during this interval. Some of the Greek cities round the Euxine, which were under the protection of the Governor of Moesia, disappeared from the days of the first Gothic inroads, e. g. Olbia at the mouth of the Dnieper, and Tyras at the mouth of the Dniester. But two remained. Bosporus (now Kertch), at the entrance to the Sea of Azov, and Cherson (now Sebastopol), both in the Crimea. They were represented by Catholic bishops, the former[4] at Nicaea, 325, and the latter[5] at Constantinople, 381. The early conquests of Christendom amongst the Goths were thus Catholic; and probably originated with the zeal of the captives whom the Goths carried off with them from the Empire[6] in the raids and invasions that were checked by Claudius. The next phase belongs to the history of the Visigoths.

(2) Theirs was an Arian Christianity due to the labours of Ulfilas,[7] who for forty years was bishop of the Goths, 341–†81.

[1] Scott, *Ulfilas*, c. ii.

[2] For the names Visigoths (West Goths) and Ostrogoths (East Goths), see Hodgkin, I. i. 100 sq. The river Tyras (now the Dniester) was, in the fourth century, the boundary between the two; while the Visigoths were again divided into two, at this time (1) those under Athanaric, † 381, between the Tyras (Dniester) and the Pyretus (Pruth) to the west of it, and (2) those under Frithigern, west of the Pruth, in what is now Wallachia: see *C. Med. H.*, vol. i, map 9.

[3] The Ostrogoths of the Crimea are probably the Goths alluded to by Ath. *De Inc.* li, § 2 (*Op.* i. 73; *P. G.* xxv. 188 A).

[4] Theophilus, bishop of the Goths, C. H. Turner, *Eccl. Occ. Mon. Iur. Ant.* I. i. 90, or Mansi, ii. 702 B.

[5] Aetherius, bishop of Cherson, Mansi, iii. 572 B.

[6] So Soz. *H. E.* II. vi, § 2, and Philostorgius, *H. E.* iii, § 5 (*P. G.* lxv. 467 C). The Cappadocian, Eutyches, who is mentioned by Basil, *Ep.* clxiv, § 2 (*Op.* iv. 255; *P. G.* xxxii. 636 D), as having suffered martyrdom in a barbarian country near Thessalonica, may have been one of the captives (*Ep.* clxv; *Op.* iv. 256; *P. G.* xxxii. 637–40); but he appears to have been a friend of Basil's. If so, he must have been a missionary in 'Gothia' about 355–60, Scott, *Ulfilas*, 30. Elsewhere Basil says that Dionysius, bishop of Rome c. 265, had condoled with the church in Cappadocia on its sufferings, and had sent envoys 'to redeem the brethren who were captives', *Ep.* lxx (*Op.* iv. 164; *P. G.* xxxii. 436 A).

[7] Scott, *Ulfilas*, 32 sqq. The two chief authorities are (1) Auxentius, an Arian bishop of Dorostorum, his pupil; and (2) Philostorgius, *H. E.* ii, § 5 (*P. G.* lxv. 468 B). The story of the latter is given in Scott, 46 sqq., and his text in ibid. 223 sq. Up to 1840 we were dependent for information

Ulfilas, in spite of his Teutonic name, was descended from captives carried off from Cappadocia [1] in the days of Valerian, 253–†60, if we may trust the evidence on this point of the Cappadocian, Philostorgius, 368–†430. He was born 311. At about the age of twenty, and perhaps in connexion with the treaty of 332 by which Constantine hoped to protect his newly founded capital from Goths and others in dangerous proximity to it, Ulfilas was sent as an envoy, or more probably as a hostage, by 'the ruler of his people', to Constantinople. He lived there or, at any rate, on Roman soil, for some ten years, and hence he acquired over the Greek and the Latin as well as the Gothic tongue a command, both in preaching and writing, to which reference is twice made [2] by his pupil and biographer, Auxentius, bishop of Dorostorum (Silistria). During this period he was ordained 'Reader' [3]; and, if he exercised his ministry among Gothic *foederati* or Gothic settlers within the Empire, he would have had an easily intelligible motive for undertaking that first translation of the Scriptures into the mother-tongue of the barbarians, with whom the world's future lay, which made him the father of all Teutonic literature. At the same time he attracted the notice of Eusebius, bishop once of Nicomedia and now of Constantinople, by whom, no doubt, Ulfilas was inoculated with Arianism. In 341 Eusebius consecrated him,[4] at the age of thirty, to the episcopate; and, with an eye to extending the influence of his party by missionary enterprise, sent him back to evangelize his own people. Ulfilas taught them an alphabet, translated the Scriptures into their own language—all except the Books of Kings, which he thought too exciting reading for a people given to war—and large numbers of the Visigoths

about Ulfilas on the ecclesiastical historians of the fifth century (Socr. *H. E.* IV. xxxiii, xxxiv; Soz. *H. E.* VI. xxxvii; Thdt. *H. E.* IV. xxxiii), but in that year there was discovered a MS. in the Louvre containing (*a*) for its proper contents, certain writings of Hilary, two books of Ambrose, *De fide* and the *Acta* of the Co. of Aquileia, 381, in which Ambrose tried to bring to reason or submission the two Western Arians, Palladius and Secundianus; (*b*) in the broad margin of the *Acta*, remarks, corrections, and sundry documents by an Arian bishop named Maximin, intended to correct them in favour of the two Arian prelates on their trial; and (*c*) among the documents so introduced, a life of Ulfilas by his friend and pupil, Auxentius. The MS. is printed, F. Kauffmann, *Aus der Schule Wulfila* (Strassburg, 1899). The account of Ulfilas begins on p. 19, but there is a clear reference to him on p. 16.

[1] Philostorgius, *H. E.* ii, § 5 (*P. G.* lxv. 468 c): Scott thinks the statement doubtful, *Ulfilas*, 49–51.

[2] Kauffmann, 19 sq. [3] Ibid. 20, l. 23. [4] Ibid. 20, ll. 24–7.

became Christian.[1] For seven years all went well. But, at last, the success of his mission and his connexion with the Roman Empire aroused the suspicion of their ruler,[2] perhaps Athanaric.[3] He began to persecute; and 'Ulfilas, of blessed memory, was driven forth by the barbarians, together with a great body of the faithful, and received with honour on Roman soil by the then reigning Emperor Constantius'.[4] The migration took place 348, and the immigrants were settled in Moesia II, near Nicopolis (now Tirnova, in Bulgaria). Of Ulfilas himself we hear nothing further for twenty years, save that in 360 he took part[5] in the Homoean Council of Constantinople, and so was party to the triumph of the Creed of Ariminum.

His flock was at peace, and his fellow-countrymen, on either side of the Danube, were on friendly terms with the Empire till the outbreak of the Gothic War under Valens, 367–9.

(3) Meanwhile, an Audian Christianity began to find adherents among the Goths. Our chief source of information about the Audians is Epiphanius.[6] They were a set of Mesopotamian ascetics who, about the end of the reign of Constantine, had been exiled to 'Scythia'.[7] Their leader was one Audius, a rigorist who, 'in the time of Arius',[8] had seceded from the Church, and had then obtained consecration to the episcopate from a bishop who joined his sect.[9] The official clergy, who had procured their banishment, charged Audius and his followers with insubordination towards the hierarchy,[10] with a crude inference from such texts as *Gen.* i. 26, *Gen.* ii. 7,[11] and *Ps.* xxxiv. 15,[12] to the corporeal nature of God, and with reverting to that Jewish reckoning of Easter which the Court, and the Council of Nicaea, had condemned.[13] But it was their schism rather than their false doctrines which Epiphanius found blameworthy. 'They do not pray with any one, even if he be known to be a virtuous man, once he be connected with the

[1] Philostorgius, *H. E.* ii, § 5 (*P. G.* lxv. 469 A).
[2] Kauffmann, 21, l. 9.
[3] Doubtful, Scott, 59.
[4] Kauffmann, 21, ll. 33–7.
[5] Soz. *H. E.* vi. xxxvii, §§ 8, 9.
[6] Epiph. *Haer.* lxx (*Op.* ii. 811–28; *P. G.* xlii. 339–74); Thdt. *H. E.* iv. ix, x; Aug. *De haer.*, §§ 50, 76 (*Op.* viii. 18, 23; *P. L.* xlii. 39, 45); Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 691–6; Scott, *Ulfilas*, 74 sqq.
[7] Epiph. *Haer.* lxx, § 14 (*Op.* ii. 827; *P. G.* xlii. 372 B).
[8] Ibid., § 1 (*Op.* ii. 811; *P. G.* xlii. 340 A).
[9] Ibid., § 2 (*Op.* ii. 812; *P. G.* xlii. 341).
[10] Ibid., § 1 (*Op.* ii. 812; *P. G.* xlii. 340).
[11] Ibid., § 2 (*Op.* ii. 812 sq.; *P. G.* xlii. 341).
[12] Ibid., § 6 (*Op.* ii. 816; *P. G.* xlii. 348 B).
[13] Ibid., § 9 (*Op.* ii. 820 sq.; *P. G.* xlii. 353).

Catholic Church.'[1] In Syria itself, when Epiphanius wrote, *c.* 374, they numbered but a handful, in two villages near Damascus.[2] But in 'Scythia' they were present in force; and among the Goths not only were they ardent missionaries but their monasteries were models of religious discipline.[3] On the death of Audius, already an old man when he was sent into exile, Uranius, a bishop, like himself of irregular consecration, took over the management of their missions; and they kept up the succession (for we hear of one Silvanus as bishop in Gothia) till after the Gothic War of Valens when, in consequence of the persecution that followed, *c.* 370, many Audians among the Goths took refuge in Mesopotamia. Here they had been living some three or four years when Epiphanius wrote.[4]

(4) It was a Christianity of Catholic, Arian, and Audian elements that had to bear the brunt of this persecution.[5] Catholic and Audian were, as yet, in 'Scythia'; and, though Ulfilas himself had retired into Moesia twenty-two years before, he had emissaries at work among the kinsfolk whom he had left behind. Relations between the Visigoths and the Empire became unfriendly soon after the death of Constantius.[6] They raided Thrace,[7] 364. They aided the usurper, Procopius, 365–6, with a contingent of three thousand men[8]; and, at last, in the summer of 367, came the long-expected collision.[9] The Roman army crossed the Danube; but no events of importance followed save that the war lasted for three years,[10] 367–9, till both sides, but specially the Goths for lack of food,[11] were weary of it. Valens made peace[12] with the Gothic prince, Athanaric,[13] 365–†81; but the peace left him exasperated. He proceeded to take his revenge, for the conditions it imposed upon him, by extirpating Gothic Christians as friends of the Romans and enemies of their own country.[14] Several martyrs,

[1] Epiph. *Haer.* lxx, § 15 (*Op.* ii. 827; *P. G.* xlii. 372 C).
[2] Ibid., § 15 (*Op.* ii. 828; *P. G.* xlii. 373 B).
[3] Ibid., § 14 (*Op.* ii. 827; *P. G.* xlii. 372 B).
[4] Ibid., § 15 (*Op.* ii. 827 sq.; *P. G.* xlii. 372 sq.). [5] Scott, c. iv.
[6] *Cambr. Med. Hist.* i. 213; for the peace maintained under Constantius see Libanius, *Orat.* lix, § 89 (*Op.* iii. 303, iv. 252 sq. [Teubner]).
[7] Amm. Marc. xxvi. iv, § 5.
[8] Ibid. xxvi. x, § 3; Hodgkin, I. i. 142. [9] Ibid. xxvii. v, § 1.
[10] Amm. Marc. xxvii. v; Hodgkin, I. i. 161 sqq.
[11] Amm. Marc. xxvii. v, § 7. [12] Ibid., § 9. [13] Ibid., § 6.
[14] The date of the persecution is rightly given, as in the sixth year of Valentinian, i. e. 369–70, by Jerome, *Chron.* ad ann. 373 (*Op.* viii; *P. L.* xxvii. 695 sq.). Socrates and Sozomen introduce a confusion by putting the persecution, and the civil war between Athanaric and Fritigern, later

notably St. Sabas,[1] †12 April 372, and St. Nicetas,[2] †15 September 375, laid down their lives for disloyally holding to the religion of the Empire.[3] But Athanaric had a rival in a lesser chieftain, Fritigern. Whether out of conviction or policy, Fritigern declared himself a Christian, and the victims of persecution flocked to his standard. Fritigern sought and received assistance from the Romans, and so secured himself a position of independence against Athanaric. Thus all was quiet for a year or two till the irruption of the Huns; and Fritigern used the interval for asking of the Arian Emperor 'bishops from whom his people might learn the rule of Christian Faith'.[4] No small progress had been made towards the conversion of the Visigoths, when the Huns [5] appeared. They wiped out the Ostrogoths [6] under Ermanaric, who died by his own hand,[7] and his successor Withimir, who fell in battle.[8] They then drove Athanaric, *c.* 375, into the fastnesses of Transylvania; but few of his people followed him thither.[9] For the mass of the Visigoths, under the leadership of Fritigern and other local chiefs, crossed the Danube [10] in the spring of 376 and sought shelter and food from Valens. The acceptance of Arian Christianity by the whole nation was apparently [11] the price of protection and settlements; but this had already been propagated among a considerable section. The Visigoths accepted the terms, and Valens honourably endeavoured to give them effect. Not so his officers—chief of whom was a Thracian Count, Lupicenus, and Maximus, probably Duke of Moesia. They took scandalous advantage of the famine-stricken fugitives, whose nobles were forced to sell their

than the migration of the Goths in 376, Socr. *H. E.* iv. xxxiii, § 7; Soz. *H. E.* vi. xxxvii, § 12; Scott, 94 sqq.; Hodgkin, i. i. 175, n. 2. Augustine speaks of its severity, *De civ. Dei*, xviii. lii, § 2 (*Op.* vii. 535 e; *P. L.* xli. 616).

[1] See the letter of 'Ecclesia Dei quae est in Gotthia ecclesiae Dei quae est in Cappadocia', *ap.* Th. Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum* (1859), 617–20; tr. from the Greek in *Acta Sanctorum, Aprilis*, ii. 88 sqq.; Tillemont, *Mém.* x. 1–9; Scott, 80–2: see also Basil, *Epp.* clv, clxv (*Op.* iv. 245, 256; *P. G.* xxxii. 613 b, 637 c); Scott, 82–4; St. Sabas or Sava is the patron saint of Serbia.

[2] *Acta Sanct. Sept.* v. 40 sqq.; Ruinart, 616; Scott, 86–8; Hodgkin, i. i. 82.

[3] Soz. *H. E.* vi. xxxvii, § 13.

[4] Orosius, *Hist.* vii, § 33 (*Op.* 554; *P. L.* xxxi. 1148 a). For a discussion of the somewhat confused statements of the authorities, and for the arrangement here adopted, see Scott, 102 sq.

[5] For the Huns see Hodgkin, i. i. 242 sqq.; *Cambr. Med. Hist.* i. 215.

[6] i. e. the 'Greuthungi' of Amm. Marc. xxxi. iii, § 1.

[7] Ibid., § 2.

[8] Ibid., § 3.

[9] 'Athanaricus Thervingorum iudex,' ibid., §§ 4–8, iv. § 13; Hodgkin, i. i. 308.

[10] Amm. Marc. xxxi. iv, § 5; Scott, 89, n. 1.

[11] Contra, Hodgkin, i. i. 253.

very children for food.[1] At last the Goths turned in fury on the Romans, defeated Lupicerius at Marcianople[2] (now Shumla, in Bulgaria), plundered Thrace,[3] and overthrew Valens himself at Adrianople, 9 August 378, when the Emperor and two-thirds of the Roman army were left dead on the field.[4] Some of the bishops, in the settlements which this victory secured to the Goths, were Catholic—the bishop of Tomi (now Tomisvar, in Bulgaria) and the bishop of Marcianople.[5] But most of them were Arian: Auxentius of Dorostorum (Silistria), Palladius of Ratiaria (now Aržer Palanka, in Bulgaria), and, above all, Ulfilas. While Theodosius lay sick[6] at Thessalonica, February–September 380, Gratian's generals, Bauto and Arbogast, cleared the country[7]; and, at length, Theodosius made terms with the invaders,[8] 3 October 382. They received permission to settle in different places along the line of the Danube, from Pannonia to Moesia; and, under the command of their national chieftains, to enter the Roman armies as *foederati*.[9] These peaceful relations were signalized, after the triumphal entry of Theodosius into Constantinople, 24 November 380, by his reception of the old heathen chief, Athanaric, who came thither, 11 January 381, to make his submission[10]; and by the liberty accorded to Ulfilas who, in answer to an Imperial summons, made a second visit to the capital in the very same month as the persecutor of his people, Athanaric. This was the visit on which Ulfilas obtained from the Emperor the promise of a Council[11] which came to be reckoned as the Second Oecumenical. Ulfilas and Athanaric died there within a few months of each other; but Ulfilas not before 'at the very hour of his death, he left for the people committed to his charge a written confession of his faith',[12] which is frankly Arian. Arianism thus took root again within the Empire. Expelled from civil life, it became a force to be reckoned with among the soldiery; while the Goths, from whom they were drawn and with whom it acquired a national significance, were the first of a long line of barbarian invaders—Burgundians, Sueves, Vandals, Lombards—all Arians till the days

[1] Amm. Marc. xxxi. iv, §§ 9–11.
[2] Ibid. xxxi. v, § 9. [3] Ibid. xxxi. v–viii. [4] Ibid. xxxi. xii, xiii.
[5] *Cod. Theod.* xvi. i. 3, i. e. *Episcopis tradi* of 30 July 381; and Soz. *H. E.* vii. ix, § 6. [6] Soz. *H. E.* vii. iv, § 3; Hodgkin, i. i. 303.
[7] Ibid. 305. [8] *Cambr. Med. Hist.* i. 254. [9] Ibid. 307, 311 sqq.
[10] Amm. Marc. xxvii. v, § 10; Hodgkin, i. i. 309, n. 1. [11] Scott, 37.
[12] Kauffmann, 57 sq.; and A. Hahn, *Symbole*[3], § 198, and Document No. 70.

of the Saxon and the Frank. Arianism declined, proportionately, in influence with the ordinary citizen. On the death of Demophilus, the last Arian bishop of Constantinople, 370–80, some of his supporters chose Marinus,[1] a Thracian, to fill his place ; but others set up Dorotheus, formerly bishop of Heraclea[2] and then of Antioch,[3] 376. In complete accord upon the main Arian position of the createdness of the Son, they differed as to the paternity of the Father, whether it was eternal[4] or not. ' No,' said Dorotheus, ' before the creation of the Son, God could neither be, nor be called, Father.' But Marinus held that He could ; and, as he was supported by a Syrian confectioner[5] named Theoctistus, his followers came to be known as the ' Pastry-cooks '.[6] It was some compensation that they had on their side, as well, Selenas, successor to Ulfilas, as bishop of the Goths. His countenance restored to them a certain dignity, but it did not prevent further divisions in their ranks. Agapius, the ' Pastry-cook ' bishop of Ephesus, fell out with Marinus who had consecrated him, and wished to retain a precedence over him. It was thirty-five years before the quarrel was appeased in 419 ; and its main interest is that it shows the dissidence of Arianism, but also the influence of its patrons the Goths.[7]

§ 7. Apollinarianism, about the time that this quarrel began, entered upon new developments. Writing in 387 to Nectarius,[8] who had succeeded him as bishop of Constantinople, 381–†97, Gregory of Nazianzus endeavoured to quicken his zeal against Apollinarianism by pointing to its fresh impieties. He had found them in a pamphlet by Apollinaris which had just come into his hands. There it was taught that ' the flesh, which was assumed at the Incarnation by the only-begotten Son of God for the restoration of our nature, was not adventitious. On the contrary, that fleshly nature was proper to the Son from the beginning.'[9] This opinion the pamphlet justified by such texts as ' No man hath ascended into heaven but he that descended out of heaven, even the Son of Man '[10] ; and ' the second Man is from heaven '.[11]

[1] Socr. *H. E.* v. xxiii, v. xii, § 7. [2] Philostorgius, *H. E.* ix, § 14.
[3] Socr. *H. E.* iv. xxxv, § 4 ; Soz. *H. E.* vi. xxxvii, § 24.
[4] For the ἀεὶ Πατήρ see Ath. *Orat. c. Ar.* i, § 28 (*Op.* ii. 341 ; *P. G.* xxvi. 72 A). [5] Socr. *H. E.* v. xxiii, § 7.
[6] Psathyrians, ibid. [7] Scott, 146 sq.
[8] Greg. Naz. *Ep.* ccii (*Op.* iii. 166–9 ; *P. G.* xxxvii. 329–34), quoted in Soz. *H. E.* vi. xxvii, §§ 2–7, and Document No. 86.
[9] Ibid. (*Op.* iii. 168 ; *P. G.* xxxvii. 332 B).
[10] John iii. 13. [11] 1 Cor. xv. 47.

Further, it was there contended that 'the only-begotten . . . suffered in His Godhead',[1] as if by 'the conversion of the Godhead into flesh'.[2] Gregory urges Nestorius to see that facilities for worship, at which such errors might be disseminated, should be denied to the Apollinarians; and an edict[3] of 10 March 388 was procured to this effect. Gregory died shortly afterwards, in the winter of 389–90; and Apollinaris himself in 392. Banished from Constantinople, his opinions were within an ace of winning over a good part of 'the East'[4]; while, in 389, but for the vigilance of Sabinus, bishop of Placentia (Piacenza) 381–†420, and of Ambrose,[5] they were on the point of establishing themselves in the West.

§ 8. But an older sect than either Apollinarian or Arian, viz. Novatianism, began, about 384, to be the prey of divisions. Socrates, who has been suspected of belonging to the Novatianists,[6] though only because of his detailed interest in their doings, tells us that their strongest communities were those of Constantinople, Nicomedia, Nicaea, and Cotyaeum.[7] Acesius, their first bishop at Constantinople, stood high in the favour of Constantine[8]; while his successor, Agelius, who was bishop 344–†84,[9] suffered for the ὁμοούσιον under Constantius[10] and Valens,[11] and was still alive in 383. He took part in the conferences of that year[12]; and, soon afterwards, consecrated to succeed him two of his presbyters.[13] The one was Marcian,[14] bishop of the Novatianists at Constantinople 384–†95.[15] In spite of his orthodoxy he had been tutor to the daughters of Valens, Anastasia and Carosa[16]; and was father of Chrysanthus who, under Theodosius, became Consular of Italy and Vicar of Britain.[17] The other was Sisinnius, who had sat in the same class with Julian under the philosopher Maximus of Ephesus[18]; and, through Nectarius, had given Theodosius the advice to test the crowd of ecclesiastical parties

[1] Greg. Naz. *Ep.* ccii (*Op.* iii. 168; *P. G.* xxxvii. 333 A).
[2] *Quicunque vult*, 35.
[3] *Apollinarianos*, *Cod. Theod.* XVI. v. 14, and Document No. 77.
[4] Soz. *H. E.* VI. xxxvii, § 9.
[5] Ambrose, *Ep.* xlvi (*Op.* II. i. 984; *P. L.* xvi. 1115): see also *Ep.* xlviii, § 5, and Document No. 111.
[6] He cannot have been a Novatianist, for he admits that Novatian was a schismatic, Socr. *H. E.* IV. xxviii, § 14.
[7] Ibid. IV. xxviii, § 18. [8] Ibid. I. x. [9] Socr. *H. E.* V. xxi, § 1.
[10] Ibid. II. xxxviii § 6. [11] Ibid. IV. ix, § 2. [12] Ibid. V. x, §§ 8 sqq.
[13] Ibid. V. xxi. [14] Ibid., § 3. [15] Ibid. VI. i, § 8.
[16] Ibid. IV. ix, § 5. [17] Ibid. VII. xii, § 2. [18] Ibid. V. xxi, § 2.

seeking his favour by asking their consent to the teaching of the ante-Nicenes. Marcian was to succeed Agelius on his death, and Sisinnius to succeed him in turn.[1] No sooner was Marcian bishop than he found himself at variance with a priest of his sect, Sabbatius, a convert from Judaism.[2] The Novatianists, like the Catholics before the Council of Nicaea, had been divided about the time for the keeping of Easter; the majority observing the equinox,[3] but others, after the manner of the later Jews, taking no account of it. Sabbatius, as much in order to have a following of his own as for any other reason, revived the Jewish usages of the minority; which, in the days of Valens,[4] had been adopted by 'a few obscure bishops' among the Novatianists of Phrygia. They convened a synod at the village of Pazum, near the sources of the river Sangarius (now the Sakaria, in Anatolia), and framed a canon appointing the observance [of Easter] on the same day as that on which the Jews annually kept the feast of Unleavened Bread.[5] Summoning a synod at Angarum, near Helenopolis in Bithynia,[6] to deal with Sabbatius, Marcian determined there to have the two usages left indifferent: and so the synod ordained. Sabbatius dissembled for a while, till, on the death of Sisinnius, †407, he procured his own consecration 'at the hands of a few insignificant bishops'.[7] But he disgusted the main body of Novatianists at Constantinople, who insisted on having Chrysanthus, the distinguished son of their former bishop, Marcian, to inherit his chair[8]; and he became their bishop from 407–†19. The interest of this story of division among the Novatianists is that here Socrates takes occasion, apropos of schisms about the observance of Easter, to make his important remarks about want of uniformity in the usages of the Church.[9]

§ 9. The Massalians, or Euchites[10] also belong to the last years of Theodosius, *c.* 390. Unlike the Novatianists they were not rigorists but quietists; and hence their two names, Aramaic[11] and Greek respectively for Men of Prayer. They first appeared on the borders of Syria and Armenia about 360–70, and spread rapidly

[1] Socr. *H. E.* v. xxi, § 4. [2] Ibid., § 6. [3] Ibid. iv. xxviii, § 14.
[4] Ibid. v. xxi, § 7. [5] Ibid. iv. xxviii, § 17. [6] Ibid. v. xxi, § 11.
[7] Socr. *H. E.* vii. xii, § 5. [8] Ibid., § 7.
[9] Ibid. v. xxii, and Document No. 204.
[10] Epiph. *Haer.* lxxx (*Op.* ii. 1067–77; *P. G.* xlii. 756–74); Thdt. *H. E.* iv. xi. and *Haer. Fab. Compendium*, iv. xi (*Op.* iv. 366–8; *P. G.* lxxxiii. 429–32); Tillemont. *Mém.* viii. 527–36; Fleury, xix. xxv, xxvi.
[11] From Ezra vi. 10; Dan. vi. 11.

to Syria and Asia Minor. We have two authorities for their history and tenets: Epiphanius, who devoted to them the last section of his *Panarion* written 374–7, just before the death of Valens; and Theodoret, whose information seems to run back upon the *acta* of the Councils of Antioch and Side [1] which dealt with them. The Massalians had no organization and no possessions. They lived on alms, spent all their time in prayer, and went about and slept, pell-mell, men and women together, in the open air. The worship and the fasts of the Church were no concern of theirs. Prayer only was their occupation; and by it they professed to attain to an intimacy with God and the saints so close that, if a man named patriarch, angel, or even our Lord Himself, they would say: 'That 's me!' [2] Of sacraments also they took little heed. Baptism, for example, gave forgiveness of past sin; but left a demon within, the root of all misdoing, and every man had to spend his time in battling with him.[3] Frenzied dancing, in their own case, marked the crises of such strife with the evil spirit.[4] It is not surprising that these Christian fakirs—for they were little else—drew down upon themselves the opposition of the episcopate. Amphilochius, metropolitan of Iconium 375–†*c.* 400, at the head of a Council, held at Side in Pamphylia, of twenty-five bishops, *c.* 390, condemned and excommunicated them.[5] Flavian, archbishop of Antioch 381–†404, entrapped one of their leaders, Adelphius, into making a full confession of their tenets, and procured their banishment [6] after a small Council at Antioch; and measures were taken against them both in Mesopotamia [7] and by Letoius, bishop of Melitene and metropolitan of Armenia II.[8] But they were not extinct in the days of Photius,[9] patriarch of Constantinople 858–86, our informant about these official proceedings against them.

§ 10. North of Melitene lay Armenia I; and with its metropolitan, Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste 357–†80, the plague of St. Basil, is connected, first as friend and then as foe, Aerius, the

[1] Notes from these *acta* are preserved in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, § 52 (*Op.* iii. 12 B; *P. G.* ciii. 88 sqq.).
[2] Epiph. *Haer.* lxxx, § 3 (*Op.* ii. 1069; *P. G.* xlii. 760 sq.).
[3] Thdt. *Haer. Fab. Compend.* iv, § 11 (*Op.* iv. 366; *P. G.* lxxxiii. 429 B, C).
[4] Ibid. (*Op.* iv. 367; *P. G.* lxxxiii. 432 B).
[5] Photius, *Bibl.*, § 52 (*Op.* iii. 12 B; *P. G.* ciii. 88 B).
[6] Thdt. *H. E.* iv. xi, §§ 5 sqq.; Photius, § 52 (*Op.* iii. 12 B; *P. G.* ciii. 88 C, D).
[7] Photius, ibid.
[8] Thdt. *H. E.* iv. xi, § 3; Photius, *Bibl.*, § 52 (*Op.* iii. 12 b; *P. G.* ciii. 89 A).
[9] Ibid. (*Op.* iii. 13 B; *P. G.* ciii. 92 A).

founder of the Aerians.[1] He flourished *c.* 360–70, and, 'to the world's misfortune',[2] was still alive when Epiphanius, to whom we are indebted for information about him, wrote the *Panarion*, *c.* 374–7. Eustathius and Aerius had been friends. Both had embraced the ascetic life, and both were Arians in creed. After a time the see of Sebaste (now Siwas) became vacant, and the choice fell on Eustathius. Aerius never forgave it, though the bishop did all in his power to make up for his friend's disappointment. He ordained him presbyter, and set him over the hospital[3]; but all to no purpose. A quarrel ensued, and Aerius left and set up a sect of his own. He gathered a number of followers round him,[4] and took for articles of association the following profession: (1) that there is no difference between a bishop and a presbyter; (2) that it is Judaical to observe Easter, for 'Christ is our Passover'; (3) that it is useless to pray for the dead; and (4) that stated fasts are relics of Jewish bondage.[5] Aerius, of course, was a disappointed man. He must be ranked with Jovinian and Vigilantius as a specimen opponent of the prevailing tendencies of the time; and, though we may regret it, we need not be surprised, as the times were rough, that he met with very harsh treatment. He and his followers were denied access not only to the churches but to the villages and homes of their fellow-Christians; and they might be seen holding their worship in the open amid the snows of an Armenian winter.[6] But they cannot be 'taken seriously either as survivors of a primitive Christianity or as heralds of a purer religion to come.'

§ 11. To the south of Armenia the schism at Antioch[7] was getting a stage nearer its end. Paulinus died in the winter of 388–9. Before his death he consecrated as his successor Evagrius,[8] a native of Antioch, well known as the friend of Jerome. The proceeding was irregular, violating, as it did, three accepted rules:

[1] Epiph. *Haer.* lxxv (*Op.* ii. 904–12; *P. G.* xlii. 503–16); summarized by Aug. *De Haeresibus*, § 53 (*Op.* viii. 18 E, F; *P. L.* xlii. 39 sq.); Tillemont. *Mém.* ix. 87–9; Fleury, xix. xxxvi; Newman, *Ch. F.*, c. xv.

[2] Epiph. *Haer.* lxxv, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 904; *P. G.* xlii. 504 B).

[3] Ibid., § 1 (*Op.* ii. 905; *P. G.* xlii. 504 C).

[4] Ibid., § 3 (*Op.* ii. 906; *P. G.* xlii. 505 B).

[5] Ibid., § 3 (*Op.* ii. 906 sq.; *P. G.* xlii. 505 sq.).

[6] Ibid., § 3 (*Op.* ii. 906; *P. G.* xlii. 505 C).

[7] Socr. *H. E.* v. xv; Soz. *H. E.* vii. xi; Thdt. *H. E.* v. xxiii; Fleury, xix. xxvii.

[8] Thdt. *H. E.* v. xxiii, § 2; 'acris et ferventis ingenii,' Jerome, *De vir. illustr.*, § 125 (*Op.* ii. 949; *P. L.* xxii. 711).

(1) that consecration of a successor by a bishop at the point of death was to be treated as null and void[1]; (2) that for an episcopal appointment the comprovincials, all or as many as possible, should meet[2]; (3) that three consecrators were necessary.[3] Paulinus, no doubt, would have admitted much of this; but he would have put in a plea that the situation of himself and his flock was exceptional—as was, indeed, the case. Evagrius was acknowledged by Egypt and the West,[4] though Ambrose was fain to confess 'that he had no good ground for preferring his claim'.[5] The East, on the other hand, supported Flavian. He was the successor of Meletius, and his appointment had a good deal of irregularity, not to say, of bad faith about it.[6] The Westerns desired the Emperor to let the matter be settled by a Council; and, on his return to Constantinople, in November 391, Theodosius appears to have commanded Flavian to lay his case, in person, before the Synod of Capua,[7] December 391, where it should be impartially investigated. Flavian excused himself on the ground that the voyage in winter[8] would be too much for his advanced years; but sent no one to represent him. Evagrius, on the other hand, went; and, while Flavian's absence told against him, the prospects of Evagrius improved. The Synod, however, felt its lack of local information, and decided to refer the case to Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria 385–†412, as being nearer to Antioch and likely to be impartial.[9] They took the same course of shifting the responsibility for a decision on to the shoulders of a neighbouring prelate in the case of Bonosus,[10] bishop of Naïssus *c.* 380–90. He held the Helvidian opinion, in denial of the perpetual virginity of our Lady, that she had other children[11]; and the Council

[1] Antioch [341], c. 23; Mansi, ii. 1317; Hefele, ii. 73.
[2] Nicaea [325], c. 4; W. Bright, *Canons*[2], x. 12.
[3] Arles [314], c. 20; Mansi, ii. 20; Hefele, i. 195.
[4] Thdt. *H. E.* v. xxiii, §§ 2, 4.
[5] Ambrose, *Ep.* lvi, §§ 1, 5 (*Op.* II. i. 1006, 1007; *P. L.* xvi. 1170 A, 1171 A).
[6] Socr. *H. E.* v. v. ix; the suggestion that whichever of the two, Meletius or Paulinus, survived the other, should succeed to the episcopate, seems to have come from St. Ambrose, at the Co. of Aquileia, September 381: see *Ep.* xii, § 5 (*Op.* II. i. 813; *P. L.* xvi. 949 A).
[7] Mansi, iii. 683 sqq.; Hefele, ii. 393 sq. [8] Thdt. *H. E.* v. xxiii, § 3.
[9] Ambrose, *Ep.* lvi, § 2 (*Op.* II. i. 1006; *P. L.* xvi. 1170 B).
[10] The authority for this is the letter included in Ambr. *Epp.* (*Op.* II. i. 1008 sq.; *P. L.* xvi. 1172 sqq.), but not his, for it speaks, in § 2, of 'fratrem nostrum Ambrosium'. It may be a letter of Pope Siricius in reply to the bishops concerned in the case of Bonosus.
[11] *Ep. de causa Bonosi*, § 3 (*Op.* II. i. 1009; *P. L.* xvi. 1173 B, C).

remitted his case to the neighbouring bishops of Macedonia under their primate Anysius, bishop of Thessalonica 383–†410. Bonosus was, in the end, condemned. But Flavian was not so easily disposed of. He made interest at Court, and tried to procure Imperial Rescripts in his favour,[1] before he would submit to the ruling of Egypt under Theophilus. The latter reported this to Ambrose; and, in 392, Ambrose could only advise him 'to summon our brother Flavian again'[2] and seek the support of Siricius in proceeding to an award.[3] Siricius appears to have acted with effect. First, he put pressure on Theodosius; and the Emperor received Flavian in audience, but only to reason with him in vain and to send him back victorious to his see.[4] Siricius, next, intervened in support of a Council which, with Theophilus as president, he had summoned to meet at Caesarea in Palestine, and condemned Evagrius,[5] who died shortly afterwards.[6] The schism was not perfectly healed[7]; for the strict Catholic congregation went on, till 414, without a bishop. Yet this was a gain, that the Eustathian episcopate was extinct. The share which Theophilus took is one of the few happy memories of him. For, though he was a man of great ability and of an ardent zeal for 'the Christian Faith, as in his destruction of the Serapeum,[8] 391, he was a sad example of the secularized tone of his age—'a bold bad man whose hands were alternately polluted with gold and with blood.'[9]

§ 12. But nowhere was this secularized tone more painfully exhibited than in Constantinople under the rule of the archbishop Nectarius, 381–†97. He was not a bad man, like Theophilus; but a respectable grandee of the Court. His rule, however, was lax; and in 391 a scandal[10] occurred. The office of Penitentiary Priest

[1] Ambrose, *Ep.* lvi, § 3 (*Op.* II. i. 1006; *P. L.* xvi. 1170 c).
[2] Ibid., § 6 (*Op.* II. i. 1007; *P. L.* xvi. 1171 B).
[3] Ibid., § 7 (*Op.* II. i. 1007; *P. L.* xvi. 1172 A).
[4] Thdt. *H. E.* v. xxiii, § 6.
[5] See their Synodal Letter in E. W. Brooks, *The sixth book of the Letters of Severus*, II. i. 223 sq. (1903); Cavallera, *Le schisme d'Antioch*, 286 (1905); and L. Duchesne, *Early Hist. Ch.* ii. 482, n. 1.
[6] Soz. *H. E.* VII. xv, § 1.
[7] Rome and Antioch were reconciled soon after the elevation of St. Chrysostom to the see of Constantinople, Soz. VIII. iii.
[8] Socr. *H. E.* v. xvi; Soz. *H. E.* VII. xv; Thdt. *H. E.* v. xxii; and, best described in, Rufinus, *H. E.* II. xxvii–xxx (*Op.* 301–3; *P. L.* xxi. 536–8); Fleury, XIX. xxix; Hodgkin, I. ii. 543–8.
[9] Gibbon, c. xxviii (iii. 200).
[10] Socr. *H. E.* v. xix; Soz. *H. E.* VII. xvi, and Document No. 203.

had been in existence from the time of the Novatianist schism. The system of public Penance was sometimes a cause of more harm than good ; and it gave a handle to the Novatianists for denouncing the penitential discipline of Catholics. To obviate this, a Penitentiary Priest was appointed in many churches, whose main duty was to determine what sins were too scandalous for public confession, and, in particular, what sins should exclude from Communion. In order so to determine, he heard confessions in private.[1] Now a lady of rank had made her confession to the Penitentiary at Constantinople, and was carrying out her penance under his directions, when she came again, and made a further confession of an intrigue in which a deacon was concerned. The Penitentiary himself was in no way implicated ; but such was the odium excited against the clergy that, though the deacon was unfrocked, Nectarius, at the advice of a priest named Eudaemon, thought it best to abolish the office of Penitentiary altogether. Every one was thus left free, says Socrates, to consult his own conscience as to whether he should receive the Holy Mysteries ; and both he and Sozomen—men who lived in the capital within that generation—deplore the laxity thus introduced into the life of its church.[2] For the abolition of the office, though it left private confession open, necessarily removed a great stimulus to it ; and many who would once have used it, now ignored this means of grace—not without loss to their own spiritual life and to that of the whole Church.

§ 13. Such, then, were the troubles of Eastern Christendom when Theodosius returned to Constantinople, 10 November 391.[3] It was about that time that Valentinian II, 375–†92, whom he had left to rule the West, arrived in Gaul. But he found his authority flouted by the Frankish General, Arbogast, who, for three years since the overthrow of Maximus, had owned no superior there. Away from his colleague and guardian Theodosius, and cut off from his spiritual father Ambrose,[4] a last attempt was made to get him to give back the Altar of Victory ; and, early in 392, he had the courage to decline. But he let Theodosius know of his helplessness ; and, as he was still unbaptized and believed his life to be in danger, he was urgent that Ambrose should come to

[1] R. Hooker, *E. P.* VI. iv, §§ 8, 9 ; J. Bingham, *Ant.* XVIII. iii, § 12.
[2] Socr. *H. E.* V. xix, § 11 ; Soz. *H. E.* VII. xvi, § 10.
[3] Socr. *H. E.* V. xviii, § 14 ; Hodgkin, I. ii. 540.
[4] Ambrose, *Ep.* liii, § 2 (*Op.* II. i. 1002 ; *P. L.* xvi. 1165 c).

Vienne and baptize him.[1] But before the bishop could get there, Arbogast caused Valentinian to be strangled in his palace,[2] 15 May 392.

IV

§ 14. The death of Valentinian, brother of his dearly loved wife Galla, led Theodosius to avenge it by his last campaign, 394. Arbogast could not declare himself Emperor; but, first of a long line of barbarian king-makers, he placed the diadem on the head of a rhetorician named Eugenius, 392–4. Eugenius was a Christian[3]; but he allied himself with a brief pagan revival,[4] led by Virius Nicomachus Flavianus,[5] the son-in-law of Symmachus and Consul in 394. It was the last rally of heathenism against its suppression by the Theodosian Edicts.[6] The body of Valentinian was suffered to be taken to Milan; and there, in the presence of his sisters, Justa and Grata, and for their consolation, August 392, Ambrose pronounced the funeral oration *De obitu Valentiniani*.[7] In its most famous passage he speaks of the young prince as having longed for baptism and therefore as having received its benefits[8]: while in another passage, he mentions his offering of the Holy Eucharist for his soul.[9] Eugenius, meanwhile, was trying to please pagan and Christian alike at Rome, by restoring the Altar of Victory on the one hand and, on the other, by giving the confiscated revenues not back to the Temples but only to the petitioners[10] interested in the shortlived revival, December 393.

In May 394 Theodosius, after long preparations, set out for the West, the day after the death of the Empress Galla when she gave birth to a little daughter, Galla Placidia, who was one day to rule the West for a quarter of a century,[11] 425–†50. Her father now set

[1] Ambrose, *Ep.* liii, § 2 (*Op.* II. i. 1002; *P. L.* xvi. 1166 A).
[2] Hodgkin, I. ii. 590, note F.
[3] Ambrose, *Ep.* lvii, § 7 (*Op.* II. i. 1011; *P. L.* xvi. 1176 B).
[4] Hodgkin, I. ii. 559 sqq.; L. Duchesne, *Early Hist. Ch.* ii. 504 sq.
[5] For a description of what he did, see a declamation in verse, 'Dicite qui colitis lucos antrumque Sibyllae', against the pagan reaction in Rome in 394, written on his death, Anthologia Latina, No. 4 (vol. i, pars i, pp. 20–5, ed. Teubner); Duchesne, *op. cit.* ii. 506, n. 1.
[6] *Nemo se hostiis polluat* of 24 February 391, and *Nullus omnino* of 8 November 392; *Cod. Theod.* XVI. x. 10, 12; Hodgkin, I. ii. 565, and Documents Nos. 97, 98.
[7] Ambrose, *Op.* II. i. 1173 sqq. (*P. L.* xvi. 1357–84).
[8] Ibid., § 51 (*Op.* II. i. 1188; *P. L.* xvi. 1374 C).
[9] Ibid., § 56 (*Op.* II. i. 1189; *P. L.* xvi. 1375 sq.).
[10] Ambrose, *Ep.* lvii, § 6 (*Op.* II. i. 1011; *P. L.* xvi. 1176 A).
[11] Hodgkin, I. ii. 817–86.

out to win it back for her. Eugenius left Milan, 1 August, and the collision between the two armies took place not far from Aquileia, at the battle of the Frigidus [1] (now the Vippacco), 5–6 September. The pass [2] was the route by which the Goths afterwards entered Italy; and Alaric, their leader, was in the retinue of Theodosius at this very battle.[3] The troops of Eugenius were victorious on the first day, and the Generals of Theodosius counselled a retreat. But the Emperor spent the night in prayer; and, next day, with the battle-cry, 'Where is the God of Theodosius?' he renewed the contest. The elements fought for him; for the 'Bora', or north-east wind,[4] drove fiercely into the face of his adversary. Eugenius was slain. Arbogast perished by his own hand. And the hard-fought victory was won.

The remaining four months of his life Theodosius spent at Milan, in the society of St. Ambrose; and, after placing his son Honorius, 395–†423, on the throne of the West, he died there, 17 January 395—the last sole Emperor of the Roman world. He had two great faults—hot temper and indolence—in both 'a true Spaniard'.[5] But he was a strenuous Emperor, a good Christian, and a devout Catholic, and he deserves to be remembered for all time as Theodosius the Great.

[1] Gibbon, c. xxvii (iii. 182 sq.); Hodgkin, I. ii. 569–77.
[2] W. A. B. Coolidge, *The Alps in nature and history*, 197.
[3] Ibid. 572.
[4] Ibid. 575, n. 2; see Claudian *De III Cons. Honorii*, 93 sqq. (ed. J. Koch, p. 106 [Teubner]).
[5] Hodgkin, I. ii. 587.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SONS OF THEODOSIUS: ARCADIUS 395–†408, HONORIUS, 395–†423. (i) THE WEST: TO THE SUPPRESSION OF PAGANISM, 408, BY HONORIUS

§ 1. The sons of Theodosius were, in character and capacity, far inferior to their father; but they succeeded him in peace and without question.

(1) Arcadius,[1] 395–†408, was the elder son of Theodosius and Flaccilla, †385, and was born in Spain, 377. He was thus eighteen years of age when he succeeded to the throne; but neither an alert nor a princely figure. He 'was short of stature, and weak in frame. His personal strength was slight, and his complexion dark. His slothful temper showed itself in his speech and in the blinking of his eyes, which were generally closed as if in slumber and were kept open with an effort.'[2] Such was the central figure of the luxurious and gorgeous Eastern Court. Arsenius,[3] 354–†450, the monk, was his tutor, 383–94. Two ministers, on his accession, succeeded, in turn, to place and power. The first was Rufinus, 'an odious favourite',[4] who had risen to be Master of the Offices and Prefect of the East under Theodosius, and now hoped to marry his daughter to Arcadius. But he was murdered, 27 November 395, by Gaïnas, the Gothic commander of the armies of the East, at the instigation of Stilicho. The cause of his fall was the Emperor's marriage,[5] 27 April 395, to a Frankish lady named Eudoxia, †404, who had been brought up in the house of Promotus, one of the victims of Rufinus.[6] She was introduced to his notice, when Rufinus was absent at Antioch, by Eutropius, the eunuch, and Consul of 399. With a record as vile he thus stepped into the place of Rufinus; and, in company with Eudoxia and Gaïnas, ruled the feeble Emperor till the year of his Consulate.

[1] Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* v. 419–82; Gibbon, c. xxxii (iii. 358 sqq.); Hodgkin, I. ii. 680 sqq.

[2] Philostorgius, *H. E.* xi, § 3 (*P. G.* lxv. 597 A, B).

[3] For Arsenius see the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, §§ 45 sqq. (*P. G.* lxv. 87–108); Tillemont, *Mém.* xiv. 676–702; C. Kingsley, *Hermits*, 149 sqq. (1890).

[4] Gibbon, c. xxix (iii. 217).

[5] Ibid. (iii. 222).

[6] Doubtful; Gibbon, c. xxix, n. 6, with Bury's addition (iii. 218).

Then Eutropius fell from power by the jealousy of the Empress, and was put to death; and, next year, Gaïnas perished after, 12 July 400, an outbreak of popular fury against the Gothic *foederati* in Constantinople. Of this ascendency of lacqueys within the palace and mercenaries without, we have an excellent picture in the oration *On Kingship*[1] which, in 399, Synesius, the country-gentleman and philosopher-bishop of Ptolemais, 409–†13, was privileged to address to Arcadius on the duties of his office. Synesius is, perhaps, best known by the kindly and, on the whole, faithful picture of him contained in *Hypatia*; and his oration is an authority, but was not intended to be a satire, on the Caesars and the Caesarism of the day.

(2) Honorius,[2] 395–†423, was born[3] 9 September 384, and was thus in his eleventh year when his father declared him Emperor at Milan, at the end of 394. Here he remained for the first seven years of his reign: an ill-informed spectator, like his brother in the East, of the tremendous events which were passing around him. Power fell into the hands of Stilicho,[4] †408, a Vandal by birth, who rose to be Master-General of the Roman Armies, 385–408, and, 394, Regent of the West; and he married Serena the niece and adopted daughter of Theodosius. His movements eastwards in 395 are to be connected partly with a desire to get rid of his rival, Rufinus,[5] but mainly with resistance to Alaric. Since 395 Alaric, the king of the Visigoths,[6] had held a command under Theodosius. He was present at the battle of the Frigidus,[7] and so learned his way into Italy. Perhaps even then he felt the mysterious impulse towards Rome[8]; but, for a time, and as a result of a campaign of Stilicho in Greece, 396, he was forced to content himself with the dignity of 'Master-

[1] See esp. Synesius, *De regno*, § 10 (*Op.* i. 14 sq.; *P. G.* lxvi. 1076–8); Hodgkin, I. ii. 684 sqq., and Document No. 119.

[2] Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* v. 483–69. [3] Socr. *H. E.* v. xii, § 3.

[4] The authorities for Stilicho are (1) his admirer, the poet Claudian, fl. 395–404, a pagan (Aug. *De Civ. Dei*, v, § 26; *Op.* vii. 142 E [*P. L.* xli. 172], and Orosius, *Hist.* vii, § 35; *Op.* 561 [*P. L.* xxxi. 1154 A]), for whom see his *Carmina*, ed. J. Koch (Teubner, 1893), and T. R. Glover, *Life and letters in the Fourth Century*, c. x; and (2) Orosius, who wrote his *Histories*, 417, from the point of view of 'an orthodox provincial of the Empire'. Neither barbarian nor heretic stand a chance of fair treatment with him; and Stilicho was both. But Orosius (*Hist.* vii, § 35, *ut sup.*) is thus a check on Claudian: see Hodgkin, I. ii. 636.

[5] For this animosity between E. and W., which was one of the main causes of the downfall of the Western Empire, see Hodgkin, I. ii. 648.

[6] Hodgkin, I. ii. 653. [7] Ibid. I. ii. 572. [8] Soz. *H. E.* IX. vi, § 6.

General of Illyricum',[1] 398. Stilicho then turned to deal with his Western rival, Gildo the Moor.[2] He had for some time been seeking to establish his independence as Count of Africa; and, seizing the opportunity afforded by the death of Theodosius, in 397 he stopped the corn-ships. Stilicho soon put down the rebellion, 398; inaugurating the expedition by giving his daughter Maria to the Emperor Honorius,[3] and returning from it to assume the Consulate, 400. That year Alaric made his first invasion of Italy.[4] He was checked, but not routed, by Stilicho at the battle of Pollentia (now Pollenzo, some twenty miles south-east of Turin), on Good Friday, 6 April 402, and was manœuvred out of Italy again. For these successes of his father-in-law there fell to Honorius the truimph at Rome which, but for the self-sacrifice of the monk Telemachus[5] in protesting against the gladiatorial games that accompanied it, would have been an ignoble one indeed. Honorius, moved with compassion at his murder by the spectators, abolished the gladiatorial shows for ever. Then the Emperor went back to his retreat behind the marshes of Ravenna,[6] where he had held his Court since 402.[7] He was not without some nobler traits; but, if his character is to be put briefly, it is enough to record the three things that are known of him. He perceived the importance of keeping the Sacred Person of the Augustus out of danger. He had been something of a sportsman in his youth. At Ravenna his chief interest was in feeding chickens.[8] When news was brought to him that on 24 August 410 Alaric had taken Rome: 'Rome perished!' he said, 'Why! only an hour ago she was feeding out of my hand.' The eunuch bowed, and explained that it was only the city of Rome that had been destroyed by Alaric. 'Oh! I see,' said the Emperor, 'I thought you meant my bird Rome.' Rome was the biggest of his pullets! The story[9] need not be true; but it shows what people thought of the character of Honorius.

[1] Gibbon, c. xxx (iii. 246); thus threatening both E. and W., Hodgkin, I. ii. 663. [2] Ibid., c. xxix (iii. 231 sqq.); Hodgkin, I. ii. 665 sqq.
[3] See their *Epithalamium* in Claudian, *Carmina* x (93–102, ed. I. Koch); Gibbon, c. xxix (iii. 238); Hodgkin, I. ii. 670.
[4] Gibbon, c. xxx (iii. 248 sqq.).
[5] Thdt. *H. E.* v. xxvi; Gibbon characteristically observes that he was 'the only monk who died a martyr in the cause of humanity', and that 'his death was more useful to mankind than his life', c. xxx, n. 60 (iii. 258).
[6] Ibid. (iii. 260). [7] Hodgkin, I. ii. 712. [8] Ibid. I. ii. 643.
[9] Its author is Procopius, *De bello Vandalico*, I. ii, § 25 [written c. 550–4]; *Op.* i. 314 sq. (Teubner, 1905).

§ 2. The accession of Arcadius and Honorius marks the final division of the Roman Empire; and, owing to the opposition between the two Courts and the rivalry of their ministers, the beginning of the end in the West. But dark as was the outlook for the Empire, the prospects of the Church might have seemed, to a contemporary, hopeful. There was now no fear of an Arian, or otherwise heretical, government; for in edicts for the suppression of heresy, though in little else, the two princes rose to the level of their father. Arcadius, by *Omnes poenas* [1] of 13 March 395, re-enacted in their sharpest form the laws of Theodosius for the prohibition of heresy. Heretics were neither to meet for worship, nor to ordain [2]; and they were not to be employed in Government Offices.[3] Eleven [4] such rescripts remain to the credit of Arcadius between 395–9; while Honorius put out eighteen [5] between 399–415. The Church, therefore, was cleared of heresy, so far as penal legislation could do it. But she was also, as yet, in the hands of tried, and saintly, leaders. Ambrose was still at Milan; and he was succeeded by the presbyter who had been his tutor, Simplicianus, 397–†400. Siricius, who had done so much to advance the papal authority, was still bishop of Rome, 384–†99. Martin was still bishop of Tours, †397. The year before Ambrose and Martin died, Augustine became bishop of Hippo, 396–†430, and so entered upon his long leadership of the West. In the East, Constantinople was about to pass from the easy-going rule of Nectarius, †397, to the stricter but more eventful episcopate of Chrysostom, 398–†407. It is the events that gather round these two last names that will occupy us in the next two chapters.

§ 3. The history of the West, on the accession of Honorius, begins with Augustine in Africa. About a year after his mother's death, he landed at Carthage, in the autumn of 388. A visit to see a friend [6] brought him, 391, to Hippo Regius. The town [7] lay some two hundred miles west of Carthage; and stood on a flat between two elevations to the south of the modern Bona in Algiers. It was called the Royal Port because the Numidian kings once had a palace there; and it had a bishop since the Council

[1] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. v. 25. [2] Ibid. 26.

[3] They were denied 'militandi facultas' by *Sublimitatem tuam* of 24 November 395; ibid. 29. The 'militia saeculi' were clerks in Government Offices, as contrasted with the 'militia ecclesiastica', i. e. clerks in Holy Orders.

[4] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. v. 25–34, 36. [5] Ibid. 35, 37–47, 51–6.

[6] Aug. *Sermo* CCCLV, § 2 (*Op.* v. 1380; *P. L.* XXXIX. 1569); Possidius, *Vita*, § 3. [7] Gibbon, c. XXXIII (iii. 406).

of Carthage,[1] September 256. Its people were excitable and passionate; but warm-hearted and generous. They were an easy prey to false teachers, and often too ready to cling to old pagan habits. Manichaeism, Donatism, and heathenism were thus questions with which Augustine constantly had to deal.

No sooner had he arrived, than Valerius, the bishop of Hippo, heard of it; and he was ordained to the priesthood,[2] 391–5. Valerius entrusted to him the task of preaching; though it was contrary to African usage, but common enough in the East, for a presbyter to preach in the presence of his bishop. Valerius was a Greek, and overruled the African custom, the more readily that he himself did not speak Latin easily. Augustine's sermons became famous; and, at the desire of the bishops,[3] he preached at the Synod of Hippo, 8 October 393, 'the first of those numerous and renowned assemblies of the Church at which Aurelius, archbishop of Carthage 392–†429, presided.'[4] The sermon was an exposition of the Creed, now known as the *De fide et symbolo*[5]; and is aimed at the system of the Manichaeans, though it makes no open mention of them. They were strong at Hippo, where Fortunatus, a presbyter of theirs, was carrying on a vigorous propaganda.[6] They promised, as usual, to give universal and absolute knowledge; and they scoffed at Catholics for asking a man to believe before he had reasoned out his creed.[7] Augustine's friend Honoratus was still fascinated, as he himself had been, by the pretensions of Manichaeism and its airs of superiority; but he was a man of sufficient penetration to perceive its weakness. Augustine took advantage of the misgivings of his friend to address him, *De utilitate credendi*,[8] 391; and so, indirectly, to reply to Fortunatus. The drift of the pamphlet is to show that there is all the difference between faith and credulity, and that faith is a reasonable principle. Fortunatus disappeared, after being vanquished by Augustine in a public discussion of 28–29 August 392, whose minutes are preserved in the *Acta contra*

[1] *C. S. E. L.* III. i. 443.
[2] Possidius, *Vita*, § 4 (*Op.* x, app. 260; *P. L.* xxxii. 36).
[3] *Retract.* I. xvii (*Op.* i. 27 F; *P. L.* xxxii. 612).
[4] Hefele, ii. 395.
[5] Aug. *Op.* vi. 151–64 (*P. L.* xl. 181–96).
[6] *Retract.* I. xvi, § 1 (*Op.* i. 27 A; *P. L.* xxxii. 612).
[7] *Retract.* I. xiv, § 1 (*Op.* i. 21 E; *P. L.* xxxii. 605).
[8] *Op.* viii. 45–70 (*P. L.* xlii. 65–92); tr. H. de Romestin in *Certain smaller treatises of St. Augustine*, 95–148 (1885).

Fortunatum.[1] Augustine next paid a short visit to Carthage, where discussions were going on about the *Epistle to the Romans.* They were referred to him,[2] and issued, 394, in three brief treatises: (1) *Expositio quarumdam propositionum ex Ep. ad Rom.*,[3] (2) *Ep. ad Rom. inchoata expositio*,[4] and (3) *Ep. ad Gal. expositio.*[5] Of these, the first is of interest as containing a passage in which he makes the Divine Election to depend upon God's foreknowledge of human character, and the first steps in faith to proceed from ourselves.[6] The semi-Pelagians afterwards appealed to this place as an admission in their favour: Augustine allows the appeal, but bids them reconsider the position as he himself had done.[7] About 393 he was busy on another exegetical work, the *De sermone Domini in monte.*[8] It contains a reference to daily Communion as being his own practice and that of the Church in Africa, though it did not obtain in the East.[9] Donatism next challenged his attention; for not only was it well represented in Hippo by its courteous bishop Proculeianus,[10] but its adherents there,[11] as in most parts of Africa,[12] easily outnumbered the Catholics. In October 393 he led the attack on it in an alphabetical ballad or *Psalmus abecedarius contra partem Donati*,[13] to be sung by the populace, who were thus to be familiarized with the origin and the errors of the sect.[14] His last work as presbyter was the *De mendacio*,[15] *c.* 394–5; a hasty composition for which he afterwards substituted, 420, the *Contra mendacium*[16] in condemnation of Priscillianism and its use of 'white lies'. In the later treatise

[1] *Op.* viii. 93–108 (*P. L.* xlii. 111–130); and *Retract.* I. xvi, § 1 (*Op.* i. 27 B; *P. L.* xxxii. 612), and Document No. 184. 'Unde sit malum?' was the question at issue.
[2] *Retract.* I. xxiii, § 1 (*Op.* i. 34 B; *P. L.* xxxii. 620).
[3] *Op.* III. ii. 903–24 (*P. L.* xxxv. 2063–88).
[4] *Op.* III. ii. 925–42 (*P. L.* xxxv. 2087–2106).
[5] *Op.* III. ii. 941–80 (*P. L.* xxxv. 2105–48).
[6] *Exp. qu. prop.* lx, lxi (*Op.* iii. 916; *P. L.* xxxv. 2079).
[7] *Retract.* I. xxiii, §§ 2–4 (*Op.* i. 35; *P. L.* xxxii. 621), and Document No. 185; *De praedestinatione sanctorum* [A. D. 428–9], §§ 7, 8 (*Op.* x. 793–6; *P. L.* xliv. 964–6); W. Bright, *Lessons*, &c., 172, n. 3.
[8] *Op.* III. ii. 165–236 (*P. L.* xxxiv. 1229–1308).
[9] *De serm. in Mont.* ii, § 26 (*Op.* III. ii. 210; *P. L.* xxxiv. 1280).
[10] *Ep.* xxxiii, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 62 C; *P. L.* xxxiii. 129).
[11] *Contra litt. Petil.* ii, § 184 (*Op.* ix. 269 D; *P. L.* xliii. 316).
[12] Possidius, *Vita*, § 7 (*Op.* x, app. 262 A; *P. L.* xxxii. 39).
[13] *Op.* ix. 1–8 (*P. L.* xliii. 23–32).
[14] *Retract.* I. xx (*Op.* i. 31 F; *P. L.* xxxii. 617).
[15] *Op.* vi. 419–46 (*P. L.* xl. 487–518); *Retract.* I. xxvii (*Op.* i. 41; *P. L.* xxxii. 630).
[16] *Op.* vi. 447–64 (*P. L.* xl. 517–48).

he maintains that a lie is unlawful under any circumstances [1]; and the date of the earlier is indicated by a covert reference to Jerome's commentary on the *Epistle to the Galatians*. Jerome had treated the dispute between St. Peter and St. Paul at Antioch as a piece of acting [2] got up to teach Christians that it is blameworthy in them to keep the Law. In a letter to Jerome of 394–5, Augustine protests that this was to impute to the Apostles an acted lie.[3] Besides literary work and preaching, Augustine, as presbyter, was also concerned for the moral well-being of the people. Aurelius had scarcely become Primate when, 392, he wrote to draw his attention to the scandals which took place at the *Agapae* in the cemeteries and the chapels of the martyrs.[4] He begged the archbishop to banish them from Africa, as they had been put away in other churches. Next year, the Council of Hippo prohibited them [5] but without effect. The *Laetitiae*,[6] as they were euphemistically called, went on; and, though celebrated by Christians in honour of the Saints, reproduced only too effectively the excesses of paganism; while, at the same time, they testified to the prosperity of the church in Hippo. Then, as now, Christians could always find money for a 'jollification': the only difference being that, in Africa, they held them in church. Even Monnica had taken part in them; till she found them condemned by Ambrose.[7] Her son, at last, made an onslaught [8] upon the custom: first, on the Vigil of the Ascension, in a sermon on 'Give not that which is holy to the dogs' [9]; and then, next day, on the Vigil of St. Leontius, a former bishop of Hippo, when a *Laetitia* was in prospect for the morrow. It was Ascension Day, 3 May 395. The lesson was about the cleansing of the Temple. Augustine preached from it; and he moved the people to tears. Next morning they began to grumble at the abolition of 'a good old custom'. But Augustine remonstrated privately. Then he went into church and told the people that there was good reason

[1] *Contra mend.*, §§ 18, 31 (*Op.* vi. 456, 467; *P. L.* xl. 528, 540).
[2] 'Simulata contentio,' Jerome, *In Ep. Gal.* lib. i, c. ii (*Op.* vii. 410; *P. L.* xxvi. 342).
[3] Aug. *Ep.* xxviii, §§ 3–5 (*Op.* ii. 46–8; *P. L.* xxxiii. 113).
[4] *Ep.* xxii, §§ 3–6 (*Op.* ii. 28 sq.; *P. L.* xxxiii. 91).
[5] Conc. Hipp., c. 29; Mansi, iii. 923; Hefele, ii. 399; so, too, the Co. of Laodicea [? A. D. 363], c. 28; Mansi, ii. 570; Hefele, ii. 315.
[6] Aug. *Ep.* xxix, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 49 A; *P. L.* xxxiii. 115).
[7] *Conf.* vi, § 2 (*Op.* i. 119 E; *P. L.* xxxii. 719).
[8] *Ep.* xxix (*Op.* ii. 48–53; *P. L.* xxxii. 111–29) for an account of what he did, and Document No. 160.
[9] Matt. vii. 6.

for tolerating such things in the case of new converts ; but they were no longer in place, now that the world was Christian. ' True : they still have them in St. Peter's at Rome ; but the pope lives at the Lateran, far away on the other side of the City. He has forbidden them ; but often he cannot do more. I would have you, however, think less of Peter's church, and more of Peter's epistle.' Then he read out 1 *Pet.* iv. 1–3 : ' the time past may suffice to have wrought the desire of the Gentiles, and to have walked in lasciviousness, lusts, wine-bibbings,' &c. : and he induced them to substitute additional lections and psalmody, which kept them all occupied till ' Vespers, which are wont to be said daily '.[1] It is one of the few references [2] to any services of the fourth century other than the Mass. Valerius and his presbyters retired as soon as Vespers were over ; but the people remained—they had been trapped or won over by Augustine—singing psalms till sunset. So the difficulty of drawing the line between Christian and heathen customs was successfully met, for the time. It was a recurring difficulty, on which good men might take opposite sides. Great missionaries like Gregory Thaumaturgus,[3] bishop of Neo-Caesarea 245–†65, Gregory the Great, on second thoughts [4] in his letter to Mellitus, *c.* 601, and Matteo Ricci, 1582–†1610, with other Jesuits in China, were in favour of accommodation. Other apostles of the nations, as great and as saintly, took the rigorist line : for the question of detail ' What may a convert eat, or do ? ' was ever running up into the question of conscience ' Am I to compromise my Christianity ? ' St. Augustine, St. Martin,[5] and the Franciscans in China, supported in the end by decrees of Innocent X in 1645, Clement XI in 1715, and Benedict XIV in 1745,[6] forbade any association with the festivities, the sacred sites, and the ancestor-worship of heathenism.

§ 4. Valerius now began to fear that some other church would hear of the abilities of Augustine, and demand him for its bishop.

[1] *Ep.* xxix, § 11 (*Op.* ii. 53 c ; *P. L.* xxxiii. 120).

[2] For another see Thdt. *H. E.* iv. xiv, § 2.

[3] Greg. Nyss. *Vita Greg. Thaum.* (*Op.* iii ; *P. G.* xlvi. 953 c).

[4] Writing, 22 June 601, to King Ethelbert, Gregory advised him to put down idolatry and destroy the temples (Bede, *H. E.* i. 32) ; but, afterwards, he advised Mellitus that ' they should be converted to the service of the true God ' (ibid. i. 30) ; W. Bright, *Chapters in early English Church History*,[3] 78 sq.

[5] Sulp. Sev. *Vita*, § 13 (*P. L.* xx. 167).

[6] S. Cheetham, *Hist. Chr. Ch.* (modern period), 114 sq. ; *The East and the West* for April 1905, p. 196.

He first advised him to hide himself. At last, he conceived the idea of appointing him coadjutor. He consulted the Primate Aurelius, who was favourable to the project; and, at the age of forty-one, Augustine was consecrated to the episcopate, in the autumn of 395, by Megalius, bishop of Calama and Primate of Numidia.[1] Augustine had his scruples at the time[2]; though, as he wrote some thirty years later, he was not then aware of the eighth canon of Nicaea[3] which proceeded on the principle that there were not to be two bishops in one city.[4] Nor was Valerius.[5] The principle was well established in the middle of the third century. Cornelius, bishop of Rome 251–†3, appeals to it against Novatian[6]; and lays it down emphatically that 'as there is but one God and one Christ, so there ought to be but one bishop in a catholic church'[7]; while Cyprian observes that schisms arise from forgetting it.[8] In the fourth century it was not so much enforced as assumed at Nicaea, for a maxim not to be ignored in providing for the future status of ex-Novatianist bishops rallied to the Church. Afterwards it was treated as fundamental; by the Roman populace who shouted 'One God, one Christ, one bishop' to Constantius when, in 357, he proposed that Felix should share the dignity with Liberius[9]; and by Chrysostom, in conversation with the Novatianist Sisinnius.[10] It is true that, for the sake of peace, Meletius, bishop of Antioch 361–†81, proposed to his rival Paulinus, 362–†88, that they should place the Book of the Gospels on the episcopal throne and sit on either side of it as joint pastors of Christ's flock[11]; and a similar proposal was made in 411 at the Conference of Carthage, in the hope of healing the Donatist schism.[12] But these proposals were really, by a breach of the rule, to exhibit the more clearly the principle which it embodied. There can only be 'one bishop at a time in a catholic church', because the one invisible and supreme Bishop can have, in each area, but one Vicar or representative. There is an apparent exception too in a passage of Epiphanius, who writes that 'Alexan-

[1] Possidius, *Vita*, § 8 (*Op.* x, app. 262 E; *P. L.* xxxii. 39 sq.).
[2] *Ep.* xxxi, § 4 (*Op.* ii. 56 D; *P. L.* xxxiii. 23).
[3] W. Bright, *Canons* [2], &c., xi. 38.
[4] J. Bingham, *Ant.* II. xiii.
[5] *Ep.* ccxiii [A. D. 426], § 4 (*Op.* ii. 790 A; *P. L.* xxxiii. 967).
[6] Eus. *H. E.* VI. xliii, § 11.
[7] Cyprian, *Ep.* xlix, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 611).
[8] Ibid. lix, § 5 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 672).
[9] Thdt. *H. E.* II. xvii, § 6.
[10] Socr. *H. E.* VI. xxii, § 13.
[11] Thdt. *H. E.* V. iii, §§ 14, 15.
[12] J. Bingham, *Ant.* II. xiii, § 2.

dria never had two bishops like the other cities '.[1] But he means, as is clear from the context, that, whereas the Meletians had, in all other cities of Egypt, set up rival bishops, they had never done so in Alexandria. He is thus speaking of two churches; whereas the question at Hippo was of two bishops in one church. It is clear, too, that what the Nicene rule forbade was two diocesans; and for the course taken by Valerius in appointing a coadjutor, while there was no objection on that score, there were precedents sufficient though not numerous.[2] Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem 202–†12, had Alexander, formerly a bishop in Cappadocia, for his coadjutor[3]; and Anatolius, afterwards bishop of Laodicea in Syria *c.* 280, had similarly assisted Theotecnus, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine 260–†303, as *coadiutor cum iure successionis*.[4] But Augustine could never quite shake himself free of scruples; and at the end of his days, when his infirmities, like those of Valerius before him, demanded some support, he regarded himself as precluded by the Nicene canon from obtaining a coadjutor. Valerius only survived the appointment for a year; and died 396.

§ 5. Then Augustine became bishop of Hippo, 396–†430. His bishopric was indeed a 'burden'[5]; the more so that, from the first, he suffered from ill-health.[6]

(1) In private life he lived very simply, at the head of a household of young clerics. He himself was almost a vegetarian; though he drank wine, and gave meat to his guests.[7] The community which he thus established in his episcopal house,[8] was distinct from the little monastic society in which he had lived as a presbyter.[9] Those who joined it expressed their purpose of remaining in it by a 'profession', 'promise', or 'vow'.[10] Its rules were the source of the later Augustinian Rule, and its members the original and proper Augustinians. No individual

[1] Epiph. *Haer.* lxviii, § 7 (*Op.* ii. 722; *P. G.* xlii. 196).
[2] J. Bingham, *Ant.* II. xiii, § 4.
[3] Eus. *H. E.* VI. xi.
[4] Eus. *H. E.* VII. xxxii, § 31.
[5] *Sermo* cccxxxix, § 1 (*Op.* v. 1308 E; *P. L.* xxxviii. 1480).
[6] *Ep.* cxxii, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 361 G; *P. L.* xxxiii. 470).
[7] Possidius, *Vita*, § 22 (*Op.* x, app. 272; *P. L.* xxxii. 51).
[8] On this see his two sermons, 'De vita et moribus clericorum suorum', *Serm.* cccl v, cccl vi (*Op.* v. 1379–91; *P. L.* xxxix. 1568–81).
[9] Possidius, *Vita*, § 5 (*Op.* x, app. 260 E; *P. L.* xxxii. 37); *Sermo* cccl v, § 2 (*Op.* v. 1380 D; *P. L.* xxxix. 1570).
[10] *Sermo* cccl xv, § 6 (*Op.* v. 1383; *P. L.* xxxix. 1573).

member could call anything his own.[1] It was necessary to make a rule against swearing[2]; and, as this was a rule for clergy,[3] we can imagine how lurid at times was the language of the laity. Backbiting, also, was forbidden by a couplet inscribed on the table:

> Quisquis amat dictis absentem rodere vitam
> hanc mensam indignam noverit esse sibi.[4]

(2) Such was Augustine at home. The daily routine of his official duties as bishop left him, as he complains, but a 'few drops of leisure'.[5] It included business of all sorts.

(*a*) First, temporal. The bishop had the management of estates left to the church. Even at Hippo they were considerable: for Augustine says that his paternal estate at Tagaste was barely a twentieth part of what he possessed as bishop.[6] Such estates were frequently entrusted to clergy of experience in business, the archdeacon and the church-steward.[7] Augustine had an agent and a yearly audit.[8] Then there were legacies to deal with: and here Augustine was careful. He would not receive bequests to the church to the injury of the testator's family.[9] And well he need be careful: legacy-hunting, as we have seen, was a clerical vice in Rome, so much so that Valentinian I had been obliged by *Ecclesiastici* of 30 July 370, to legislate against it. Thirdly, the bishop had to care for the poor.[10] He was 'a beggar for the beggars',[11] and managed a clothing club.[12] Fourthly, there was the difficult business of interceding for criminals.[13] St. Martin had been pre-eminent among bishops in the exercise of this

[1] *Sermo* cccIxv, § 2 (*Op.* v. 1381 B; *P. L.* xxxix. 1570).
[2] Possidius, *Vita*, § 25 (*Op.* x, app. 274 G; *P. L.* xxxii. 55).
[3] Augustine's society was a 'monasterium clericorum' (*Sermo* cccIv, § 2; *Op.* v. 1381 B; *P. L.* xxxix. 1570), and was modelled on the union of monastic and clerical life first instituted by Eusebius, bishop of Vercellae 340–†71; for which, see Ambrose, *Ep.* lxiii, § 66 (*Op.* II. i. 1038; *P. L.* xvi. 1207 A), and Document No. 113.
[4] Possidius, *Vita*, § 22 (*ut sup.*).
[5] *Ep.* cx, § 5 (*Op.* ii. 318 F; *P. L.* xxxiii. 421); cf. *Ep.* ccxli, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 887 E; *P. L.* xxxiii. 1076).
[6] *Ep.* cxxvi, § 7 (*Op.* ii. 370 C; *P. L.* xxxiii. 480).
[7] For the Oeconomus of Chalc, 26, or Praepositus domus of Augustine, see J. Bingham, *Ant.* III. xii, §§ 1–4; W. Bright, *Canons*[2], 216–19.
[8] Possidius, *Vita*, § 24 (*Op.* x, app. 273 C; *P. L.* xxxii. 53).
[9] Ibid. (*Op.* x, app. 273 D; *P. L.* xxxii. 53).
[10] Ibid. (*Op.* x, app. 274 D, E; *P. L.* xxxii. 54).
[11] *Sermo* cccxxxix, § 3 (*Op.* v. 1309 E, F; *P. L.* xxxviii. 1481); the distress was appalling, *Sermo* cccIv, § 5 (*Op.* v. 1383 A; *P. L.* xxxix. 1572).
[12] *Ep.* cxxii, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 362; *P. L.* xxxiii. 471).
[13] J. Bingham, *Ant.* II. viii, §§ 1–3.

privilege; but it was a duty of the bishop's office imposed upon him by reason of the contrast between the merciful spirit of Christianity and the harshness of the Imperial courts. The privilege therefore, though liable to abuse, was allowed; and that, not inopportunely so long as the Spirit of Christ had not tempered public opinion nor leavened the administration of justice. It saved many lives. It mitigated barbarity; as did the *lex talionis*[1] before it and Benefit of Clergy[2] after it. Augustine, however, was too wise to intercede in all cases. When he did so, it was with a modest dignity which usually commanded the respect of the court.[3]

(*b*) Secondly, there were more strictly ecclesiastical duties.

Of these, arbitration[4] in disputes between Christians was one of the most onerous. It was a duty held to belong to bishops in virtue of St. Paul's injunction,[5] and is coaeval with Christianity. Constantine is said to have allowed any two litigants to invoke the bishop's arbitration, and invested his award with the force of law[6]: while Honorius in 408 placed the bishop's decision on a level with that of a Praetorian Prefect from which there was no appeal.[7] This was a high compliment to the episcopate; but a burden which, as Augustine felt, in the face of St. Paul's commands, bishops could not decline. He felt too that it gave grand opportunities for the enforcement of Christian principles of action. He describes the importunity of those who press their selfish cupidity on their attention[8]; and represents the conventional Christian of the day as claiming his own but, of course, 'from the bishop's award and not in the courts'.[9] It was a wearisome duty, at which he sometimes sat all day, and so gave up time that he might have used to better advantage.[10]

For the work dearest to his heart was the congenial task of preaching,[11] which he discharged not only at Hippo or in the

[1] Exod. xxi. 24.
[2] R. W. Dixon, *Hist. of the C. of E. since the abolition of the Roman jurisdiction*, i. 123 sqq.
[3] Possidius, *Vita*, § 20 (*Op.* x. app. 271; *P. L.* xxxii. 50 sq.).
[4] Ibid., § 19 (*Op.* x. app. 270 sq.; *P. L.* xxxii. 49 sq.); J. Bingham, *Ant.* II. vii, §§ 1–5; Chalc., c. ix; W. Bright, *Canons* [2], 173.
[5] 1 Cor. vi. 1. [6] Soz. *H. E.* I. ix, § 5.
[7] By *Episcopale iudicium*, J. Sirmondi, *app. Cod. Theod.*, Lex. xviii, p. 55 (Parisiis, 1631).
[8] *Enarr. in Ps. cxviii: Sermo xxiv*, § 3 (*Op.* iv. 1340 C; *P. L.* xxxvii. 370).
[9] *Contra duas epp. Pel.* iii, § 14 (*Op.* x. 456 F; *P. L.* xliv. 598).
[10] *Ep.* xlviii, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 113; *P. L.* xxxiii. 188).
[11] Possidius, *Vita*, § 31 (*Op.* x, app. 279 sq.; *P. L.* xxxiii. 50).

neighbourhood, but wherever he was invited. He was deeply conscious however, of its difficulty [1] and responsibility; and the pains which he took about it [2] appear in his *De doctrina Christiana*,[3] *c.* 397–426. It is a treatise which contains good advice for preachers; for in Books i–iii he deals with the way in which to investigate the meaning of Scripture, and in Book iv with the way of imparting it to the faithful.[4] Augustine was frequently interrupted, as were Paul of Samosata,[5] Chrysostom,[6] Theodoret,[7] and others of those days, by applause: a custom which he utilizes for reproof. 'You have applauded. It distresses me. Your plaudits are leaves, and I want fruit.' [8] As a rule, in Africa, the preacher sat and the people stood. But Augustine would let his catechumens sit when they began to show signs of inattention [9]; and he himself would stand to preach, sometimes from the steps of the sanctuary, sometimes from the ambo or pulpit.[10] He was in full sympathy with his hearers [11]; asks for their prayers [12]; notes every symptom of flagging attention, often due to the fact that the sermon, being at the Mass, was preached before breakfast [13]; and says he could see by their faces whether they followed him.[14] But the most striking characteristic of his preaching was its versatility: bent now on a rebuke, now on a homely illustration, now on the teaching of doctrine [15] as in his Christmas sermons [16] which are good specimens of the theology of the old Latin church. As to his moral teaching, it is that of a wakeful and penetrating mind. He has observed how suddenly the improvement or the deterioration of character takes place.[17] He dwells on the danger of little sins.[18] He exposes the hollowness

[1] *De cat. rud.*, § 3 (*Op.* vi. 264 A; *P. L.* xl. 311).
[2] *Ep.* lxxiii, § 5 (*Op.* ii. 165 E; *P. L.* xxxiii. 247).
[3] *Op.* iii. 1–92 (*P. L.* xxxiv. 13–122).
[4] *De doctr. Chr.* iv, § 1 (*Op.* iii. 64 E; *P. L.* xxxiv. 89).
[5] Eus. *H. E.* VII. xxx, § 9.
[6] *Adv. Iudaeos*, vii, § 6 (*Op.* i. 671 D; *P. G.* xlviii. 925).
[7] Thdt. *Ep.* lxxxiii (*Op.* iv. 1146; *P. G.* lxxxiv. 1268 C).
[8] *Sermo* lxi, § 13 (*Op.* v. 356 F, G; *P. L.* xxxviii. 414). On this custom see J. Bingham, *Ant.* XIV. iv, § 27; W. Bright, *Lessons*, &c., 219, n. 2.
[9] *De cat. rud.*, § 19 (*Op.* vi. 276 F; *P. L.* xl. 325).
[10] *Sermo* xxiii, § 1 (*Op.* v. 122 C; *P. L.* xxxviii. 155).
[11] Ibid.
[12] *Sermo* cccxl, § 1 (*Op.* v. 1311 B; *P. L.* xxxix. 1482).
[13] *Sermo* cclxiv, § 1 (*Op.* v. 1073 G; *P. L.* xxxviii. 1212).
[14] *De doctr. Chr.* iv, § 25 (*Op.* iii. 74 A; *P. L.* xxxiv. 100).
[15] e. g. *Sermo* xxviii, § 5 (*Op.* v. 148 E; *P. L.* xxxviii. 185).
[16] *Serm.* clxxxiv–cxcvi (*Op.* v. 881–904; *P. L.* xxxviii. 996–1021).
[17] *Sermo* xlvi, § 27 (*Op.* v. 239 B); *P. L.* xxxviii. 285).
[18] *De natura et gratia*, § 13 (*Op.* x. 132; *P. L.* xliv. 253).

of false excuses.[1] His hearers would feel that they had a genuinely real preacher, and that his object was truly represented by the prayer with which he closed his sermons: 'Let us turn with a pure heart to the Lord our God.'[2]

Next to preaching came teaching. There were catechumens to be instructed; and Augustine, in his *De catechizandis rudibus*,[3] *c.* 400, addressed to a deacon of Carthage, Deogratias, who was entrusted there with the task, gives the earliest sketch of the best way to discharge it. Cheerfulness, §§ 1–4, he says, is the key to success in a teacher. The plan of instruction, §§ 5–6, should begin with the creation and run over the story of Redemption down to the Church of the present day. It should, §§ 7–8, be made to point throughout to the love of God for us as the chief cause of the coming of His Son; for the Old Testament, § 8, does but conceal the New, while the New Testament reveals the Old. The catechist, § 9, should then find out what are the hopes and the fears of the Hearer that make him think he wants to 'become a Christian', i.e. a catechumen.[4] (He would be called a 'Christian' before, but not one of the 'Faithful' till after, he was baptized); and so go on after, § 10, the instruction about the Church, to, § 11, the Resurrection and the Future Life. This will be, § 12, sufficient for the uneducated; but cultivated people will require special treatment, particularly, § 13, grammarians and rhetoricians. They will have read our Books beforehand, and for them the Scriptures are not ornate enough.[5] So they must be encouraged to look for their hidden meaning by the bait of the allegorical method. Augustine, §§ 14–22, then harks back to the quality of cheerfulness; and suggests remedies for six causes which often make the Catechist weary of his work. Is it that you do

[1] *Sermo* ix, § 14 (*Op.* v. 58 E; *P. L.* xxxviii. 84).

[2] *Sermo* xxxiv, § 9 (*Op.* v. 173 E; *P. L.* xxxviii. 213).

[3] *Op.* vi. 263–96 (*P. L.* xl. 309–48); ed. W. Y. Fausset [2] (Methuen, 1912), and tr. E. P. Barker (Methuen, 1912).

[4] For this sense of 'fieri Christianus' cf. 'The catechumens were looked upon as members of the Christian community, and were regarded as Christians; the entrance of converts into this lower category being effected by rites which appear, in the ancient liturgical books, under the heading *ad faciendum Christianum*,' L. Duchesne, *Chr. Worship* [5], 292. For the catechumenate, see ibid., and Bingham, *Ant.* x. i, ii; only there were two classes, not four.

[5] Augustine himself had once thought so (*Conf.* iii, § 9), and had been attracted by the allegorical method as used by Ambrose (*Conf.* v, § 24). Tatian, on the other hand, had been converted by the simplicity of the Scriptures (*Orat. adv. Graecos*, § 29 [*Op.* 267; *P. G.* vi. 867 A]). Note the contrast between the taste of the fourth century and of the second.

not feel in the mood for it, §§ 14–15, when somebody interrupts and says, 'Please, come and speak to So-and-so: he wants to become a Christian'? 'The love of Christ' which 'constraineth us'[1] is the only cure for that. Or that, § 19, the attention of your class is beginning to flag, because they are tired of standing? Then we must let them sit down to be taught, as they do in churches oversea.[2] The writer closes, § 23, with two specimen addresses; the first, §§ 24–49, embodying the course of instruction sketched out above, and the second, §§ 51–55, shorter, for simpler folk. His treatise is full of interest and of humour. For he pictures the class shuffling on their feet and showing, in spite of themselves, how badly they want to be off[3]; and he makes it clear that though the presbyters and deacons took a large share in preparing catechumens, as some of his sermons, when a presbyter,[4] indicate, nevertheless the pastoral care of would-be converts took up no inconsiderable portion of a bishop's time.

Discipline[5] was a further claim upon it; and swearing,[6] drunkenness,[7] and unchastity[8] were the special failings of his African flock. Augustine mentions 'the long train' of really or apparently contrite offenders waiting to be received back 'by the imposition of hands'[9] after having been 'put to open penance'.[10] But he was loath to excommunicate[11]; and he knew that unjust censures are not ratified above.[12]

(*c*) Thirdly, it was in the midst of all these calls upon his time that Augustine found what moments he could for literary work. Between his elevation to the episcopate and the end of the century, 395–400, there appeared, besides the works of which mention has already been made, a goodly array of books. The *De Agone Christiano*,[13] 396–7, was written to show the Christian how he

[1] 2 Cor. v. 14. [2] Document, No. 171. [3] Ibid.

[4] *Serm.* ccxii–ccxv ('In traditione et redditione symboli'); *Op.* v. 936–53 (*P. L.* xxxviii. 1058–76).

[5] For the discipline of the ancient church, see Bingham, *Ant.* xvi; and for the Penitential System, ibid. xviii, and Duchesne, *Chr. Worship*[4], c. xv.

[6] Possidius, *Vita*, § 25 (*Op.* x. 274 sq.; *P. L.* xxxii. 54).

[7] *Sermo* xvii, § 3 (*Op.* v. 95 c; *P. L.* xxxviii. 125).

[8] Husbands, he contends, are bound to observe the same fidelity as they exact of their wives, *Serm.* ix, §§ 11, 12, cccxcii, § 5 (*Op.* v. 56, 1505; *P. L.* xxxviii. 83 sq., xxxix. 1712 sq.).

[9] *Sermo*, ccxxxii. § 8 (*Op.* v. 983 e; *P. L.* xxxviii. 1111).

[10] Commination Service.

[11] *Sermo* xvii, § 3 (*Op.* v. 95 d; *P. L.* xxxviii. 125).

[12] *Sermo* lxxxii, § 7 (*Op.* v. 442 g; *P. L.* xxxviii. 509).

[13] *Op.* vi. 245–62 (*P. L.* xl. 289–310).

might overcome evil by faith. Paganism was still a living force in Africa[1]; and in this pamphlet Augustine lets us see how candidly he would meet Pagans in argument, and how carefully he would discuss their objections.[2] In the *De fide rerum quae non videntur*,[3] a sermon composed after 399, he demonstrates the reasonableness of belief in the invisible and the supernatural. The *Contra epistolam Manichaei*,[4] *c.* 396–7, and the *Contra Faustum*,[5] *c.* 400, belong to the anti-Manichaean series; and were composed, about the same time as the *Confessions*, 397–400. In the *De consensu Evangelistarum*,[6] of about 400, he offers some explanation of the differences between the Gospels which have been rehandled in our day by the discussion of the Synoptic and the Johannine problems. Then followed three anti-Donatist works, the *Contra epistolam Parmeniani*,[7] *c.* 400, the *De Baptismo*,[8] *c.* 400, and the *Contra litteras Petiliani*,[9] begun in 400 and finished in 402; and the century closed with two letters, *c.* 400, known as the *Liber ad inquisitiones Ianuarii*.[10] They are on Church usages; and in the former Augustine begins by observing that, § 1, as Christ's yoke is light, the sacraments by which He binds His people together are but few in number, easy to observe and clear in their meaning, viz., Baptism, the Eucharist, and such others as are prescribed in the Canonical Scriptures. Such customs as, though not Scriptural, are traditional with the whole Church, rest on the authority either of the Apostles or of General Councils. Local customs, § 2, such as fasting on Saturday or not, communicating daily or only on stated days, celebrating the Eucharist daily or only on the Sabbath and the Lord's Day, are indifferent: only we must respect them, whenever we are on a visit to the church that observes them, as Ambrose did. He kept, § 3, the Sabbath as a fast or not, according to whether he was in Rome or in Milan: in fact, his maxim was 'When I am in Rome, I do as the Romans do'. Frequency of Communion, § 4, should be determined by what serves best to the honour of the Saviour. As to fast-

[1] W. Bright, *Lessons*, &c., app. xii.
[2] e. g. §§ 8, 9, 12.
[3] *Op.* vi. 141–50 (*P. L.* xl. 171–80).
[4] *Op.* viii. 151–82 (*P. L.* xlii. 173–206).
[5] *Op.* viii (183–470; *P. L.* xlii. 207–518).
[6] *Op.* iii. 1–162 (*P. L.* xxxiv. 1041–1230).
[7] *Op.* ix. 11–78 (*P. L.* xliii. 33–108).
[8] *Op.* ix. 79–204 (*P. L.* xliii. 107–244).
[9] *Op.* ix. 205–336 (*P. L.* xliii. 245–388).
[10] *Epp.* liv, lv (*Op.* ii. 123–43; *P. L.* xxxiii. 199–224).

ing Communion § 5, there is an exception to the rule, in some places, where they have a *second* celebration of the Eucharist on Maundy Thursday. We should, § 6, follow the local use: for of course, § 7, at the Institution (which this custom was intended to commemorate) they were not fasting. But that is no reason, § 8, for reviling the Universal Church on the ground that ordinarily the Eucharist is received fasting. 'It has seemed good to the Holy Spirit that, in honour of so great a Sacrament, the Lord's Body should enter the mouth of a Christian all before other food: and so this is the universal custom.' Then he recurs, § 9, to the Maundy Thursday observances, and concludes, § 10, with recommending the custom, for those who are going to be baptized, of taking a bath[1] between the close of the Lenten fast and their Baptism on Easter Even.[2] The second letter contains the well-known passage about burdensome ceremonies[3] to which reference is made in the preface to the Book of Common Prayer entitled 'Of Ceremonies'.[4] But it should be noticed that he is speaking of petty *unauthorized* ceremonies, not of practices ordained in Scripture or by Councils and Church custom.

Augustine had been bishop of Hippo but for a year when the Church, though enriched by his advancement as by that of no other bishop before or since, was rendered the poorer by the death, in 397, of both St. Ambrose and St. Martin. The one was typical of the statesman-bishop, the other of the missionary; and each had spent about a quarter of a century in the service of his see.

§ 6. The last years of St. Ambrose, 396–7, show him watchful as ever, in the interests both of Church and Empire.

(1) For the Church he championed the rights of Sanctuary, in the case of one Cresconius, 396. Cresconius was a criminal whom Stilicho's soldiery had dragged from the altar to grace the consulate of Honorius by fighting with beasts in the amphitheatre at Milan. Ambrose was indignant, and protested with such effect that Stilicho sent the fellow back unhurt; but, as he was a notorious

[1] It was because of the custom of taking a bath on Maundy Thursday that some did not keep up the fast till late in the day; and that, for these, there was an early celebration of the Eucharist on that day. They could then have their bath and their breakfast; for bathing and fasting were considered incompatible: see Duchesne, *Chr. Worship*[5], 248.

[2] Document No. 162.

[3] *Ep.* lv. § 35 (*Op.* ii. 142; *P. L.* xxxiii. 221), and Document No. 163.

[4] 'Some are put away,' &c.

criminal, sentenced him to exile.[1] The right of Sanctuary [2] had been conceded to the Church from the first days of the Christian Emperors. It was felt that the bishop was the natural refuge of those who were in trouble. So the Church acquired the privilege of Sanctuary as well as the right of Intercession for criminals.[3] It was claimed but violated in the case of a pretender at Cologne, 355, under Constantius,[4] and of a sorcerer, 364, under Valentinian [5]; but a decade later the claim was honoured. Gregory Nazianzen [6] and Ambrose [7] both allude to it as an established institution; and, as such (for it was soon abused) it is at once recognized and limited by Imperial legislation from the edict of Theodosius I, *Publicos debitores* [8] of 18 October 392, to *Pateant summi Dei templa*,[9] of Theodosius II, 23 March 431. In course of time Sanctuary came to obstruct justice; but till law was penetrated by the Spirit of Christ, there was a place for a claim that tempered its rigours, and Ambrose did well to vindicate it.

(2) He next did the Empire a good turn by his correspondence with Fritigil, Queen of the Marcomanni [10]—a general term for the German tribes, or 'marchmen' of the Empire. Fritigil had been so much impressed by what she had heard of the Archbishop that she begged him to send her instruction in the Christian Faith. Ambrose sent her, in reply, 'an excellent letter in the form of catechetical instruction; and in it he also urged her to persuade her husband to keep the peace with the Romans'. He was well aware at Milan of the danger threatening from 'the outbreaks of the barbarians'.[11] The Queen induced her husband to ally himself with the Empire, and started for Milan to visit St. Ambrose. But he had died before her arrival.

(3) Shortly before his death his attention was called to dissensions in the church of Vercellae, 396, where Eusebius had been bishop, 340–†71. Eusebius had been succeeded by Limenius, ?381–?†90; but there was now a vacancy, and great confusion, for which Ambrose complains that he was unjustly blamed.[12]

[1] Paulinus, *Vita*, § 34 (*Op.* I. i; *P. L.* xiv. 39).
[2] J. Bingham, *Ant.* VIII. xi.
[3] Ibid. II. viii, §§ 1–3.
[4] Amm. Marc. xv. v, § 31.
[5] Ibid. XXVI. iii, § 3.
[6] *Orat.* xliii, § 56 (*Op.* i. 811; *P. G.* xxxv. 567 B).
[7] *Ep.* xx, § 8 (*Op.* II. i. 854; *P. L.* xvi. 997 A).
[8] *Cod. Theod.* IX. xlv. 1.
[9] Ibid. IX. xlv. 4.
[10] Paulinus, *Vita*, § 36 (*Op.* I. i; *P. L.* xiv. 39).
[11] *Ep.* lix, § 3 (*Op.* II. i. 1017; *P. L.* xvi. 1182).
[12] *Ep.* lxiii, § 1 (*Op.* III. i. 1022; *P. L.* xvi. 1188).

In the last of his letters he writes to the people of Vercellae, § 2, and bids them, putting aside their dissensions, to remember how the unanimous election of Eusebius was taken as a sign that he ' was chosen by the judgment of God ', and to unite, §§ 3–6, upon their ' request ' or ' petition ' for a new bishop.[1] The term *postulatio*, or *petitio*, is the one usual in the fourth century for expressing the part of the people [2] and of the local church in the choice of its Chief Pastor over against the ' consent ' of the comprovincials. He goes on to denounce, §§ 7–42, two followers of Jovinian, and the opinions which they had come to propagate at Vercellae. They are to him ' Epicurean '. Then he returns, §§ 43–5, to the question in hand, deprecating factiousness and, § 46, urging forbearance in so weighty a matter, as ' the search after a bishop by whose model the life of all is formed '. He should have, § 48, a call from God; and be a pattern, § 59, of all virtues; but, above all, § 60, of consistency: *Assuesce unus esse* must be his maxim. He takes the Pauline qualification, §§ 62–3, ' Husband of one wife ' to exclude even those digamists whose first marriage had preceded their baptism; and, § 64, quotes the Nicene canons [3] as disqualifying for the ministry any one who had ever married twice. Then, § 65, referring to his own reluctance to accept the episcopate, he urges, § 66, that, in Vercellae of all places, care should be taken to secure the right man: for there ' two duties seem equally required of the bishop, monastic severity and ecclesiastical discipline. Eusebius of blessed memory was the first to unite them,' i.e., § 71, the clerical function and the monastic rule [4]; and the letter concludes with detailed exhortations, §§ 82–113, to the chief Christian virtues, after the model of St. Paul's Epistles. It is, in fact, a charge, and of interest in many ways. It illustrates the method of episcopal elections. It is highly characteristic of its author; in its overstatements, recalling Ambrose the barrister; in its zeal

[1] Document No. 112.

[2] Cf. ' suffragium ' or ' acclamation ' in Cyprian, *Epp.* lv, § 8; lix, §§ 5, 6; lxvii, §§ 4, 5; lxviii, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 629, 672 sq., 738 sq., 745); ' choice ' in the letter of the Co. of Nicaea to the church of Alexandria (Socr. *H. E.* I. ix, § 9); ψῆφος, in the case of Athanasius (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xliii, § 8 [*Op.* i. 390; *P. G.* xxxv. 1089 B]); αἴτησις, required by Peter of Alexandria (Thdt. *H. E.* IV. xxii, § 9), though he himself had been first chosen by clergy and magistrates and then acclaimed by the people (ibid. xx, § 2).

[3] There is nothing on the subject in the Canons of Nicaea. He may have had an inaccurate copy.

[4] Document No. 113.

for holiness, Ambrose the bishop. It is standing testimony, in its long exhortations to the Christian virtues, that a typical hierarch and teacher of the fourth century did *not* sink morals in dogma.

(4) It appears to have taken good effect: for Honoratus, †397, a disciple of Eusebius, was the bishop chosen, and we next hear of him at the death of St. Ambrose, 4 April 397. At the age of fifty-six Ambrose was old before his time. He had had a hard and busy life, as barrister, governor of a province, neophyte, and Archbishop. It was a long episcopate of three and twenty years, during which he had had quarrels with the Imperial Court, made two arduous journeys into Gaul, rebuked the crimes and mourned the deaths of Emperors, and spent untiring energy in the work of the Church. His days had been always full, and some of his clergy disappointed him by discontent with their calling.[1] We do not do him justice if we think of him as the great hierarch. True, he did 'set the mitre above the crown'. But, if that were all, Stilicho would hardly have been so anxious when, early in 397, he was told that the archbishop's health was failing. 'When Ambrose is gone', he said, 'the ruin of Italy will not be far off': and sending for some Milanese of high position, he bade them go and ask Ambrose to pray for a prolongation of life—as if the prayers of such a man must be granted. 'I have not so lived among you as to be ashamed to live,' was the famous reply, which Augustine[2] afterwards heard of with such admiration, 'nor yet do I fear to die; for we have a kind Lord'.[3] The mission of Stilicho was high testimony to the ability and character of Ambrose; but higher still, the sustained affection of his people. It shows, like much in his letters, his noble and kindly heart; but he was also severely truthful, a lover of justice and sincerity, a hater of all inconsistency.[4] Ascetic as were his habits—for he took no forenoon meal except on festivals of which, it will be remembered, Saturday was one—he could be playful also.[5] In this he resembled Basil and Chrysostom; but possibly not Athanasius,[6] though of this we cannot be sure, for we do not

[1] *Ep.* lxxxi, § 2 (*Op.* II. i. 1098; *P. L.* xvi. 1273).
[2] Possidius, *Vita*, § 27 (*Op.* x, app. 276 C; *P. L.* xxxii. 56).
[3] Paulinus, *Vita*, § 45 (*Op.* I. i; *P. L.* xiv. 42 sq.).
[4] *De off. min.* ii, § 96 (*Op.* II. i. 94; *P. L.* xvi. 129 A).
[5] As in *Ep.* liv (*Op.* II. i. 1003 sq.; *P. L.* xvi. 1167).
[6] Ath., however, had a sense of humour, though it was somewhat grim.

possess many of the letters of Athanasius. Having been for years a layman and in office, Ambrose was, moreover, a good man of business; and this will explain his strictness, which sometimes caused him to be misunderstood. He was educated, also, as were laymen of his rank and attainments: so he freely quotes the classical authors and did not share the growing antipathy manifested by Christians towards them. But beneath the exterior of the cultivated man and the official there was a pastoral love of souls, itself the outcome of personal devotion to our Lord, as the true 'Highest Good'[1]: 'Omnia Christus est nobis.'[2] He was occupied at the end, like St. Columba[3] [†9 June 597], with the exposition of the Psalter.[4] *Psalm* xliv. 24 was the verse he had reached:

> Wherefore hidest thou thy face,
> And forgettest our misery and trouble?

and the last comment, in the unfinished work, ran 'If only the Lord protects and stands by us, we can boldly sustain every conflict'.[5] Shortly after this, as he lay in a gallery of his house at Milan, they ran to tell Honoratus, the new bishop of Vercellae, who had gone to lie down in a neighbouring room, 'Come quickly: he's going'. Honoratus was just in time to give him the *viaticum* with the Reserved Sacrament; and early on the morning of Easter Even 4–5 April 397 Ambrose passed quietly away. He was buried beneath the Altar of the basilica which he had recently built[6] and which is now represented by the ninth-century church of St. Ambrogio—'far the most interesting spot in Milan', as it has been truly called[7] because of that venerable grave.

§ 7. The successor of St. Ambrose was Simplicianus, 397–†400, a priest who had been the archbishop's instructor in theology after his elevation to the See, and had also done much to win the confidence and secure the conversion of Augustine. Some deacons, at the end of the loggia where Ambrose lay dying, were discussing his successor. They mentioned Simplicianus: and Ambrose overheard the name. 'An old man, but a good one,'[8] he said:

[1] 'His est bonum illud summum,' *Ep.* xxix. § 6 (*Op.* II. i. 905; *P. L.* xvi. 1055). [2] *De virginitate*, § 99 (*Op.* II. i. 237; *P. L.* xvi. 291 C).
[3] Columba was transcribing Ps. xxxiv. 10 when he died, Adamnan, *Vita*, iii, § 23. [4] Paulinus, *Vita*, § 42 (*Op.* I. i; *P. L.* xiv. 41 D).
[5] Ambr. *in Psalm. xliii* [24: Vulg.], *enarr.*, § 94 (*Op.* I. i. 926; *P. L.* xiv. 1134 A). [6] Paulinus, *Vita*, §§ 46–8 (*Op.* I. i; *P. L.* xiv. 43 sq.).
[7] B. Webb, *Continental Ecclesiology*, 205.
[8] Paulinus, *Vita*, § 46 (*Op.* I. i; *P. L.* xiv. 43 A).

so Simplicianus was elected. He was a modest and humble man, whose influence over others was very great but shown more in drawing forth their thoughts than in conveying his own.[1] Hence the four extant letters [2] addressed to him by St. Ambrose; the letter, also, and more important still, the two books *De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum* [3] which Augustine addressed to him in 397. Simplicianus had written to announce his election, and had taken the opportunity of asking Augustine's opinion upon certain Scriptural difficulties; among others, the justice of the election of Jacob and the rejection of Esau.[4] Three years earlier Augustine, in his *Expositio quarumdam propositionum ex Ep. ad Rom.*, 394, had made election depend on the Divine foreknowledge of human character. 'Ours it is', he wrote, 'to believe and to will: but God's to give to those who believe and will, the power to do right.' [5] He then held, in fact, the position afterwards known as Semi-Pelagian, as members of that party did not fail to remind him [6]; for this was as much as to say we do not need grace to 'prevent', i.e. to start,[7] us in the Christian course. Grace on this theory followed on one's own unaided and initial choice of good; a theory to which Augustine, writing thirty-four years later, referred as a mistaken notion which he had held before he became a bishop.[8] But by the time that the inquiries of Simplicianus reached him, he had already turned his back upon it. He now held that the first impulse also was of God; for 'what hast thou which thou hast not received?' And while satisfied for the present with asserting that grace must come in at the very outset as prevenient and originative, as exciting and thereby empowering, his language has, in this treatise, arrived at the point from which he afterwards came to treat it as determinative in the case of souls whom God chose to receive His effectual

[1] Aug. *Ep.* xxxvii (*Op.* ii. 81 sq.; *P. L.* xxxiii. 151 sq.).
[2] Ambr. *Epp.* xxxvii, xxxviii, lxv, lxvii (*Op.* II. i. 930 sqq.; *P. L.* xvi. 1084 sqq.).
[3] Aug. *Op.* vi. 81–120 (*P. L.* xl. 101–48).
[4] *De div. qu. ad Simpl.* I. ii, § 4 (*Op.* vi. 90 F; *P. L.* xl. 113).
[5] *Exp. quar. prop. ex ep. ad Rom.*, § 61 (*Op.* iii. 917; *P. L.* xxxv. 2079), and Document No. 185.
[6] Aug. *Ep.* ccxxvi [A. D. 428–9], § 3 (*Op.* ii. 826; *P. L.* xxxiii. 1008 sq.).
[7] As in the collect 'Actiones nostras, quaesumus, Domine, et aspirando praeveni et adiuvando prosequere; ut cuncta nostra operatio et a Te semper incipiat et per Te coepta finiatur. Per.', Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.* ii. 34, or H. A. Wilson, *The Gregorian Sacramentary*, 32.
[8] *De praedest. Sanct.* [A. D. 428–9], §§ 7, 8 (*Op.* x. 793 sqq.; *P. L.* xliv. 964 sqq.).

calling.[1] The beginnings of his later Predestinarianism make their first appearance here; and so too does his phrase, not less famous than open to misunderstanding, of Original Sin.[2]

§ 8. Simplicianus may still have been pondering over the mysteries discussed in Augustine's replies, when he would have heard of the death of St. Martin,[3] 9 November 397. He had been to Candes, a village of his diocese lower down the Loire than Tours, to settle a quarrel among his clergy. When about to return his strength (for he was over eighty) suddenly failed him; and he felt his end approaching. Gathering his disciples, he told them he was going. They spoke of his flock and of the wolves that would rend it after he was gone. Martin replied in a prayer as famous as the last utterances of St. Ambrose: 'Lord, if I am still necessary to thy people, I refuse not to labour: thy will be done.' They were words which provoked the admiration of St. Bernard.[4] Martin then lay on his back in sackcloth and ashes: and would not be moved. 'My sons,' he said, 'a Christian ought not to die save in ashes and sackcloth: were I to leave you another example, I should have sinned myself.' At the last, he thought he saw the Evil One at his side; but, as if sure that the work of grace was done in him and Paradise awaiting him, Martin rounded upon the Devil: 'Why standest thou here, thou beast of blood?[5] Thou shalt find nothing in me, thou deadly one; for the bosom of Abraham will receive me.' So saying he died 9 November 397, and his body was conducted by crowds to his grave at Tours, and was greatly venerated till it was burnt by the Huguenots.[6] The honours paid to his memory have been without end.[7] In England alone, 151 pre-Reformation dedications to St. Martin attest his popularity.[8] How is it to be accounted for?[9] In part, because of the miracles attributed to him by his biographer, Sulpicius Severus, *c.* 363–†420–5. In part, because he embodied the ideal of a great missionary bishop, and was a man of conspicuous single-heartedness, fearlessness, and self-devotion. But

[1] *De div. qu. ad Simpl.* I. ii, § 9 (*Op.* vi. 93 D, E; *P. L.* xl. 116).
[2] 'Originale peccatum,' ibid. I. i, § 11 (*Op.* vi. 85 B; *P. L.* xl. 107).
[3] Sulp. Sev. *Ep.* iii (*P. L.* xx. 181); Newman, *Ch. F.*, c. xx.
[4] Bernard, *Infesto S. Martini sermo*, § 17 (*Op.* i. 1055; *P. L.* clxxxii. 498 A).
[5] Cf. the last words of Lewis the Pious, 814–†40, addressing the fiend: 'Aus! Aus!' H. H. Milman, *Lat. Chr.*[4] iii. 145.
[6] Tillemont, x. 339; H. H. Scullard, *Martin of Tours*, 144.
[7] Tillemont, x. 349; Scullard, xv–xviii.
[8] F. Arnold-Foster, *Studies in Engl. Ch. Dedications*, iii. 19.
[9] *D. C. B.* iii. 843 sqq.; Scullard, xviii–xxviii.

most of all, perhaps, because of the beautiful traits in his character, from the first act of charity onwards, when he threw his cloak over the beggar at the gate of Amiens.

While the sees of Milan and Tours were thus changing hands, three questions were occupying the attention of the Church in Africa, *c.* 397–400 ; the need of disciplinary regulation, a recrudescence of Donatism, and difficulties rising out of the prevalence of paganism.

§ 9. A Council of Carthage,[1] 28 August 397, took in hand the matter of discipline. It was the third of the long series at which Aurelius presided,[2] and met in conformity with a requirement[3] of the Council of Hippo, 8 October 393, to which Augustine had addressed his *De Fide et Symbolo*. They had before them a *breviarium* drawn up by some early arrivals, on 13 August, of the decisions of Hippo.[4] They confirmed them to the number of forty-three,[5] and added seven more of their own[6]: and the fifty canons thus resulting, to which forty-three bishops including Augustine appended their signatures,[7] offer several points of interest.[8] Some provide for the annual synod of Africa[9] and regulate the relations of a bishop to his primate,[10] of a priest to his bishop,[11] of the court ecclesiastical to the secular court,[12] and touch upon clerical morals.[13] Others deal with rites and ceremonies. Thus *Dominus vobiscum* is restricted to those in *Holy* Orders.[14]

[1] Hefele, *Councils*, ii. 407–9 ; he notes that the older, and less accurate, version of the acts of this Council is given in Mansi, iii. 875 sqq. ; but that the true version is to be found in ib. iii. 916–30.

[2] Hippo, 393 ; and twenty more, mostly at Carthage, Hefele, ii. 406.

[3] The Co. of Hippo ordered that a ' Concilium Africae plenarium ' should be held annually on 23 August (Mansi, iii. 742, 755, 799), but there was delay (ib. 733 A, 915 A).

[4] Ib. iii. 733 B–C, 916 A.

[5] The first four stand separately (ib. iii. 919 A–B ; Hefele, ii. 396) ; the remaining thirty-nine are numbered consecutively under a separate title which, however, is an interpolation (ib. iii. 919 B).

[6] Ib. iii. 926–9.

[7] Ib. iii. 930 B–C.

[8] Document No, 100.

[9] Series II, No. 5 (ib. iii. 920 A ; Hefele, ii. 397).

[10] S. II, No. 6 (ib. iii. 920 A–B ; H. ii. 397). ' Primate ' in Africa = ' Primae sedis episcopus ' (No. 25), or ' Senex '. In other provinces, the bishop of the civil metropolis was the head of the ecclesiastical province, and therefore called ' metropolitan ' ; in Africa this privilege belonged to the senior by consecration, and his see became the ' Prima sedes '. But disputes arose as to seniority, and Canon 4 of Series I endeavoured to settle them (Mansi, iii. 919 B ; H. ii. 396). The primacy of Carthage, however, went with the civil capital.

[11] S. II, No. 8 (M. iii. 920 D ; H. ii. 397).

[12] S. II, No. 9 (M. iii. 920 sq. ; H. ii. 398).

[13] S. II, Nos. 11–20 (M. iii. 921 sq. ; H. ii. 398).

[14] ' Ut *lectores* populum non salutent ' (M. iii. 919 C ; H. ii. 398), i.e. before they read the Gospel. So Readers may still have read this in Africa,

The word *sacramentum* appears in the wide sense of anything consecrated.[1] The Eucharist is not to be given to dead bodies, nor baptism conferred upon them.[2] At the altar, prayer shall always be addressed to the Father; and no one [i.e. no bishop] shall make use of strange forms of prayer without having first consulted well-instructed brethren.[3] Clearly the principles of liturgical worship are but slowly making way, and the old liberty, of the days before a written liturgy was introduced, is dying hard. The only offerings at the Eucharist are to be 'bread, and wine mixed with water'[4]; 'the sacrament of the altar shall always be observed fasting, except on the anniversary of its institution, *Caena Domini*.'[5] That was the last shadow of the Agape to be tolerated, otherwise 'no meals in church'[6]—an enactment by which the Council lent its support to Augustine in the abolition of the *Laetitiae* which he had pressed, 392, upon Aurelius. In a group by itself stands the well-known thirty-sixth Canon[7] on the canonical Scriptures, containing a list which includes five of what we now reckon as *Apocrypha*, viz. Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Judith, and Maccabees. Augustine was probably the moving spirit of the Council; and by 'canonical' the Council seems to have meant, in accordance with his somewhat elastic use of the term, such books as the Church generally, or the chief churches, were accustomed to read in public worship.[8] It thus covered a larger number than are enumerated in the Festal Epistle of St. Athanasius for 367,[9] or are contained in the Jewish

as in the time of St. Cyprian (*Ep.* xxxviii, § 2; *C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 580); elsewhere the Gospel was falling exclusively to deacons.

[1] S. II, No. 3 (M. iii. 919 D; H. ii. 397). On the African use of 'sacramentum' see E. W. Watson in *Studia Biblica*, iv. 253, n. 1.

[2] S. II, No. 4 (M. iii. 919 D; H. ii. 397).

[3] S. II, No. 21 (M. iii. 922 C; H. ii. 398). 'Christe, eleison' had not yet been introduced into the Roman Mass by St. Gregory: see *Epp.* lib. ix (Indict. ii); *Ep.* xiii (*Op.* iii. 940; *P. L.* lxxvii. 956). For the three exceptions to this rule in the English Prayer Book see the collects for Advent III (1661), St. Stephen (1549–1661), Lent I (1549).

[4] S. II, No. 23 (M. iii. 922 D; H. ii. 399); for the mixed chalice see also Justin, *Apol.* I. lxv, § 3; Iren. *Adv. Haer.* v. ii, § 3; Cyprian, *Ep.* lxiii, § 10 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 709).

[5] S. II, No. 28 (M. iii. 923 B; H. ii. 399).

[6] S. II, No. 29 (M. iii. 923 C; H. ii. 399).

[7] S. II, No. 36 (M. iii. 924 A–C; H. ii. 400); reprinted in E. Preuschen, *Analecta*, 162 sq.

[8] Aug. *De doctr. Chr.* II. viii, § 12 (*Op.* III. i. 23; *P. L.* xxxiv. 40). Then follows his list in § 13 (quoted in H. B. Swete, *Introd. to O. T. in Greek*, 211), the same as the list of the Council.

[9] Ath. *Ep. Fest.* xxxix (*Op.* ii; *P. G.* xxvi. 1436 sq.); Preuschen, 144 sqq.; Swete, 203; tr. Robertson, Ath. 551 sq. He includes Baruch but not Esther.

Canon,[1] and detailed in his *Prologus Galeatus*[2] by Jerome. Whereas Jerome is precise,[3] Augustine is lax[4] in his use of the term 'canonical'. It is possible that there may be no more than a difference of language between them. But be this so or not, it is to Augustine's varying language that the claim of the *Apocrypha* to rank as Canonical Scripture must be traced.

§ 10. There was no such hesitation in his dealings with Donatism,[5] which found new opportunity under cover of the insurrection of Gildo in Africa, 397–8.

For thirty years from the death of Constantius, 361–91, the religious peace of Africa was imperilled, or maintained, as the Government vacillated between indifference and repression.

Julian, 361–†3, in accordance with his usual policy of injuring Christianity by allowing its divisions full play, permitted the Donatist exiles not only to return, 362, but to reoccupy the churches from which they had been driven.[6] Taking possession by violence,[7] they did everything to give open and contemptuous expression to their theory that every church of the Catholics was defiled and every act of their worship invalidated through the contagion deriving from Caecilian's alleged consecrations by traditors. The churches, in short, must be disinfected. They washed down the walls,[8] scraped the altars,[9] broke up or sold the

[1] See list in Swete, *Intr. to O. T.* 200. Our *Apocrypha* = simply the excess of the LXX over the Hebrew canon.

[2] It is a *Praefatio de omnibus libris V. T.*, placed just before his version of 1 and 2 Sam., and called 'the Helmeted Preface', as the one with which he is 'prepared to do battle against all who impugn his design and methods', q.v. in *Op.* ix (*P. L.* xxviii. 555 sq.); and tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* vi. 489 sq., Document No. 142.

[3] 'Quicquid extra hos' (sc. the Hebrew), 'est inter apocrypha ponendum' (Jerome, *ut sup.*).

[4] In *De Civ. Dei*, xviii, § 36 (*Op.* vii. 519 C, D; *P. L.* xli. 596), Aug. draws a distinction between two sorts of 'canonical' books: (1) those recognized as such by both the Jewish and the Christian Church, and (2) those revered as such by Christians only, Document No. 183.

[5] For its history see Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 1–193; and note (1) *Historia Donatistarum* prefixed to Optatus (*Op.* 1–22; *P. L.* xi. 771–824); (2) *Geographia sacra Africae* (*Op.* 23–48; *P. L.* xi. 823–76); (3) *Mon. vet. ad Don. hist. pert.* from 362 onwards (*Op.* 201–368; *P. L.* xi. 1179 sqq.); and (4) *Excerpta ad Don. hist. pert.*, a series covering the whole story, in Aug. *Op.* ix, app. 11–72 (*P. L.* xliii. 773–842).

[6] *Mon. vet.*, No. 1 (Opt. *Op.* 201; *P. L.* xi. 1179 D), from Aug. *Contra litt. Petil.* ii, § 224 (*Op.* ix. 286 A; *P. L.* xliii. 331); and, for the event, Opt. *De schism. Don.* ii, § 16 (*Op.* 40; *P. L.* xi. 968 A). Optatus is in *C. S. E. L.* xxvi.

[7] Opt. ii, § 17 (*Op.* 41; *P. L.* xi. 968 B).

[8] Opt. vi, § 6 (*Op.* 97; *P. L.* xi. 1078 A).

[9] Opt. vi, § 1 (*Op.* 90; *P. L.* xi. 1065 A).

sacred vessels,[1] flung the holy oils out of the window, and cast the Eucharist to the dogs.[2] Optatus, bishop of Mileve in Numidia *c.* 370–*c.* 385, to whom we owe the description of these scenes, was himself an eyewitness of the attacks on churches; and the Circumcellions renewed their assaults on persons and property.

Under Valentinian I, 364–†75, little improvement took place, for he had no taste for ecclesiastical bickerings and left things, at first, to take their course. True, the Donatists suffered under the tyrannous administration of his general, Romanus,[3] the Count of Africa, 364–73, but so did their fellow-provincials, and not only the Circumcellions whom he suppressed.[4]

Meanwhile, the ecclesiastical situation somewhat hung fire. There were rival bishops of Carthage, the Catholic Restitutus, 356–?, who had succeeded Gratus, 343–†53; and Parmenian, 355–†91, the successor of Donatus the Great, †355. Restitutus had been president of the Council of Ariminum, 359; and it was in view of his having compromised the Catholic cause there that Athanasius afterwards wrote *Ad Afros*, 369, to rally the African episcopate to the Nicene Faith. Parmenian was not of the sort to compromise his principles. He wrote in defence of them. The treatise is now lost; but it drew from Optatus, *c.* 370, his six books *Contra Parmenianum Donatistam*, better known as the *De Schismate Donatistarum*,[5] to which a seventh was added when the whole was revised, *c.* 385.[6] In the first book, Optatus confines himself to the facts, and shows how the Donatist schism originated. 'Schisma', as he tersely puts it, 'confusae mulieris iracundia peperit, ambitus nutrivit, avaritia roboravit.'[7] In the second book, he proceeds to the discussion of principles. The holiness and the catholicity of the Church are at stake; and he shows that the sanctity of the Church depends upon the Sacraments, and not upon the spiritual or the moral condition of the individual[8];

[1] Opt. vi, § 2 (*Op.* 92; *P. L.* xi. 1068 B).
[2] Opt. ii, § 19 (*Op.* 42; *P. L.* xi. 972 A).
[3] Amm. Marc. XXVII. ix, §§ 1, 2; Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* v. 25 sqq., 63 sqq.; and Gibbon, c. XXV (iii. 46 sqq.).
[4] Aug. *Contra litt. Petil.* iii, § 29 (*Op.* ix. 311; *P. L.* xliii. 362).
[5] *P. L.* xi, or *C. S. E. L.* xxvi; tr. O. R. Vassall-Phillips (Longman, 1917).
[6] The revision cannot have taken place before this date, for Opt. makes mention of Pope Siricius (384–†98) in ii, § 3 (*Op.* 32; *P. L.* xi. 949 A).
[7] Opt. i, § 19 (*Op.* 18; *P. L.* xi. 920), and Document No. 196 (vol. i).
[8] Opt. ii, § 1 (*Op.* 28; *P. L.* xi. 941 sq.). Here he asserts the principle of the objectivity of the sacraments (viz. that they make men holy, *ex opere operato*, apart from their minister), as that which constitutes the sanctity of the Church.

while its catholicity depends upon its being universal and not, as Parmenian would have it, just limited to a corner of Africa.[1] In the third book, he explains why Catholics are not to be blamed for the severity of the Government against the Donatists.[2] The fourth refutes the false exegesis by which Parmenian extracted from a mention in *Isaiah* lxvi. 3 of 'the sacrifice',[3] and in *Psalm* cxl. 5[4] of 'the oil' of 'a sinner', arguments to vilify the Eucharist and other sacraments of Catholics. The fifth book is devoted to Baptism, where he contends that three elements are requisite: (1) the Trinity, (2) the faithful recipient, and (3) the minister. Of these the Donatists exalt the last above the first two.[5] 'How can a man give', they ask, 'what he has not received?' But they forget that the Sacraments possess an intrinsic sanctity, independent of the personal qualities, whether intellectual or moral, of the minister; and that it is 'God who washes [the soul in Baptism] not man'.[6] In the sixth book, he details the outrages which the Donatists perpetrated by way of visibly enforcing their theories, when permitted to return by Julian. It was an able but somewhat violent argument. Yet it made an impression. Tyconius, an exegete of some distinction,[7] in his *De bello intestino* of 372, now lost, admitted so much from the Donatist side[8] that he ought to have abandoned his allegiance to the party. He was promptly challenged by his spiritual chief Parmenian in a letter to which Augustine afterwards wrote a rejoinder known as the *Contra epistolam Parmeniani*,[9] *c.* 400. A milder Donatism, like that of Tyconius, took shape with Claudianists[10] in Africa, Urbanists[11] in Numidia, and Rogatists[12] in Mauretania; who, without

[1] Ibid.

[2] i. e. by the 'operarii unitatis', Leontius, Macarius, Taurinus, &c., Opt. iii, § 1 (*Op.* 51; *P. L.* xi. 987).

[3] Opt. iv, § 6 (*Op.* 76; *P. L.* xi. 1038 C).

[4] 'Oleum peccatoris' of Ps. cxl. 5 [Vulg.] = 'their precious balms' of Ps. cxli. 6 [P. B.], Opt. iv, § 7 (*Op.* 76; *P. L.* xi. 1039 A). The sacraments in question are Baptism and Confirmation; and the passage is important as indicating the author's conception of their relation.

[5] Opt. v, § 4 (*Op.* 83; *P. L.* xi. 1051 B).

[6] Ibid. (*Op.* 84; *P. L.* xi. 1053 B).

[7] *The Rules of Tyconius*, ed. F. C. Burkitt, in *T. and S.* iii, No. 1 (1894); Bardenhewer, 471.

[8] Aug. *Contra epist. Parmen.* i, § 1 (*Op.* ix. 11; *P. L.* xliii. 33).

[9] *Op.* ix. 11–78 (*P. L.* xliii. 33–108).

[10] Aug. *Enarr. ii in Ps.* xxxvi, § 20 (*Op.* iv. 279 E; *P. L.* xxxv. 379); *Contra Cresconium*, iv, § 11 (*Op.* ix. 489 sq.; *P. L.* xliii. 555).

[11] Ibid. iv, § 73 (*Op.* ix. 520 D; *P. L.* xliii. 588).

[12] *Ep.* xciii [A. D. 408], § 11 (*Op.* ii. 234 G; *P. L.* xxxiii. 326). This letter is of great importance, because in it Augustine tells how he once thought

appealing to his principles, detached themselves in turn from the main body. The last, indeed, were a not negligible group : though they were less ferocious and had no Circumcellions.

In the winter of 371–2 Mauretania, exasperated at last by the tyranny of Romanus, broke out into revolt : the lead being given by Firmus, the son of a Moorish chieftain. He captured Caesarea,[1] the capital, and the Donatists flocked to his standard. As long as he held the field, both Catholics[2] and Rogatists[3] had some unpleasant experiences, till at length Valentinian was compelled to intervene. In the summer of 372 he dispatched Theodosius, the father of the future Emperor, thither, who put down the revolt and recovered the country, 373–4. Valentinian supported him by legislation against the Donatists in a rescript, forbidding rebaptizing,[4] of 20 February 373.

These rescripts were continued under Gratian, 375–†83, as in 377[5] and 379.[6] But they were ignored in Numidia where Donatism was strong. In this region the Circumcellions still ranged the countryside, and in the towns, so few were the Catholics that Faustinus, the Donatist bishop of Hippo, *c.* 380, could successfully forbid the bakers to supply them with bread ![7] Elsewhere the vigour of the Church seemed equally paralysed. Optatus was the only Catholic writer of any distinction all these thirty years : while, as for synodical action, Genethlius, the successor of Restitutus, certainly held two councils at Carthage,[8] *c.* 390, but they made no attempt to deal with the problem of the religious divisions that were wasting the strength of the Church of Africa.

Suddenly, in the year 391, the situation took a change for the better. It was the year in which, at Hippo, Augustine was ordained to the presbyterate and in which Aurelius and Primian, 391–411, succeeded Genethlius and Parmenian respectively as primates of the rival confessions at Carthage. With Aurelius

it wrong to use anything but the word of God and reasoning in dealing with heretics ; but, especially through experience of the Circumcellions (ib., § 2), he has come to think that use should also be made of repressive legislation (ib., § 17), because of the good that he has seen it do. He misuses ' Compel them to come in ' of Luke xiv. 23 in § 5 (*Op.* ii. 233 ; *P. L.* xxxiii. 323), and Document No. 175.

[1] Amm. Marc. XXIX. v ; Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* v. 64 sqq.
[2] Aug. *Ep.* lxxxvii, § 10 (*Op.* ii. 213 A ; *P. L.* xxxiii. 301).
[3] Aug. *Contra ep. Parmen.* i, § 16 (*Op.* ix. 22 B ; *P. L.* xliii. 46).
[4] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. vi. 1. [5] Ibid. XVI. vi. 2. [6] Ibid. XVI. vi. 5.
[7] *Contra litt. Petil.* ii. § 184 (*Op.* ix. 269 D ; *P. L.* xliii, 316).
[8] Mansi, iii. 687, 691 sqq., 867 sqq. ; Hefele, ii. 390.

and Augustine in co-operation as the ruler and the theologian of the Church in Africa, the Catholics felt themselves at last under able leadership ; synodical action took a new lease of life ; and a policy, at once firm and conciliatory, was set on foot to cope with the Donatists. These, on the other hand, were too much preoccupied with divisions of their own to meet it effectively, and their preponderance declined under the episcopate of Primian.[1] He became embroiled with a rival, Maximian, while the doctrinal basis of Donatism was badly compromised by the notoriety of his supporter Optatus, bishop of Tamugada.

The schism between Primianists and Maximianists arose out of the ordination by Primian of a relative of Donatus as deacon, by name Maximian. A quarrel broke out between them ; and the deacon, relying on the help of a lady of means, as the party of Majorinus had relied upon Lucilla in their quarrel with Caecilian,[2] made interest with neighbouring bishops against Primian. They assembled, to the number of forty-three,[3] at Carthage, and summoned Primian before them. He declined to appear[4] ; so increasing their forces to about a hundred, they met in synod, 24 June 393, at Cabarsussi in the province of Byzacena. Here they deposed Primian on various pretexts,[5] and twelve of them consecrated Maximian in his place,[6] precisely as Primian's predecessor Majorinus had been consecrated to oust Caecilian. The Maximianists drew their forces from the three eastern provinces—Proconsular Africa, Byzacena, and Tripolitana. Primian, therefore, threw himself for support on to Numidia, where the original strength of Donatism lay ; and, 24 April 394, a synod of three hundred and ten bishops of his party met at Bagai; where they rehabilitated Primian, deposed the twelve consecrators of Maximian, and gave his followers till Christmas to repent.[7]

[1] *Contra Cresconium*, i, § 7 (*Op.* ix. 392 E ; *P. L.* xliii. 449).
[2] Aug. *Ep.* xliii [A. D. 397–8], § 26 (*Op.* ii. 100 ; *P. L.* xxxiii. 172).
[3] *Contra Cresc.* iv, § 7 (*Op.* ix. 487 B ; *P. L.* xliii. 552).
[4] Ibid. iv, § 8 (*Op.* ix. 487 F ; *P. L.* xliii. 552).
[5] The Synodal Letter is given in Aug. *Enarr. ii in Ps.* xxxvi, § 20 (*Op.* iv. 276 sqq. ; *P. L.* xxxvi. 376 sqq.).
[6] *Contra Cresc.* iii, § 58 (*Op.* ix. 464 F ; *P. L.* xliii, 527).
[7] The proceedings of the Council are to be found scattered up and down Augustine's anti-Donatist works, and are collected in the *Sententia Concilii Bagaiensis* in *Mon. vet. ad hist. Don. pert.* in Optatus, *Op.* 206 sqq. (*P. L.* xi. 489). Some of the Maximianists returned, within the limit of time, to the communion of Primian. According to the terms promised, they were not rebaptized. Primian therefore admitted that baptism was valid when admitted outside the Church—an admission fatal to the fundamental

The Maximianists now found themselves between the hammer and the anvil; for Primian and his party not only invoked against them the secular arm,[1] under which they themselves had groaned, but called in Optatus, bishop of Tamugada, a man of infamous character and a satellite of the rebel Gildo, to conduct a persecution against them.[2] Gildo[3] was a younger brother of Firmus. About 386 he gathered up something of his brother's power and maintained it for twelve years. In 393 he was *Comes et magister utriusque militiae per Africam*[4]; and he presently took advantage of the death of Theodosius to stop the corn supplies of Rome,[5] 397, and make himself independent. Stilicho put down the rebellion, 398, and won for Honorius an easy triumph, of which the Donatists were made to feel the consequences in repressive legislation.[6] Weakened by division, and with their sacraments invalidated, on their own showing, as having been administered by bad men like Optatus,[7] the Donatists were now exposed to the attacks of Aurelius and Augustine, who took the field against them with Synod and controversial treatise, 397–400.

As to Synodical action it was not possible at the Council of Hippo, 8 October 393, to do much; for Gildo, with Optatus for his prophet, was then supreme. But a beginning was made. The Council, by canon, restored the annual Synod in Africa; and provided that it was to be attended not only by the bishops of the province in which it should meet but by three legates of each of the other provinces, with full powers from their brethren.[8] The Council also decided, by way of remedy for the scarcity of

principles of Donatism; see Aug. *Contra ep. Parmen.* i, § 9 (*Op.* ix. 16 F; *P. L.* xliii. 40); and *Contra Cresconium*, iv, § 37 (*Op.* ix. 502 D; *P. L.* xliii. 568).

[1] *Contra Cresc.* iv, § 57 (*Op.* ix. 511; *P. L.* xliii. 578).

[2] *Ep.* lxxxvii, §§ 4, 5 (*Op.* ii. 209 sq.; *P. L.* xxxiii. 298 sq.).

[3] Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* v. 493–501; Gibbon, c. xxix (iii. 231); Hodgkin, I. ii. 664 sqq.

[4] *Cod. Theod.* IX. vii. 9.

[5] Claudian, *Carmen* xv. 70.

[6] *Si quis* of 28 April 398; *Cod. Theod.* XVI. ii. 31.

[7] For Augustine's frequent use of Optatus of Tamugada as the best argument against the Donatists, see *Contra ep. Parmen.* ii, § 8 (*Op.* ix. 31; *P. L.* xliii. 56); *Ep.* lxxxvii, § 4 (*Op.* ii. 209 sq.; *P. L.* xxxiii. 298); and the statement of principle in *Contra litt. Petil.* ii, § 88 (*Op.* ix. 246; *P. L.* xliii. 291), and Document No. 174. See, for other instances, Tillemont, *Mém.* vi. 182–4.

[8] Series II, No. 5 (Mansi, iii. 920 A; Hefele, ii. 397); or, in the *Codex Canonum eccl. Afr.*, drawn up, c. 421, to serve as a *dossier* for sustaining the African case in the matter of appeals to Rome, it stands as No. 18 (Mansi, iii. 719). On this collection of African Canons see L. Duchesne, *Hist. anc. de l'Église*, iii. 122, n. 2.

clergy in Africa, to consult the church oversea with a view to some relaxation of the old rule that no Donatist cleric should be received into the Church otherwise than as a layman.[1] With Italy, such consultation was difficult so long as the ascendancy of Gildo lasted. But four years later his power was waning; and, 28 August 397, the third Council of Carthage renewed the proposal, with a further suggestion that persons who had been baptized, before coming to years of discretion, in the Donatist communion, should not be treated, on conforming to the Church, as incapable of promotion to Holy Orders. These considerations were addressed[2] to Siricius of Rome, 384–†98, and Simplician of Milan, 397–†400; and they were sent once more to Anastasius, 398–†402, and Venerius, 401–†8, their successors by a fifth Council of Carthage,[3] 16 June 401. At a sixth, on 13 September 401, Aurelius was obliged to announce that from Rome, at any rate, fair words only and no concessions to meet the dearth of clergy could be obtained.[4] The Council thereupon resolved that letters be sent to the transmarine church, and in particular to Anastasius, to let it be known that Africa would provide for its own necessities in its own way.[5] The bishops would recognize the status of such Donatist clergy as might rally to the Church, any decree of foreign churches notwithstanding[6]; and thus Aurelius, with his colleagues, was engaged in repairing the breaches of the Church in Africa.

Meanwhile, Augustine was conducting a literary campaign in its defence. In a letter[7] of 397–8 to Glorius and others, he took up the historical points at issue He reminds them, §§ 3–5, how in an interview at Tubursica, he had gone over with them the documents relating to the Council of Cirta, 305, and the case of Felix and Caecilian. He then proceeds to state the Church's case against Donatism; and, after a survey, §§ 6–20, of the history, he comes to the principle at stake, in an argument drawn from the parable of the Wheat and the Tares. No corruptions, § 21, in the Church

[1] *Breviarium Hipponense*, No. 37 (Mansi, iii. 924; Hefele, ii. 400). For the old rule, in Africa, see Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxii, § 2 (*C. S. E. L.* III. ii. 776); in S. Italy, 391, Mansi, iii. 738 D, Hefele, ii. 394, and Duchesne, *op. cit.* iii. 125, n. 1; and in Rome, Innocent I, *Ep.* xvii, § 8 (*P. L.* xx. 531 B).

[2] *Brev. Hipp.*, No. 37 (Mansi, iii. 924 sq.).

[3] Mansi, iii. 752; Hefele, ii. 422; Fleury, XXI, c. xiii.

[4] Mansi, iii. 770; Hefele, ii. 423; Fleury, XXI, c. xiii.

[5] Tillemont, *Mém.* xiii. 349.

[6] Canon 2; Hefele, ii. 424.

[7] *Ep.* xliii (*Op.* ii. 88–100; *P. L.* xxxiii. 160 sqq.); Tillemont, *Mém.* xiii. 312 sqq.; Fleury, XXI, c. xiii.

can warrant secession from it. The Circumcellions and Optatus are tares, § 24, which the Donatists themselves have to tolerate. Further, if it is a question of documents, § 25, *our* document is communion with the Catholic Church; or, as he had put it to Parmenian, 'Securus iudicat orbis terrarum'.[1] In a second letter to Glorius,[2] there are some pleasant reminiscences of discussions between Augustine and Fortunius, the Donatist bishop of Tubursica. He was a courteous and a candid disputant[3]; but we do not know the upshot of these efforts for peace. Of more lasting importance are the seven books *De Baptismo*,[4] *c.* 400, which Augustine wrote in fulfilment of an intention, expressed in his treatise against Parmenian,[5] to deal with that Sacrament in the near future. His main contention is that Baptism can be just as validly given outside[6] the Catholic Church as within it[7]; but the saving effect of the Sacrament remains in abeyance so long as the recipient continues in schism, just as it would be suspended by his persistence, say, in malice or any other sin.[8] Augustine distinguished, in short, between the validity of the Sacraments and their efficacy as both St. Cyprian[9] and the Donatists failed to do.[10] Catholics, therefore, accept Donatist Baptism: for 'the Sacrament, wherever it is, is holy of itself'.[11] It follows that no fault in the minister, and no corruption in the Church, can impair its validity: whereas, on the ground that a church of *Traditors* is no true Church and can have no true Sacraments, the Donatist practice is to rebaptize.[12] But here came in Augustine's difficulty. In 'avouching that such as are not of the true Church can administer no true baptism', the Donatists 'had for this point whole volumes of St. Cyprian's own writings together with the judgment of divers African synods whose sentence was the same with his': while for Augustine 'to withstand iteration of baptism was impossible without manifest and professed rejection of Cyprian, whom the world universally did in his lifetime admire as the greatest

[1] *Contra ep. Parmen.* iii, § 24 (*Op.* ix. 72 E; *P. L.* xliii. 101).
[2] *Ep.* xliv (*Op.* ii. 100–7; *P. L.* xxxiii. 173–80); Tillemont, *Mém.* xiii. 309–12.
[3] *Ep.* xliv, § 12 (*Op.* ii. 106; *P. L.* xxxiii. 101).
[4] *Op.* ix. 79–204 (*P. L.* xliii. 107–244); Bardenhewer, 484.
[5] *Contra ep. Parmen.* ii, § 32 (*Op.* ix. 47 G; *P. L.* xliii. 75).
[6] *De bapt.* i, § 2 (*Op.* ix. 79 sq.; *P. L.* xliii. 109).
[7] Ibid. i, § 4 (*Op.* ix. 81 E; *P. L.* xliii. 110).
[8] Ibid. i, § 18 (*Op.* ix. 89 B); *P. L.* xliii. 119), and Document No. 214 (vol. i).
[9] Ibid. vi, § 1 (*Op.* ix. 161 B; *P. L.* xliii. 197).
[10] J. Tixeront, *History of Dogmas*, ii. 397.
[11] *De bapt.* iv, § 18 (*Op.* ix. 132 F; *P. L.* xliii. 166), and Document No. 215 vol. i).
[12] Ibid. i, § 2 (*Op.* ix. 73 D; *P. L.* xliii. 110).

among prelates, and now honours as not the lowest in the kingdom of heaven'. Augustine had therefore to turn the flank of their appeal to so high an authority, and to this effort he devotes his last six books. They come to this, that, as Hooker quaintly puts it, 'there was odds between Cyprian's cause and theirs, he differing from others of sounder understanding in that point, but not dividing himself from the body of the Church by schism as did the Donatists.'[1] The reader, perhaps, will be wearied by the reiteration with which Augustine pursues his argument; but he will be rewarded by one luminous phrase after another in which he envisages the principle that, as the Sacraments are valid by reason of Him whose they are, we are in no way hindered by the defects of the minister, whether in understanding or in character from partaking of their grace. It is the principle of the true sacerdotalism as contrasted with the false; of Catholicism in contradistinction to Puritanism; of those who regard the minister as *merely* the minister of the Sacrament in opposition to those who look upon him as of its substance.[2] The admission of the principle was common enough; and occurs, for example, in Ambrose[3] and Chrysostom.[4] But Optatus was the first to make much of it, while Augustine finally established it. Afterwards, it was put into technical form by St. Thomas Aquinas when he distinguishes between the minister as the Instrumental, and God as the Principal, Agent in His ordinances of Grace. 'Priests do not infuse grace: they merely impart the Sacraments of grace.'[5] In the three books *Contra litteras Petiliani*,[6] 400–2, Augustine travels, in great detail, over the same ground again. Petilian had been a barrister, so brilliant as to claim for himself, and to be accorded, the name of the Paraclete.[7] He became Donatist bishop of Cirta; and in that capacity addressed to his flock a pastoral letter[8] in which he accuses the Catholics of making a repetition of Baptism necessary because, as he holds, they pollute the souls of those whom they baptize.[9] The validity of

[1] R. Hooker, *E. P.* v. lxii, § 9.

[2] The principle is that 'the Church and her ministers are not instead of, but the instruments of, Christ', E. B. Pusey, *University Sermons*, i. 5.

[3] Ambrose, *De Sp. sancto*, i. prologus, § 18 (*Op.* II. i. 603 sq.; *P. L.* xvi, 708).

[4] Chrys. *In Matt. hom.* l, § 3 (*Op.* vii. 517 A, B; *P. G.* lviii. 507).

[5] *Summa*, III. lxiv. 1 ad 1.

[6] *Op.* ix. 205–336 (*P. L.* xliii. 245–388).

[7] *Contra litt. Petil.* iii. § 19 (*Op.* ix. 306 F; *P. L.* xliii. 356).

[8] Ibid. i, § 1 (*Op.* ix. 205 C; *P. L.* xliii. 246).

[9] Ibid. i, § 2 (*Op.* ix. 206 B; *P. L.* xliii. 247).

baptism depends on the character of the minister, as the strength of a building rests on that of its foundation, 'Qui baptizatur a mortuo', i.e. by the spiritually dead, '. . . quid ei prodest lavatio eius?' asked Petilian[1] adopting, or rather adapting, a stock text from *Ecclesiasticus* [xxxiv, 30: Vulg.]. What then is to be thought, replies Augustine, in Book I, of the sacraments as ministered by Optatus of Tamugada?[2] He then proceeds, in Books II and III, to deal *seriatim*, and in form of a dialogue, with the hundred and eight assertions that make up the letter of Petilian as it had now come complete into his hands.[3] They all run up into two: the inefficacy of Baptism—for Donatists never distinguished between the validity and the efficacy of the sacraments—when administered by ungodly persons,[4] and the iniquity of persecution. But the Donatists' own more recent record, as exemplified in the character of Optatus and their treatment of the Maximianists, exposed them to a trenchant application of the *argumentum ad hominem*. It affords conclusive demonstration of the insufficiency of their plea for separating from the Church. So ends the last stage but one of Donatism.

§ 11. We pass next to difficulties arising out of the paganism, still an unspent force in Africa. In spite of the sweeping enactments of Theodosius, 391–2, Augustine had to deal, by sermon and by letter, with questions arising out of the prevalence of paganism. About 398 he preached against the custom of attending idolatrous feasts in the Temples,[5] for fear of offending great men.[6] 'The heathen', he says, 'are saying in their hearts, "Why should we forsake the gods when the Christians themselves join with us in worshipping them?"'[7] And in the same year he answered by letter some questions put to him by a layman named Publicola on the degree in which any contact with heathenism was to be allowed.[8] The actual questions were trivial enough. May a Christian cut wood, for use in the house, from a grove once dedicated to an idol?[9] If he buys meat in the market, which,

[1] *Contra litt. Petil.* i, §§ 12, 17 (*Op.* ix. 210, 2; *P. L.* xliii. 251, 3).
[2] Ibid. i, § 20 (*Op.* ix. 213 C; *P. L.* xliii. 254).
[3] Ibid. ii, § 1 (*Op.* ix. 317; *P. L.* xliii. 259).
[4] In reply to this objection, there is an excellent statement of the principle of the true sacerdotalism in ibid. iii, § 59 (*Op.* ix. 326 sq.; *P. L.* xliii. 378 sq.), and Document No. 173: see, on this, W. Bright, *Lessons*, &c., app. xviii.
[5] *Sermo* lxii, § 7 (*Op.* v. 357; *P. L.* xxxviii. 417).
[6] Ibid., § 8 (*Op.* v. 360 A; *P. L.* xxxviii. 418).
[7] Ibid., § 9 (*Op.* v. 360 F; *P. L.* xxxviii. 418).
[8] The two letters, of Publicola and Aug., are *Epp.* xlvi, xlvii (*Op.* v. 107–13; *P. L.* ii. 181–7).
[9] Q. 8.

on the whole, he thinks *not* to have been offered to idols, is he at liberty to eat it ?[1] May he drink of a well into which a libation has been poured ?[2] But they all run up into the great problems of Christian conduct, How must I avoid compromising my loyalty to Jesus Christ ? How am I to deal charitably by the weak brother ? It was probably to reduce this pressure from paganism but also to avenge the slaughter by pagans, at Anaunia[3] near Trent, of three clerics[4] in 397, that Honorius, or rather Stilicho in his name, took further steps against paganism by the legislation of 399. By *Sicut sacrificia*[5] of 29 January the Emperor forbade sacrifices but ordained 'the ornaments of public works', i.e. statues on public buildings, to be preserved in spite of previous enactments for their removal. This was intended for Gaul and Spain. By *Si qua in agris templa*[6] of 10 July Arcadius required country temples to be destroyed, but 'sine turba et tumultu', as if this might now be ventured, though with some caution. It seems to imply that some rural districts, e.g. Phoenicia which is here in view, had been effectively Christianized. But some concession was evidently necessary in Africa ; for by *Ut profanos ritus*[7] of 20 August the Proconsul was warned that all 'festal assemblies of citizens and general merrymaking', if in accordance with general usage, were to go on as before, provided only that these occasions were kept clear of 'sacrifice or any superstition'. A fourth enactment followed on the same day, entitled *Aedes inlicitis rebus*.[8] It ordered the temples to be preserved, if sacrifices in them had been thoroughly discontinued ; their idols, however, were to be removed by the local authorities. It looked back to the events of Easter at Carthage, and was meant both to control the zeal of Christian iconoclasts and to throw the shield of legality over the proceedings of Aurelius. For his flock, led by two Counts, had set out to destroy the temples at Carthage,[9] shouting 'As at Rome, so at Carthage !' while the great temple of the Queen of Heaven, which had a precinct nearly two miles in extent, and

[1] Q. 9. [2] Q. 14.

[3] Now the Val di Non (Nonsberg) to the N. of Trent.

[4] They were Sisinnius, a deacon, Martyrius, a reader, and Alexander, an usher. They are commemorated on May 29 : see *Acta SS. Maii*, vii. 38–50 ; Aug. *Ep.* cxxxix, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 420 E ; *P. L.* xxxiii. 536). An account of their death was written by Vigilius, bishop of Trent 388–†405, and sent to Simplicianus and Chrysostom ; q.v. in *P. L.* xiii. 549–58, and Ruinart, *Acta*, 624–30. They were the apostles of the Tyrol, and their story is evidence for the tenacity of heathenism there, Fleury, xx. xxii.

[5] *Cod. Theod.* xvi. x. 15. [6] Ibid. 16. [7] Ibid. 17. [8] Ibid. 18.

[9] Aug. *De civ. Dei*, xviii. liv, § 1 (*Op.* vii. 539 A ; *P. L.* xli. 620).

had long been closed and overgrown with brambles, was reopened and turned into a church by Aurelius, who set up his Primatial Throne where the idol had stood.[1] Stilicho had so to legislate as to curb this zeal and yet quicken the 'dead weight of official resistance' on the part of 'the provincial governor and his staff'[2] at one and the same time. Hence the caution, no doubt, which this series of enactments displays. At last, it was thought safe to deliver the final blow. By *Templorum detrahantur*,[3] originally of 24 November 407, but in its final form of 15 November 408, the temples were confiscated, or turned to account for public offices, and paganism prohibited. But this was easier said than done. Paganism could still be dangerous in Africa when provoked. In 399, sixty Christians broke to pieces an image of Hercules at Suffecta. They were slain by the exasperated pagans, whose leader received an ovation; and was a man of importance in the *Curia* of the city.[4] On 1 June 408 a pagan procession passed ostentatiously in front of the church at Calama in Numidia, and for days the pagan rioters held the Christians in a state of terror, because the magistrates would not take action when their attention was called to the now illegal demonstration.[5] The city in fact was on the side of the rioters. At last Augustine intervened. Alarmed at the possible consequences of their action, the people of Calama begged him to overlook their offence in a petition presented by an elderly pagan gentleman named Nectarius.[6] An interesting correspondence arose between Nectarius and Augustine: in the course of which Nectarius observed that 'various ways led alike to the heavenly city'.[7] It was the plea of Symmachus over again, and it fairly represents what was the attitude of cultivated paganism as now of unthinking Christians, viz. that one religion is as good as another, and that we are all going to the same place. Forty years later, when Salvian of Marseilles, †480, wrote his *De gubernatione Dei*, 439–51, the worship of the Queen of Heaven, as he tells us, was by no means a thing of the past.[8]

[1] [Prosper ?] of Africa, *c.* 440 (Bardenhewer, 514), who was there on the occasion, has left us an account of the scene in his *De promissionibus*, iv, § 44 (*P. L.* li. 835).

[2] S. Dill, *Roman Society in the last century of the Western Empire*[2], 37.

[3] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. x. 19; Fleury, XXII. xv, and Document No. 125.

[4] Aug. *Ep.* 1 (*Op.* ii. 116; *P. L.* xxxiii. 190 sq.).

[5] Aug. *Ep.* xci, § 8 (*Op.* ii. 226 A; *P. L.* xxxiii. 316).

[6] His letter = Aug. *Ep.* xc (*Op.* ii. 223; *P. L.* xxxiii. 313).

[7] Aug. *Ep.* ciii, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 288 B; *P. L.* xxxiii. 386).

[8] Salvian, *De gub. Dei*, viii, § 2 (*Op.* 177; *P. L.* liii. 154).

CHAPTER XIV

THE SONS OF THEODOSIUS: ARCADIUS, 395–†408, AND HONORIUS, 395–†425. (ii) THE EAST: TO THE DEATH OF ARCADIUS

We now turn to the East, under the reign of Arcadius, 395–†408.

Nectarius, the ninth archbishop of Constantinople, ruled from 381–†97. His episcopate had been a dignified failure. He himself had been consecrated as a neophyte, and was too easy going. A courtly gentleman in middle life suddenly raised to the bishopric of the Capital was not likely to distinguish himself either as theologian or disciplinarian. His clergy, in consequence, became demoralized; and on his death there was a plague of place-hunting for his vacant throne.[1] It was a great thing to sit on the throne which ranked next after Old Rome[2]; to be an Emperor's pastor, or, in the later phrase, Oecumenical Patriarch;[3] to have opportunities of exercising influence, though not as yet Patriarchal power,[4] over numerous ecclesiastical provinces; to occupy an august position in the official and the social life of the Capital, with a palace like a Senator and an equipage like a Governor; and to have access to the Imperial ear. And hence the intrigues. In theory, the appointment rested with the acclamation of the people, the choice of the clergy, and the consent of the provincial synod. In reality, with the Emperor; or rather, with his minister, the eunuch Eutropius,[5] who became Consul A.D. 399. Eutropius himself was a man of low character, venal, and avaricious. But he was not incapable of appreciating the high-souled preacher whom, on a recent journey to the East, he had heard at Antioch. So Chrysostom was sent for by the Emperor, and, 26 February 398, consecrated archbishop of Constantinople, 398–†407, by the unwilling hands of Theophilus,[6] archbishop of Alexandria 385–

[1] Palladius, *Vita Chrysostomi*, § 5 (*Op.* xiii. 17 D; *P. G.* xlvii. 19).
[2] Co. of CP., c. 3; W. Bright, *Canons* [2], xxii. 106 sqq.
[3] F. H. Dudden, *Gregory the Great*, ii. 202.
[4] This was conferred, or recognized, by Chalc. 28; W. Bright, *Canons* [2], xlvii. 222 sqq.
[5] Gibbon, c. xxxii (iii. 360–70); Hodgkin, I. ii. 681–3.
[6] Socr. *H. E.* VI. ii, §§ 1–11; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. ii, §§ 13–20; Thdt. *H. E.*

†412. The latter only waited an opportunity to be avenged on his rival in the upstart see.

§ 1. It was as a preacher that Chrysostom was at his best. He was a great preacher, not merely because of his gift of eloquence, but because that gift was the ally and the instrument of a hopeful disposition, a firm will, and a warm heart. Newman, in his sketch of him, says that the distinctive praise of Chrysostom's oratory was that it was natural. 'He spoke because his heart [and] his head were brimful of things to speak about.'[1] Sozomen, who is well acquainted with the traditions of Constantinople, tells how he recommended his teaching by the consistency of his life. 'His words were embellished by his deeds.'[2] This was the secret of his greatness as a preacher. As for his style, Photius, who himself was Patriarch of Constantinople 858–†886, remarks on its clearness and easy flow, with abundance of illustration.[3] Moreover, he was eminently a practical preacher,[4] avoiding the deeper questions, and giving a wide berth to the mystical and allegorizing interpretations or applications, so dear to St. Ambrose and so foreign to the Antiochene School in which Chrysostom had been brought up. To be better heard, he preached oftener from the Reader's pulpit[5] than from his throne.

As for his audience, they were impressionable and enthusiastic; but fitful and unstable, sadly deficient in seriousness and reverence. They were fond of applauding, like the Puritans with their 'Hm! Hm!' in St. Margaret's, Westminster. Chrysostom disliked and reproved the habit.[6] It shows how the Greek world had made its way into the Christian church, and where Christian frivolity came

v. xxvii, § 1. Our authorities for the life of St. Chrysostom in CP. are these three and Palladius, to be identified with Palladius, the bishop of Helenopolis, and author of the *Lausiac History*. So Dom Butler, *J. T. S.*, xxii. 138–55 (Jan. 1921), and L. Duchesne, *Hist. anc. de l'Église*, iii. 72, n. 1. He was a contemporary, but a partisan, of Chrysostom's.

[1] Newman, *Hist. Sketches*, ii. 234.

[2] Soz. *H. E.* IV. ii, § 4.

[3] Photius, *Bibliotheca*, clxxiv (*Op.* iii. 119 A; *P. G.* ciii. 504 C).

[4] e. g. when he observes that the bad lives of Christians are the best argument for heathenism, *In* 1 *Tim. Hom.* x, § 3 (*Op.* xi. 602; *P. G.* lxii. 551).

[5] Socr. *H. E.* VI. v, § 5; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. v, § 2. On sitting to preach, and on the place of preaching, see Bingham, *Ant.* XIV. iv, § 24.

[6] As in *De Lazaro*, ii, § 3, viii, § 1 (*Op.* i. 730 A, 790 C; *P. G.* xlviii. 985, 1045). He says it was brought from the amphitheatre into the Church. It was no doubt due also to 'the passion for rhetoric' in the fourth and fifth centuries, to which Chrysostom alludes in *De sacerdotio*, v, § 8 (*Op.* i. 420 B; *P. G.* xlviii. 677).

from.[1] It was their incurable frivolity that most grieved him. He complains of their passion for public amusements,[2] which often were vicious and degrading[3]; their frequent inattention, for they would even talk at the consecration of the Eucharist[4]; their neglect of communion—once or twice a year, at the most[5]; their indifference to the study of Holy Scripture.[6] He rebukes also the vulgar pride of wealth,[7] the tasteless and senseless luxury[8]; the ignoble squandering of princely incomes[9]; heathen habits at weddings and funerals, such as stage-dancing[10] at the one and hired mourners[11] at the other; a superstitious reliance on amulets, spells, and fortune-telling[12]; vices of tongue and temper,[13] such as swearing,[14] carping, and backbiting[15]; and the lack of seriousness shown in the delay of Baptism, which he looks on as running a terrible risk and a thankless ignoring of the Divine Mercy.[16] But he knows how to encourage as well as to find fault. Thus he deals sympathetically with those who have doubts: for while answering such objectors as merely repeated the usual pagan objections drawn from the condition of the heathen,[17] the lateness of the

[1] *sc.* the theatre. 'The church', he says, 'is not a theatre, where we come to have our ears tickled,' *Hom. In Pop. Ant.* ii, § 4 (*Op.* ii. 25; *P. G.* xlix. 38).

[2] In 399 they spent Good Friday at the races and Easter Even in the theatre, *Contra ludos et theatra* (*Op.* vi. 272–8; *P. G.* lvi. 263–70). For the amphitheatre see *Chr.'s picture of his age*, 156 sqq.

[3] Specially the theatre, for which see *In* 1 *Thess. Hom.* v, § 4 (*Op.* xi. 464 F; *P. G.* lxii. 428); *Chr.'s pict.* 151.

[4] *In Act. Apost. Hom.* xxiv, § 4 (*Op.* ix. 199 B; *P. G.* lx. 190).

[5] *In Heb. cx Hom.* xvii, § 4 (*Op.* xii. 169 B; *P. G.* lxiii. 131).

[6] *In Act i Hom.* i, § 1 (*Op.* ix. 1; *P. G.* lx. 13); and *In Col. iii Hom.* ix, §2 (*Op.* xi. 391 D; *P. G.* lxii. 361); *Chr.'s picture*, 128 sq.

[7] *In Rom. Hom.* iv, § 4, xi, § 6 (*Op.* ix. 459, 540; *P. G.* lx. 421, 493).

[8] *In Col. iii Hom.* vii, §§ 4, 5 (*Op.* xi. 377 sqq.; *P. G.* lxii. 349 sqq.); *Picture*, 120 sqq.

[9] As at the gaming-tables, *Hom. xv ad pop. Ant.*, § 4 (*Op.* ii. 157 C; *P. G.* xlix. 159); and *In princip. Act.* i, § 2 (*Op.* iii. 52 D; *P. G.* li. 69).

[10] *In Col. Hom.* xii, § 4 (*Op.* xi. 418 D; *P. G.* lxii. 386 sq.).

[11] *In Heb. Hom.* iv, § 5 (*Op.* xii. 46; *P. G.* lxiii. 42 sq.).

[12] *In Thess. Hom.* iii, § 5 (*Op.* xi. 447; *P. G.* lxii. 412); *In* 1 *Cor. Hom.* iv, § 6, where he points out that superstition is the nemesis of irreligion. Reject the true supernaturalism, and you will become the prey of the false (*Op.* x. 32; *P. G.* lxi. 38); and, for amulets, *In Col. Hom.* viii, § 5 (*Op.* xi. 386 sq.; *P. G.* lxii. 357).

[13] *In Act. Hom.* viii, §§ 2, 3 (*Op.* ix. 66; *P. G.* lx. 75 sq.).

[14] *Hom. in pop. Ant.* iv, § 6 (*Op.* ii. 57 E; *P. G.* xlix. 67).

[15] *In Phil. Hom.* ix, § 4 (*Op.* xi. 269; *P. G.* lxii. 251 sq.); *Picture*, 213, esp. at the clergy.

[16] *In Ioann.* xviii, § 1 (*Op.* viii. 104; *P. G.* lix. 115); and *Cat.* i, § 1 (*Op.* ii. 226 sq.; *P. G.* xlix. 224 sq.), where there is a very modern touch as to the way in which a priest's visit to the sick man is looked upon as the patient's death-knell.

[17] *In Col. Hom.* ii, § 6 (*Op.* xi. 341; *P. G.* lxii. 315).

Advent,[1] or the notion of eternal judgement,[2] he acknowledges, in one memorable sentence, the compatibility, in some cases, of doubt with a genuine belief: 'for it is possible to believe though one is in doubt.'[3] And he always treats real difficulties with seriousness, such as those which arise from the dissensions of Christians.[4] But, as a rule, he discourages the pursuit of merely speculative questions, and prefers to be a preacher of fear and love. Sometimes he describes the terrors of the Day of Judgement[5]; but his favourite theme is the amplitude of God's mercy.[6] To stimulate the will is his constant endeavour, and he dwells on the possibility of real conversion, the blessedness of God's service, and our responsibility in view of the freedom of the will.[7] Perhaps he might be called a one-sided preacher of free-will and individual responsibility; and it might be said that some of his language is what would have been called, thirty years later, semi-Pelagian in tendency. But this was mainly because the question had not, in his day, been definitely raised.[8] The power of the will and the certainty of God's pardon to all penitents, were the two outstanding topics of his preaching: both practical and not speculative. He was constantly pressing home, too, what, in modern phrase, we call the religion of common life[9]; nor did he forget the duty of missions, home and foreign.[10] He loved a homely illustration, from the thanks given by beggars for alms,[11] or from the training required by dancers on the tight-rope,[12] or by athletes at the games.[13] In this he did but imitate the Apostle whom he specially reverenced[14]—or rather, St. Paul's Master and his own.

[1] *In Col. Hom.* iv, § 3 (*Op.* xi. 354; *P. G.* lxii. 328); H. P. Liddon, *Advent Sermons*, i. 158 sqq.; and W. Bright, *Morality in doctrine*, Sermon x.
[2] *In Thess. Hom.* viii, § 2 (*Op.* xi. 480; *P. G.* lxii. 441).
[3] *In Heb. Hom.* xix, § 1 (*Op.* xii. 181 C; *P. G.* lxiii. 140).
[4] *In Act. Hom.* xxxiii, § 4 (*Op.* ix. 258 sq.; *P. G.* lx. 244).
[5] *In Phil. Hom.* xiii, § 4 (*Op.* xi. 362 F; *P. G.* lxi. 281).
[6] *In Phil. Hom.* xi, § 5 (*Op.* xi. 290 B; *P. G.* lxii. 270).
[7] *In Ieremiae x. 23 Hom.*, §§ 1, 2 (*Op.* vi. 158–60; *P. G.* vi. 155 sq.); and W. Bright, *Lessons*, &c., app. viii.
[8] On Chrysostom's teaching about grace see Tillemont, *Mém.* xi. 356–8; and Bright, *Lessons*, &c., app. viii.
[9] e. g. on the danger of relapse, after such a feast as Easter, *In Act. Hom.* xxix, § 3 (*Op.* viii. 229 sqq.; *P. G.* lix. 217 sq.); Bright, *Lessons*, 68 sq., and *The Law of Faith*, 91 sqq.
[10] e. g. in a sermon to Goths, at St. Paul's in CP., *Hom.* viii, § 1 (*Op.* xiii. 372; *P. G.* lxiv. 501).
[11] *In 1 Thess. Hom.* xi, § 3 (*Op.* xi. 506 sq.; *P. G.* lxii. 466).
[12] *In pop. Ant.* xix, § 4 (*Op.* ii. 196 sq.; *P. G.* xlix. 195); *Picture*, 167–9.
[13] *In Matt. Hom.* xxxiii, § 6 (*Op.* vii. 385 C; *P. G.* lvii. 395); *Picture*, 159.
[14] *Hom. i–vii de laudibus Pauli* (*Op.* ii. 474–517; *P. G.* l. 473–514); and *De Sacerdotio*, iv, §§ 6–8 (*Op.* I. ii. 410–14; *P. G.* xlviii. 668–72).

§ 2. As an administrator St. Chrysostom was not so great. His aversion for luxury and distaste for display[1] attracted unfriendly criticism. Like Gregory Nazianzene, he never felt at home in the high society of the Capital, and presented a great contrast to his courtly and affable predecessor, Nectarius. There was some excuse in that his health, which had been damaged by early austerities, made him abstemious[2] and sometimes irritable.[3] But he got the credit with the great of being morose and inhospitable.[4] With the poor he appeared, at times, haughty and austere. He did not trouble himself to be agreeable to any chance person, says his biographer; or, as a shoemaker put it, 'When you meet him anywhere outside the church, you can seldom get him to stop and have a word with you.'[5] He became unpopular also with his clergy; but this was, though not entirely, to his credit. Their *moral* had sunk low under the easy-going Nectarius. Their standard of duty was perfunctory. They were worldly and lazy, and sometimes worse. Chrysostom came bent on uncompromising reforms. He deposed two deacons for grave offences.[6] He repelled other clergy from the Eucharist. He sets his face against clerical women.[7] He attacked clerical avarice and love of good living; he made the cleric, who liked a quiet evening at home, turn out at night to conduct services,[8] and so obviate the attractions of Arians who did the same.[9] All this was to the archbishop's credit. But he showed some want of judgement in giving his whole confidence to his archdeacon Serapion—a man who bluntly told him, in an assembly of his clergy, 'You will never be able to master these men, my Lord, unless you drive them all with the same rod.'[10] Like other ardent reformers in high place, Chrysostom

[1] *Hom. antequam iret in exsilium*, § 1 (*Op.* III. ii. 420; *P. G.* li. 435*).

[2] Palladius, *Vita*, § 12 (*Op.* xiii. 40 sq.; *P. G.* xlvii. 39); *Ep.* vi, § 1 (*Op.* iii. 580; *P. G.* lii. 598 sq.); and Soz. *H. E.* VIII. ix, § 6.

[3] Socr. *H. E.* VI. iii, § 13.

[4] Socr. *H. E.* VI. iv, § 6; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. ix, § 6.

[5] Palladius, *Vita*, § 19 (*Op.* xiii. 72 D; *P. G.* xlvii. 67).

[6] Ibid., § 8 (*Op.* xiii. 26 D; *P. G.* xlvii. 27).

[7] Ibid., § 5 (*Op.* xiii. 18; *P. G.* xlvii. 20). On *Subintroductae* see his two sermons (*Op.* i. 228–67; *P. G.* xlvii. 495–532).

[8] Ibid., § 5 (*Op.* xiii. 18; *P. G.* xlvii. 20).

[9] For the Arian litanies, those of Chrysostom, and the collision between the two processions, see Socr. *H. E.* VI. viii; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. viii, where note also the Vigils. These exercises of Arians were forbidden by *Cod. Theod.* XVI. v. 30.

[10] Socr. *H. E.* VI. iv, § 3. He gives him the character of being Chrysostom's evil genius; proud, domineering, and insolent, ib. VI. xi, §§ 14, 15. So,

expected too much and too soon. He was like Archbishop Laud, both in merits and defects: single-hearted, but incapable of making allowances. He fell foul, too, and perhaps not without cause, of his church-officers, and of great personages in the State. Thus the accounts of the Church-Steward and of the archiepiscopal household were rigorously examined [1]; so that expenditure which had been matter of course with Nectarius was now out of the question. And being 'by nature inclined to find fault',[2] as we are told, he practised on great ladies,[3] as Knox on the attendants of Mary Stuart; and rebuked Church-widows for self-indulgent living [4] and monks for breaking their seclusion.[5] Thus, though ever at the call of the helpless [6]; though he had the credit of making converts from heresy and heathenism [7] and had organized a mission to the Arian Goths at Constantinople [8] and to the heathen Goths on the frontier [9]; though his eloquence kept him ever at the height of popularity with the masses, Chrysostom, as an administrator, made many enemies: among them Eutropius [10] and, though not at first, the Empress Eudoxia, 395–†404, herself.[11]

§ 3. But as yet all went well; and in the earlier years of his episcopate, from 398–401, four memorable events took place which mark his ever-growing influence.

(1) In 398 there was a procession by night from the Great Church to the Church of St. Thomas in Drypia, nine miles off, to translate the relics of some saints.[12] The Empress herself, robed in the purple and wearing the diadem, followed the reliquary all the way on foot, touching the cloth that covered it, so that she might miss none of the spiritual benefit.[13] Chrysostom preached on the arrival of the procession, and had her authority to say that the Emperor himself would visit the shrine next day. He came, and

with less emphasis, Soz. *H. E.* VIII. ix, § 1; and see Tillemont, *Mém.* xi. 141. Serapion suffered horribly, later on, as one of Chrysostom's friends, Palladius, *Vita*, § 20 (*Op.* xiii. 77 D; *P. G.* xlvii. 71).

[1] Palladius, *Vita*, § 5 (*Op.* xiii. 19; *P. G.* xlvii. 20).
[2] Soz. *H. E.* VIII. iii, § 1.
[3] Palladius, *Vita*, § 8 (*Op.* xiii. 27 A; *P. G.* xlvii. 27).
[4] Ibid., § 5 (*Op.* xiii. 19 C; *P. G.* xlvii. 20).
[5] Soz. *H. E.* VIII. ix, § 4.
[6] Palladius, *Vita*, § 13 (*Op.* xiii. 47; *P. G.* xlvii. 47).
[7] Soz. *H. E.* VIII. v.
[8] Thdt. *H. E.* V. xxx.
[9] Ibid. V. xxxi.
[10] *Hom. in Eutropium*, i, § 1 (*Op.* III. ii. 381; *P. G.* lii. 392).
[11] She gave him silver crosses, with torches, for his processions, Socr. *H. E.* VI. viii; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. viii.
[12] Benedictine, *Vita* (*P. G.* xlvii. 168–71); Stephens, *Life*, 222 sq.
[13] *Hom. dicta post rel. mart.*, § 1 (*Op.* xii. 331 E; *P. G.* lxiii. 469).

made adoration.[1] That done, the archbishop was about to preach again. But Arcadius was bored, and went out before the sermon ; Chrysostom delivered it to the assembled multitude ; and both sermons contain striking pictures of the social and religious life of the time.

(2) On 6 April 399, the Wednesday in Holy Week, there was a heavy fall of rain which did great damage to the crops.[2] The archbishop organized a litany and processions, and bade them call for aid upon ' Peter and Andrew, and upon that apostolic pair Paul and Timothy ', as they went to the Church of the Apostles, and across the Bosporus, to the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul.[3] Invocation of Saints, as well as Veneration of Relics, was making its way at Constantinople under Chrysostom's patronage.[4] There was a lull on Maundy Thursday. But on 8 April, Good Friday, the people went off to the Horse Races [5] ; and they spent 9 April, Easter Even, at the Theatre.[6] Chrysostom devoted his Easter Day sermon, 10 April, to lamenting and reproving these sins. He paints what happened in vivid colours ; and gives us a striking picture of the mixture of devotion and frivolity which characterized his age.

(3) An even more extraordinary sermon is connected with the fall of Eutropius,[7] 399. He had been master of the Eastern world, as Stilicho of the Western, since he had accomplished the ruin of Rufinus, and then stepped into his place at the beginning of the reign of Arcadius.[8] ' He lorded it over Arcadius ', we are told, ' as over an animal.' [9] He was not cruel like Rufinus, but his avarice [10] was such that men found his rule intolerable. Yet in 398 he became Patrician, and in 399 Consul. Claudian, ?–†404, is almost beside himself at the disgrace. ' Rise from your tombs, ancient Romans, pride of Latium,' he cries to the capital of the West ; ' behold an unknown colleague on your

[1] *Hom. dicta praesente Imperatore*, § 1 (*Op.* xii. 335 ; *P. G.* lxiii. 473).
[2] Benedictine, *Vita* (*P. G.* xlvii. 172–4).
[3] *Hom. c. ludos et theatra*, § 1 (*Op.* vi. 273 c ; *P. G.* lvi. 265).
[4] *Chrysostom's picture of the religion of his age*, 87 sq.
[5] *Hom. c. ludos*, § 1 (*Op.* vi. 272 ; *P. G.* lvi. 263).
[6] Ibid., § 2 (*Op.* vi. 274 ; *P. G.* lvi. 266).
[7] Socr. *H. E.* vi. v, §§ 3–7 ; Soz. *H. E.* viii. vii.
[8] Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* v. 428 sqq.
[9] Zosimus [wrote *c.* 425–50 : anti-Christian], *Hist.* v, § 12 (*Corp. Scr. Hist. Byz.* xlix. 261).
[10] Claudian, *Carmen*, xviii. 190–209 (Teubner, 1893) ; written 399. For Claudian, see Gibbon, iii, app. 1 (ed. Bury) ; Hodgkin, i. ii. 535 sq.

curule chairs ; rise and avenge the majesty of the Roman name.' [1] But it was the Goths who avenged it. The recent promotion of Alaric to be Commander-in-chief of the Roman forces in Illyricum [2] had excited the expectations of other Gothic captains. Tribigild, in Phrygia, thought himself slighted by Eutropius ; raised a rebellion [3] and overthrew Leo, a general ' abounding in flesh, but scant of brains ',[4] whom the eunuch-consul dispatched against him. There was now no one to turn to but Gaïnas, the Gothic commander of the troops in Constantinople, whose assistance Eutropius had at first declined because Gaïnas was a kinsman [5] of Tribigild. Gaïnas assured the Emperor that Tribigild would become as loyal a subject as himself on one condition—the surrender of Eutropius, who was ' the author of all the miseries of the time '.[6] Eutropius had persuaded Arcadius to refrain from bestowing upon the Empress the title of Augusta until she had presented him with a male heir to the throne.[7] He had also told her to her face, so she said, that he had made her Empress and he could also dethrone her. No doubt, it was jealousy of Eutropius that had made Eudoxia, up till now, so good a friend to Chrysostom. She counted upon his influence as part of her resources for the destruction of the favourite. The moment had come. Taking with her her two children, Flaccilla, 397–?, and Pulcheria, 399–†453, Eudoxia went to the Emperor and told him the tale of the insults of Eutropius. Arcadius sent for him and deprived him forthwith.[8] Knowing that his downfall meant his death, Eutropius took sanctuary in the Church : though he himself had but lately procured a law to annul the right of asylum [9] he was now claiming. Our sympathy, at this point, may, nevertheless, go out to Eutropius. Asylum was already interfering with the due administration of justice. Yet there is something magnificent in Chrysostom's violation of the law in defence of its author. ' None shall break into the sanctuary ', he cried to the soldiers in pursuit of their victim, ' save over my body : the Church is the Bride of Jesus

[1] *Carmen*, xviii. 435–65.
[2] *Carmen*, xx. 213–16 ; Gibbon, c. xxx (iii. 248) ; Hodgkin, I. ii. 661.
[3] Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* v. 451 sqq.
[4] *Carmen*, xx. 380 sq.
[5] Socr. *H. E.* VI. vi, § 5.
[6] Zosimus, *Hist.* v, § 17 (*C. S. H. B.* xlix. 268 sq.).
[7] She was simply ' Nobilissima ' : ' Augusta,' 9 January 400 ; her son, Theodosius II, 408–†50, was born January 401.
[8] Philostorgius, *H. E.* xi, § 6 (*P. G.* lxv. 600).
[9] Socr. *H. E.* VI. v, § 3 ; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. vii, § 3.

Christ, who has entrusted her honour to me, and I will never betray it'[1]; and hastening, under their escort, to the palace he persuaded Arcadius to respect the retreat of Eutropius.[2] The following day was Sunday; and such vast crowds thronged the cathedral as never were seen there but on Easter Day.[3] Chrysostom had scarcely seated himself on the ambo to preach when the veil which divided the nave from the chancel was drawn aside: and there all eyes could see Eutropius, the all-powerful minister of yesterday, clinging to one of the columns that supported the altar.[4] '"Vanity of vanities,"' he began, '"all is vanity!"—Words how seasonable at all times, how pre-eminently seasonable now.'[5] Eutropius, in a few days, quitted the sanctuary and was banished to Cyprus. But Gaïnas and Eudoxia were determined that he should perish. He was recalled, and beheaded at Chalcedon, and his law limiting sanctuary was annulled.[6] Gaïnas next endeavoured to climb into his place; but he perished, February 401, after an anti-Gothic tumult, in July 400, at Constantinople[7]; and the Empress was left in command of the situation and of her husband.

(4) She was thus free to deal with Chrysostom as she chose: and his intervention[8] in the ecclesiastical affairs of the 'Diocese' of 'Asia', January 401, increased the feeling against him. In May 400 a conference of bishops was held in Constantinople, St. Chrysostom presiding. It was not strictly a Council, but a gathering of bishops who had come to the capital for business; and, as such, the earliest indication of the 'Home Synod'[9] which afterwards became a standing institution of no small importance. There were present Theotimus of Scythia, Ammon of Thrace, Arabian of Galatia, all metropolitans; and among the rest, Eusebius,

[1] *Hom. de capto Eutropio*, § 1 (*Op.* III. ii. 386; *P. G.* lii. 397).
[2] *Hom. in Eutropium*, § 4 (*Op.* III. ii. 385; *P. G.* lii. 395).
[3] Ibid., § 3 (*Op.* III. ii. 384; *P. G.* lii. 394).
[4] Ibid., § 2 (*Op.* III. ii. 382 sq.; *P. G.* lii. 393).
[5] Ibid., § 1 (*Op.* III. ii. 381; *P. G.* lii. 391); Gibbon, c. xxxii, n. 29 (iii. 370).
[6] By *Omnes res Eutropi* of 17 January 399, *Cod. Theod.* IX. xl. 17.
[7] Chrysostom, *Hom. cum Saturninus*, &c. (*Op.* III. ii. 405; *P. G.* lii. 413 sqq.); Socr. *H. E.* VI. vi; Soz. *H. E.* VI. iv; Thdt. *H. E.* v. xxxii, xxxiii; Zosimus, *Hist.* v, §§ 18–21 (*C. S. H. B.* xlix. 269–76); Gibbon, c. xxxii (iii. 371 sqq.); Hodgkin, I. ii. 692–7. Seven thousand Goths were massacred, and this ended for a time the Gothic domination in CP.
[8] Palladius, *Vita*, §§ 13–15 (*Op.* xiii. 47 sqq.; *P. G.* xlvii. 47 sqq.); Fleury, XXI. c. v.
[9] Chalc. 9; W. Bright, *Canons*[2], xlii. 182.

bishop of Valentinianopolis,[1] *c.* 400. Eusebius brought an accusation against his metropolitan, Antoninus of Ephesus, *c.* 400, in seven articles, the last and most important of which charged him with 'selling ordinations to bishoprics, at prices proportionate to the emoluments of the see'. The charge was preferred in a rage, first before, and then during, the celebration of the Holy Mysteries; and afterwards Chrysostom, who had already tried to induce Eusebius to desist, took his seat in the Baptistery and received the accusation. Antoninus denied it; and so did the prelates who were alleged to have bought from him their dignities. Chrysostom wanted to go into Asia to examine in person witnesses in whose presence the money had been paid; but Antoninus succeeded, through influence at court, in preventing him. 'It is not fitting', was the message brought from Arcadius, 'that you, our Pastor, should leave us on the eve of so much disturbance', with allusion to the rebellion of Gaïnas, 'and go into Asia to look for witnesses, who may just as well be brought hither.' A commission of three was therefore appointed to go instead; but, by trickery and delay, they were wearied out, 'for it was in the very heat of the summer', 400; and, in the meantime, Antoninus died. It was clear to Chrysostom that a restoration of discipline was what was wanted in 'Asia'; and on the petition of the clergy of Ephesus he resolved to undertake it. Leaving his own flock in charge of Severian, bishop of Gabala, *c.* 400–3, in Syria, who had come to Constantinople to make a reputation as a preacher,[2] he arrived at Ephesus, in the winter of 400–1; and summoning the bishops of Lydia, Asia, and Caria, held a Council at Ephesus, of seventy bishops.[3] The Council ordained a deacon of Chrysostom's, by name Heraclides,[4] to the vacant throne of Antoninus, went into the cases of simony denounced by Eusebius, and deposed six bishops on that charge, permitting them only to communicate within the chancel. 'It is true', they admitted, 'we gave money; but we thought it was the usual fee for freeing us from municipal office. Restore us what we have given; for some of us have given even our wives' ornaments'.[5]

[1] Or Auliocome, in 'Asia', M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, i. 711.

[2] For this worthy see Socr. *H. E.* VI. xi; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. x; Tillemont, *Mém.* xi. 173 sqq.; Fleury, XXI. ix.

[3] Mansi, iii. 992 sq.; Hefele, ii. 419; Tillemont, *Mém.* xi. 167; Fleury XXI. vi.

[4] Socr. *H. E.* VI. xi. 10; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. vi. 2.

[5] Palladius, *Vita*, c. xv (*Op.* xiii. 54; *P. G.* xlvii. 51). On the growth of

Leaving them to face the situation at home, Chrysostom continued his journeys in the cause of reform. He put down 'Novatianists and Quartodecimans'[1] in Phrygia; he deposed a clever quack named Gerontius who, while a deacon at Milan, had been followed up to Constantinople by St. Ambrose with a warning to Nectarius, but managed, in spite of that amiable prelate to ingratiate himself at court and so to obtain not only the archbishopric of Nicomedia, *c.* 390–400, but the favour of its people. Their bishop doctored them for nothing: and, while his successor, Pansophius, was made to feel himself most unwelcome, no one measure of Chrysostom's brought the archbishop so many enemies.[2] At last, after three months' absence, Chrysostom returned to Constantinople about Easter 401. The ultimate effect of his action in Asia was to contribute to that informal acquisition of Patriarchal authority there, which was formally secured to the see of Constantinople by the Council of Chalcedon,[3] 451, when 'custom was made law'.[4] But though invited, his intervention was, as yet, *ultra vires*. The Council of Constantinople, 381, had not invested that see with any new jurisdiction, nor even made it independent of the Metropolitan of Heraclea, whose bishop still retained the privilege of consecrating the Oecumenical Patriarch. So it looked, on Chrysostom's return, as if he had been engaged in erecting a Patriarchal jurisdiction on the foundation of an honorary precedency. Morally, he could scarcely have refused the request to intervene: actually, though unconsciously, that is what his intervention came to. The influence thus gained for Constantinople would be enough to anger his rival Theophilus: the straining of the authority of his see by Chrysostom, and his own personal grudge against that Saint, would exasperate him beyond measure. The immediate result, then, of the archbishop's Asiatic errand was to multiply and encourage his enemies abroad. He got back only to find them ensconced in positions of influence at home. Severian, his *locum tenens*, had abused his confidence to undermine the favour in which Chrysostom stood both with the people[5] and with the

simony, when Christianity came to be adopted by the State, see Newman's note to Fleury, XXI, c. vi (ii. 17, note l).

[1] Socr. *H. E.* VI. xi, § 13. [2] Soz. *H. E.* VIII. vi; Fleury, XXI. vii.

[3] Chalc. 28; W. Bright, *Canons* [2], xlvii. 203.

[4] J. M. Neale, *Hist. Eastern Ch.* I. i. 28.

[5] *Hom. de regressu* (*Op.* iii. 411 sq.; *P. G.* lii. 421), for their welcome on his return.

Court. Serapion, his archdeacon, informed him of what had been going on, and also gave him an account of a quarrel that had broken out between himself and Severian. It was an *ex parte* representation, but Chrysostom, unfortunately, accepted it. He drove Severian from the city, and would not grant him a pardon until the Empress had humbled herself to ask it as a favour.[1] Chrysostom was publicly reconciled with Severian. They each preached on the reconciliation.[2] But Severian neither forgot nor forgave ; and so ended the earlier and happier days of Chrysostom's episcopate, when his troubles began, 401–3.

§ 4. The elements of hostility [3] to Chrysostom were now many. He had made enemies of his clergy, particularly of two presbyters and five deacons whom he had reproved for laxity. He had given offence to two or three officials of the Court. And there were two bishops besides Severian, both from his own neighbourhood of Antioch, who were jealous of his reputation and had been denounced by him in public.[4] The one was Antiochus, bishop of Ptolemais 400–7 : he was a rival orator, and had come to Constantinople to try his fortune, so successfully as to amass considerable wealth.[5] The other was the grey-haired Acacius, bishop of Beroea 381–†437. He bore the archbishop a grudge because Chrysostom, instead of giving him hospitality at the palace when he was on a visit to the capital, had lodged him out. ' I will cook a dish for him,' said Acacius.[6] The opposition also included some Society ladies—in particular, three rich and notorious widows : Marsa, the wife of Promotus,[7] †391 ; Castriccia, the wife of the Consul Saturninus,[8] †402 ; and Eugraphia, ' an old fury '.[9] Chrysostom had spoken with contempt of ' old ladies who tried to look young again, and wore a fringe '.[10] They were anxious to retaliate : and so, too, was the Empress. She had long been growing ill-affected [11] towards a pastor so loftily uncompromising ;

[1] Socr. *H. E.* VI. xi ; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. x ; Fleury, XXI. ix.
[2] *Hom. de recipiendo Severiano* and *Sermo ipsius Severiani de pace* (*Op.* III. 412–14 ; *P. G.* lii. 421–8).
[3] Palladius, *Vita*, § 4 (*Op.* xiii. 14 ; *P. G.* xlvii. 16).
[4] Ibid., § 8 (*Op.* xiii. 29 ; *P. G.* xlvii. 27, 29).
[5] Socr. *H. E.* VI. xi, §§ 1–4 ; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. x, §§ 1–2.
[6] Palladius, *Vita*, § 6 (*Op.* xiii. 20 A ; *P. G.* xlvii. 21).
[7] Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp.* v. 258 sq.
[8] Ibid. 219, 459 sqq. ; Hodgkin, I. ii. 692.
[9] Palladius, *Vita*, § 4 (*Op.* xiii. 14 E ; *P. G.* xlvii. 16).
[10] Ibid., § 8 (*Op.* xiii. 27 A ; *P. G.* xlvii. 27).
[11] Socr. *H. E.* VI. v, § 9 ; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xvi, § 1 ; Zosimus, Hist. v, § 23.

and it was said that he had alluded to her—unmistakably though covertly—as a Jezebel.[1]

This could not be passed over. He had been wanting in tact, and guilty of errors in judgement: though there is truth in the sarcastic comment that, had he been content to go on in the path that was followed by several bishops, 'he would have given no offence and done no good'. The clouds were gathering; but the storm did not burst immediately upon his return. His enemies still needed a powerful leader. At last, the three hostile prelates, Severian, Antiochus, and Acacius, found the leader they wanted in Theophilus,[2] archbishop of Alexandria 385–†412.

§ 5. He had been watching for revenge[3] and, in order to strike down his rival, he managed to involve Chrysostom in the Origenistic Controversy.[4] Origen died in 254: and 'down to the end of the fourth century he retained, upon the whole', says Dr. Bigg, 'the high estimation to which his learning, his piety, and his sufferings entitled him'.[5] Certain of his doctrines were assailed[6] by Methodius, bishop of Olympus in Lycia †*c.* 311, and Eustathius, bishop of Antioch 324–30 [†360]; and it was, perhaps, to his disadvantage that, in the vindication of his memory, Pamphilus,[7] †309, had for a collaborator the Arianizing Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea 313–†40. But Athanasius claimed him for a Nicene.[8] Basil and Gregory showed what they thought of him by editing the *Philocalia*,[9] a selection from his works including the *De Principiis*,[10] which was held to be the most dangerous of all. Gregory of Nyssa adopted many of his speculations; and Jerome, at first, was his admirer and translator. He even calls him 'a teacher of

[1] Palladius, *Vita*, § 8 (*Op.* xiii. 30 c; *P. G.* xlvii. 30).
[2] Ibid., § 6 (*Op.* xiii. 20 B; *P. G.* xlvii. 21).
[3] Socr. *H. E.* VI. v, §§ 9–12.
[4] Socr. *H. E.* VI. xiii; *D. C. B.* iv. 146–51; W. Bright, *Lessons*, &c., app. ix.
[5] C. Bigg, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria* [2], 321 (Bampton Lectures for 1886), ed. 1913.
[6] Socr. *H. E.* VI. xiii, § 3; Bigg, *B. L.*[2] 216, n. 2.
[7] Whilst in prison, 307–9, Pamphilus wrote his *Apology for Origen* in five books, to which Eusebius added a sixth. The work is described in Photius, *Bibl.*, c. cxviii (*Op.* iii. 92 A sq.; *P. G.* ciii. 396 sq.); but only the first book has come down to us in the not very reliable version of Rufinus, for which see Origen, *Op.* vii (*P. G.* xvii. 541–616); Bardenhewer, 167.
[8] Ath. *De decretis*, § 27 (*Op.* i. 183; *P. G.* xxv. 465); Socr. *H. E.* VI. xiii, § 10.
[9] Ed. J. A. Robinson (1893) and tr. G. Lewis (1911).
[10] Only extant in the version of Rufinus, *ap.* Origen, *Op.* i. 47–195 (*P. G.* xi. 111–414).

the Church second only to the great Apostle '.[1] But Origen was too many-sided not to provoke foes as well as friends. ' Conservative ' at the outset ' of Christian tradition, he was daring in speculation beyond its limits ' [2]; and there was scarce a heresy of the fourth century but could find support in some expression of his. Certain letters of Theophilus, 401–4, ranked among those of Jerome,[3] together with passages in Jerome's writings,[4] and in those of Epiphanius,[5] indicate plainly enough the chief errors then attributed to Origen. Thus there was (*a*) Allegorism,[6] which he carried, as an interpreter, to extraordinary lengths; (*b*) his theory of the pre-existence of souls, a theory adopted in order to vindicate the distributive justice of God[7]; (*c*) his doctrine of the Person of our Lord whose coessentiality[8] with the Father he affirmed, but then seemed to qualify by his subordinationism[9] and by his teaching that prayer, in the true sense, was to be made to the Father alone[10]; (*d*) his stress on the illuminative, to the disparagement of the redemptive, work of the Saviour[11]; (*e*) his apparent Universalism[12]; (*f*) his way of stating the resurrection of the body, with undue emphasis, it would be thought, on the spiritual, or Pauline, conception of it[13]; and finally (*g*) the inconsistencies[14] due to the want of system, so characteristic of his mind and teaching. In spite of Origen's genuine desire to think with the Church,[15] there was thus quite enough in his writings to raise alarms: and, unfortunately, personal rivalries turned alarms into fury.

Of such rivalries there was a succession; and up to the point at which Theophilus managed to implicate Chrysostom in it,

[1] *Transl. Hom. Orig. in Ierem. et Ezech. prologus* (*Op.* v. 741 sq.; *P. L.* xxv. 583 sq.). [2] R. L. Ottley, *The Incarnation*, i. 238.

[3] Jerome, *Epp.* xcii, xciii, xcvi, xcviii, c (*Op.* i. 540 . . . 631; *P. L.* xxii. 758 . . . 828). The errors which Theophilus, in Jer. *Ep.* xcvi, ascribes to Origen are that (1) the reign of Christ is to have an end; (2) evil spirits are to be saved; (3) the body is ultimately to be annihilated; (4) we are not to pray to the Son of God; q.v. in Fleury, xxi. ii.

[4] Jerome, *Contra Rufinum*, i, § 6 (*Op.* ii. 462; *P. L.* xxiii. 401); ii, § 12 (*Op.* ii. 503 sq.; *P. L.* xxiii. 435 sq.); *Epp.* lxxxiv, cxxiv (*Op.* i. 522–33, 916–32; *P. L.* xxii. 743–52, 1059–72); and *Adv. Ioann. Hierosol.*, § 7 (*Op.* ii. 48; *P. L.* xxiii. 360) in particular, for which see Document No. 146.

[5] Epiph. *Haer.* lxiv (*Op.* i. 524–604; *P. G.* xli. 1068–1200).

[6] Bigg, *B. L.*[2] 172 sqq., and 331, n. 2.

[7] Based on John ix. 2; Bigg, *B. L.*[2] 238, 332.

[8] Ibid.[2] 221, n. 1. [9] Ibid.[2] 224. [10] Ibid.[2] 227.

[11] But see ibid.[2] 254. [12] Ibid.[2] 230 sqq., 343. [13] Ibid.[2] 271, 341.

[14] e. g. between his universalism and his theory of the rise and fall of souls, ibid.[2] 273 sqq. [15] Ibid.[2] 191 sqq.

The Origenistic controversy falls into three well-defined stages, 386–401.

§ 6. The scene of the first lay in Palestine, 386–97; and the strife arose between John, bishop of Jerusalem, 386–†417, and Rufinus, *c.* 350–†410, Origenists, on the one side and, on the other, the anti-Origenists, Jerome, 340–†420, and Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis, 367–†404, Theophilus intervening. Shortly after the death of St. Cyril and the arrival of Jerome in Jerusalem, 386, Palestine became a stronghold of Origenism. Origen's admirers there were both powerful and numerous. John who, at the age of thirty, succeeded Cyril,[1] had acquired Origenistic sympathies among the monks of the Nitrian desert: for the majority of these were Origenists, whereas the disciples of Pachomius repudiated allegorism and inclined to a literalism[2] which opponents denounced as anthropomorphism. Strange as this division of monastic opinion may seem, it will readily be understood that Origen's disparagement of the share which the body was to have in the Resurrection would fall in with the preconceptions of such educated men among the ascetics as, from the point of view of Hellenism, could imagine no future for the body: while, on the other hand, the aversion to culture and the dread of Hellenism, characteristic of the Coptic ascetic would be enough to make anti-Origenists of the followers of Pachomius. John, then, sided with Origen—at least to the extent of not seeing in his writings any good reason for proscribing that great teacher. So too, in Palestine, did the heads of Western religious houses established there: Jerome and Paula, 347–†404, at Bethlehem; with Rufinus and Melania, 350–†410, on the mount of Olives. Jerome himself, though mainly on literary grounds, had championed Origen, and even the *De Principiis*, against his assailants, in a letter to Paula[3] of 384: and up to 392 he never mentions him without some word of praise. But in that year, and shortly after he had begun, 391, the translation of the Old Testament now embodied in the Vulgate, 391–404, a zealot named Aterbius came to Jerusalem, probably at the instigation of Epiphanius, and denounced both Jerome and Rufinus for their devotion to Origen. Rufinus showed him the door; but Jerome, morbidly sensitive to the imputation of

[1] Jerome, *Ep.* lxxxii, § 8 (*Op.* i. 518 c; *P. L.* xxii. 741).
[2] Socr. *H. E.* vi. vii, §§ 1–3; Soz. *H. E.* viii. xi, § .
[3] Jerome, *Ep.* xxxiii, § 3 (*Op.* i. 153 sq.; *P. L.* xxii. 446 sq.).

heresy, gave him satisfaction as to the heresies of Origen.[1] Later, he asserted his right to take the good and leave the bad in Origen's writings.[2] But he had really taken a side against him already; and when, in the spring of 394, his friend Epiphanius arrived in Palestine to extirpate Origenism, Jerome became his ally and a violent anti-Origenist partisan. It was twenty-seven years since Epiphanius had left his monastery of 'the Ancient Ad in the territory of Eleutheropolis',[3] some thirty miles south-west of Jerusalem,[4] to become bishop of Salamis; but he had visited it from time to time and would feel a real concern for Palestine; where, moreover, he was deeply venerated, on account of his age, his learning, his sanctity, and his miracles. John was a little embarrassed no doubt by his arrival; but he entertained him and invited him to preach, and both Jerome [5] and Epiphanius [6] have left us an account of the scenes that followed. The guest denounced Origenism. The host retaliated by repudiating Anthropomorphism. 'Well spoken,' observed Epiphanius, 'I too condemn that heresy: but we must also condemn the perverse doctrines of Origen'—and John's congregation, in his own cathedral, broke into shouts of applause. Estrangement followed: and Epiphanius retired to Bethlehem, where he received a cordial welcome from Jerome. There he induced the monks to break off communion with their bishop[7]; and, lest John should deprive them of clerical ministrations, he went so far as to carry off and forcibly ordain to the priesthood Jerome's brother Paulinianus, one of the community.[8] Conscious, perhaps, that he had exceeded all bounds, Epiphanius then took himself off to Cyprus: not, however, without first seeking to justify his proceedings in a maladroit letter to John, preserved among those of Jerome.[9] The bishop of Jerusalem was not unnaturally displeased with the Latin colony at Bethlehem; and he sought to get rid of them as

[1] *Apol. c. Rufinum* [A. D. 402], iii, § 33 (*Op.* ii. 560 sq.; *P. L.* xxiii. 481 sq.); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* iii. 535.

[2] *Ep.* lxi [A. D. 396], § 2 (*Op.* i. 348 B, C; *P. L.* xxii. 603); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* vi. 132. [3] *Ep.* lxxxii, § 8 (*Op.* i. 518; *P. L.* xxii. 470).

[4] F. J. A. Hort, *Two Dissertations*, 97, n. 1.

[5] *Adv. Ioann. Hierosol.* [A. D. 397], § 11 (*Op.* ii. 417 sq.; *P. L.* xxiii sq.) [tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* vi. 430], with which cf. *Ep.* lxxxii, § 4 (*Op.* i. 515; *P. L.* xxii. 738).

[6] In a letter to John, which = Jerome, *Ep.* li [A. D. 394] (*Op.* i; *P. L.* xxii. 517–27).

[7] *Adv. Ioann. Hierosol.*, § 39 *ad fin.* (*Op.* ii. 450; *P. L.* xxiii. 392).

[8] Jerome, *Ep.* li, § 1 (*Op.* i. 242 sq.; *P. L.* xxii. 517 sq.), and *Adv. Ioann.*, § 41 (*Op.* ii. 451; *P. L.* xxiii. 393). [9] *Ep.* li, *ut sup.*

schismatics by an order from the Praetorian Prefect Rufinus.[1] But an irruption of the Huns[2] delayed its execution; and, after the Huns retired, the fall of the minister Rufinus left Jerome in peace. John then turned to Theophilus of Alexandria for support. Theophilus was still an Origenist as was John—not in the sense that he held Origen's errors; but that he did not see in them warrant for condemnation. Accordingly he attempted a reconciliation: and in May 396 he sent his confidant, the aged monk Isidore,[3] 318–†403, to mediate between Jerome and his bishop. But Jerome took the emissary for an Origenist partisan; and the mission was a failure.[4] Isidore, however, brought back to the patriarch a letter from John in which he put the case from his point of view[5]—a letter also sent to the West[6] and preserved in the refutation of it which Jerome addressed to his friend Pammachius in Rome *Against John of Jerusalem*, 396–9. But so long as Pope Siricius lived there was not much for Jerome to look for, by way of sympathy, in Rome; and at last he yielded to pressure from Theophilus so far as to be reconciled for the time to Rufinus. They clasped hands at Mass in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre,[7] 397. John also was induced to authorize Paulinianus to exercise his office as priest to the monastery of Bethlehem, and Jerome engaged, in his turn, to refrain from harassing his bishop.

§ 7. Scarcely had the controversy been thus allowed to drop in Palestine than it broke out again at Rome, 397–401, where it raged in its second stage, between Rufinus and Jerome. After the reconciliation Rufinus left for Italy, where he arrived, in company with Melania, early in 397. Melania went on, at once, to Rome, and became the centre of a devout circle,[8] including her son Publicola,[9] †405, and his wife Albina, with their daughter,

[1] Jerome, *Ep.* lxxxii, § 10 (*Op.* i. 519 D; *P. L.* xxii. 741); *Adv. Ioann.*, § 43 (*Op.* ii. 452; *P. L.* xxiii. 394).

[2] *Ep.* lxxviii, § 8 (*Op.* i. 464; *P. L.* xxii. 696).

[3] For Isidore see Palladius, *Hist. Laus.*, §§ 1, 2 (*P. G.* xxxiv. 1009 sq.), and Document No. 135; Socr. *H. E.* IV. xxiii, § 21; Soz. *H. E.* VI. xxviii, § 8. He had accompanied Ath. to Rome, 340, and was one of 'The Tall Brothers' (*Adv. Ioann.*, § 39 [*Op.* ii. 449; *P. L.* xxiii. 391]). The *Hist. Laus.* is tr. by W. K. L. Clarke (S.P.C.K. 1919).

[4] Ibid., § 37 (*Op.* ii. 447 sq.; *P. L.* xxiii. 389 sq.).

[5] Ibid., §§ 1, 4, 38 (*Op.* ii. 407, 410, 448; *P. L.* xxiii. 355, 358, 390).

[6] *Ep.* lxxxii, § 8 (*Op.* i. 518; *P. L.* xxii. 740).

[7] *Apol. adv. Rufinum*, iii, § 33 (*Op.* ii. 560; *P. L.* xxiii. 481).

[8] Palladius, *Hist. Laus.*, §§ 117–21 (*P. G.* xxxiv. 1222–31) = *T. and S.* VI. ii, cc. xlvi, liv, lxi; tr. W. K. L. Clarke (S.P.C.K. 1918).

[9] Aug. *Epp.* xlvi, xlvii, *ut sup.*

Melania the younger, 383–†437, and her husband Pinianus,[1] 376–*c.* †420; a young noble, Apronianus, and, perhaps, on occasions, the Pope Siricius himself. But Rufinus stopped on the way, at the monastery of Pinetum, near Tarracina, where the Via Appia reaches the sea. Here he found a welcome with the abbot Urseius and the philosopher Macarius. At the latter's suggestion[2] he undertook the translation of Origen, *De Principiis*, and published it, early in 398, on his arrival in Rome. In the preface he made a laudatory but unfortunate reference to Jerome as his forerunner in the task[3]—unfortunate, for it once more cast upon Jerome the suspicion of Origenism.

But Jerome as well as Rufinus had friends in high places at Rome: the rich patrician widow Marcella, 325–†410, her cousin the senator Pammachius, †409, son-in-law of Paula, 347–†404, and co-founder with the penitent Fabiola, †399, of the hospital at Portus,[4] and another senator Oceanus, †*c.* 420. Jealous for their master they were not slow to detect the 'subtle' slight put upon him[5]; and Pammachius and Oceanus sent him a copy of the translation. In a letter which accompanied it, they wrote of the alarm excited at Rome by the publication of the work, and of their suspicion that the translation was so done as to veil the heresies of the original. 'We ask you therefore to publish in your own tongue the aforesaid book of Origen, exactly as it was put out by the author himself'; and they reminded Jerome that his own reputation for orthodoxy was at stake.[6] Jerome at once complied. He sent them a literal version[7] of Origen's *De Principiis*: and in a covering letter, protested that, while he had always admired him as a scholar, he had never accepted him, nor did he now accept him, as an authority in matters of doctrine.[8] 'His doctrines are poisonous. Believe me, I have never been

[1] Aug. *Epp.* cxxiv–cxxvi (*Op.* ii. 363–73; *P. L.* xxxiii. 471–83). It was he who drew from Aug. the *De gratia Christi* (*Op.* x. 229–52; *P. L.* xliv. 359–410).

[2] Rufinus, *Apol.* i, § 11 (*Op.* 316; *P. L.* xxi. 548); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* iii. 439.

[3] Rufinus, *Prologus in Orig. De Pr.* (Origen, *Op.* i. 45; *P. G.* xi. 111 B) = Jerome, *Ep.* lxxx (*Op.* i. 508–11; *P. L.* xxii. 733–5); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* vi. 168–70.

[4] Jerome, *Ep.* lxxvii, §§ 3, 4, 6, 10 (*Op.* i. 458–66; *P. L.* xxii. 692–7), for the penitence and the munificence of Fabiola, and Document No. 147.

[5] Jerome, *Ep.* lxxxiii (*Op.* i. 522; *P. L.* xxii. 743).

[6] Jerome, *Ep.* lxxxiii (*Op.* i. 521 sq.; *P. L.* xxii. 743).

[7] Necessary, acc. to Jerome, because of the liberties taken with the original by Rufinus, *Adv. Ruf.* i, § 6 (*Op.* ii. 462; *P. L.* xxiii. 401 sq.).

[8] *Ep.* lxxxiv, § 2 (*Op.* i. 522 sq.; *P. L.* xxii. 744).

an Origenist. If you will not believe me, I have ceased to be one now.'[1] But Jerome protested too much. However, he wrote to Rufinus a letter couched in friendly terms, but remonstrating with him for the use he had made of his name.[2] This letter Jerome sent, along with the other and the translation, to his friends at Rome. They were to forward it to Rufinus. But they kept it back[3]; and so a breach which was on the point of being healed became irreparable.

Rufinus, meanwhile, had retired to his native city of Aquileia with letters commendatory[4] from Siricius—a move, perhaps, more or less in anticipation of the death of that Pope, 26 November 399. Siricius, at any rate, was succeeded by Anastasius, 399–†401, a man of other sympathies. For Anastasius—so he tells us—had 'never heard either of Origen or of his books, till Rufinus translated them.'[5] It was now the turn of Jerome's friends to draw the Pope into their net. But not till he received an impetus from a potentate second only to himself, as each would say, did Anastasius begin to move. Theophilus, for reasons which will appear below, had turned against Origenism; and early in 400 news came to Rome that he desired the Pope's co-operation against it.[6] Exactly what Marcella, who, under Siricius, had 'originated' the movement 'for its condemnation', had wanted[7]; and at the request of Eusebius of Cremona,[8] another of Jerome's adherents, Anastasius published a condemnation of Origen and forbade his books. Then he sent notice of the sentence to Simplicianus,[9] archbishop of Milan 397–†400, and to his successor Venerius, 400–†8; and it was confirmed by an Imperial Rescript officially prohibiting Christians from reading his works.[10]

Was then this sentence to involve the condemnation of Rufinus?

[1] Jerome, *Ep.* lxxxiv, § 3 (*Op.* i. 525; *P. L.* xxii. 746).
[2] *Ep.* lxxxi [A. D. 399] (*Op.* i. 511 sq.; *P. L.* xxii. 735).
[3] *Adv. Rufinum*, i, § 12 (*Op.* ii. 468; *P. L.* xxiii. 407).
[4] Jerome, *Ep.* cxxvii, § 10 (*Op.* i. 957; *P. L.* xxii. 1093).
[5] Anastasius, *Ep. ad Ioann. Hierosol.*, § 3, *ap.* Rufinus, *Op.* 409 (*P. L.* xxi. 629 A); Jaffé, No. 282; tr. in *N. and P.-N. F.* iii. 432 sq.
[6] So Anastasius in Jerome, *Ep.* xcv, § 2 (*Op.* i. 559; *P. L.* xxii. 774); Jaffé, No. 276.
[7] Jerome, *Ep.* cxxvii, § 10 (*Op.* i. 958; *P. L.* xxii. 1093).
[8] *Ep.* xcv, § 3 (*Op.* i. 560; *P. L.* xxii. 774).
[9] *Ep.* xcv, and Document No. 114. In § 2 of this letter the papal theory, as set out by Damasus, is making progress, for St. Paul has quietly disappeared from the position of a founder of the Roman church, and all turns upon St. Peter.
[10] Anastasius, *Ep. ad Ioann.*, § 5, *ap.* Rufinus, *Op.* 411 sq. (*P. L.* xxi. 630 sq.).

Apart from friends at Rome, Rufinus was strong in the protection of Chromatius,[1] the venerable Bishop of Aquileia, 388–†407; nor had he been forgotten by his friend and former bishop, John of Jerusalem. For John managed to warn Anastasius against the opponents of Rufinus,[2] about the same time as Rufinus himself thought it wise to try to conciliate the Pope with his *Apologia ad Anastasium*,[3] 400. We do not know whether Anastasius acknowledged this plea; but in a reply to John, 401, he observed that the guilt or the innocence of Rufinus in translating Origen was a question of intention[4] simply: 'as for himself, he neither knew nor wished to know what he was doing or where he was living. Let him get absolution where he can.'[5] Rufinus at once perceived that, if he was to clear himself, it must be by an appeal to public opinion. It will be remembered that Jerome's admirers in Rome had kept back his letter of gentle reproof to Rufinus. But the other letter in which he had repudiated the charge of Origenism, they published. To this Rufinus now replied with an *Apologia adv. Hieronymum*,[6] 400, addressed to Apronianus. Jerome, he contends, had really been an Origenist and that in doctrine: and he appears to make out his case. At first, Jerome's friends were only able to send him extracts from this attack. But that was enough. Much too wroth to await the whole, he met it with his *Apologia adv. Rufinum, I, II*,[7] which he sent to Marcella in 402. There was a rejoinder from Rufinus, now lost; but it is recoverable from the counter-rejoinder of Jerome, now the *Apologia adv. Rufinus, III*.[8] It was a pitiable quarrel, and 'far from an edifying spectacle', as Jerome himself in a moment of penitence acknowledged. 'Two old men, engaged in a gladiatorial conflict on account of a heretic: especially when both of them wish to be thought Catholics!'[9] Augustine deplored it[10]; and Chromatius counselled Rufinus, for the sake of peace, to lay

[1] For his sermons on the Beatitudes see *P. L.* xx. 323–68; Bardenhewer. 444.

[2] Anastasius, *Ep. ad Ioann.*, § 6, *ap.* Rufinus, *Op.* 412 (*P. L.* xxi. 632).

[3] Rufinus, *Op.* 403–8 (*P. L.* xxi. 623–8); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* iii. 430–2.

[4] Anastasius, *Ep. ad Ioann.*, § 4 *ap.* Ruf. *Op.* 410 (*P. L.* xxi. 630 A).

[5] Ibid., § 6, *ap.* Ruf. *Op.* 412 (*P. L.* xxi. 632). The whole letter is highly characteristic of the Roman church of that date: practical, not speculative [§ 5], and so tolerant as not to trouble about a 'condemned heretic'.

[6] Rufinus, *Op.* 307–402 (*P. L.* xxi. 541–624); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* iii. 434–82.

[7] *Op.* ii. 457–530 (*P. L.* xxiii. 397–456); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* iii. 482–518.

[8] *Op.* ii. 531–72 (*P. L.* xxiii. 457–92); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* iii. 518–41.

[9] *Apol. adv. Ruf.* iii, § 9 (*Op.* ii. 539; *P. L.* xxiii. 464 B).

[10] Aug. *Ep.* lxxiii, § 6 (*Op.* ii. 165 sq.; *P. L.* xxxiii. 248).

down his arms.[1] Happily, he took the advice; and devoted the remaining ten years of his life to other translations, chief among them the *Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius*[2] and the *Clementine Recognitions*.[3] At last, in the year of the capture of Rome by Alaric, 410, he died at Messina, whence he had watched Alaric burning Rhegium.[4] But Jerome had continued to pursue his memory: nor would he spare it now he was dead. 'The Scorpion at last lies buried under the soil of Sicily: and, at length, the Hydra with the hundred heads has ceased to hiss against me.'[5] As for his associate Melania, 'why the very name of that woman attests the blackness of her soul!'[6] The controversy is not without its value. It is a picture, distasteful, indeed, but true and vivid, of the backstairs bickerings of Church people in high places—always there, but not always so frankly portrayed. But drifting off, as it did, into personal recriminations, its second stage ceased, after the papal condemnation of Origen, to be of serious account.

§ 8. The third stage was momentous, and its scene lay in Egypt, 400–1, where it broke out between Theophilus and the Origenist monks[7] of Nitria: among whom were the Tall Brothers, Dioscorus, bishop of Hermopolis Minor 394–†*c.* 403, where the Cells were, Ammonius, Eusebius, and Euthymius.[8] The archbishop, in his Paschal Letter for 399, took occasion to insist on the incorporeality of the Godhead, in a passage which raised a storm against him among the monks of the opposite, or anthropomorphist, persuasion.[9] 'Alas! they have taken away from me my God,' said one of them, 'and I know no longer whom to worship!'[10] They rushed to Alexandria, with threats against Theophilus. But he managed to appease their wrath by an evasion: 'When I behold your face', he cried, as he received them, 'methinks I behold the face of God.' They took him to assert

[1] So we infer from the fact that Chromatius counselled Jerome to the same effect, *Apol. adv. Ruf.* iii, § 2 (*Op.* ii. 533; *P. L.* xxiii. 458 c).

[2] See his preface to it, addressed to Chromatius, in *Op.* 209–12 (*P. L.* xxi. 461–3); and tr. in *N. and P.-N. F.* iii. 565.

[3] See his preface thereto, addressed to Gaudentius, bishop of Brescia, in Clement, *Op.* i (*P. G.* i. 1205–8); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* iii. 563 sq.

[4] *Origenis in Num. Hom. Prologus*; *Op.* ii. 275 (*P. G.* xii. 585 sq.); tr. iii. 568.

[5] *Praef. ad Comm. in Ezech.* (*Op.* v. 3 sq.; *P. L.* xxv. 16 sq.); tr. *N. and P.-N. F.* vi. 500.

[6] *Ep.* cxxxiii, § 3 (*Op.* i. 1029; *P. L.* xxii. 1151).

[7] Fleury, xxi. i–iii.

[8] Socr. *H. E.* vi. vii; Soz. *H. E.* viii. xi, xii.

[9] Cassian, *Collatio*, x, § 2 (*Op.* i; *P. L.* xlix. 820 sqq.).

[10] Ibid., § 3 (*P. L.* xlix. 824 a).

that 'God has a face like ours'; and became calmer. But they were not quite satisfied. 'Will you not then anathematize Origen?' they demanded. 'Yes, I will,' he replied[1]; and so Theophilus, 'the see-saw,'[2] changed sides. He had another motive for changing over; for it was about this time that he quarrelled with his confidant,[3] Isidore. Isidore, who had been ordained by Athanasius and was now over eighty, was at this time governor of the hospital at Alexandria. A widow of means gave him a handsome subscription to it; but Theophilus would have spent it on building. And hence the breach, which the archbishop widened by accusing the old man of an abominable crime. Knowing, however, that Isidore was an Origenist, he perceived that he could best crush him by enlisting against him his own newly won allies, the anthropomorphists. Isidore fled to Nitria, where the monks of the Origenist party interceded for him and were soon exasperated against their archbishop for expelling their leaders.[4] He now resolved to make their religious views a weapon against them. So convening a Council at Alexandria, he condemned Origenism,[5] early in 400; and wrote at once to Jerome to write against the heresy,[6] and to Pope Anastasius to put it down in Italy. The Pope, as we have seen, complied *c.* 400; and Theophilus, after returning to the errors of Origen in his Paschal Letter for 401,[7] followed up the condemnation by excommunicating 'three of the chief monks',[8] and by a night attack on the mountain: as a result of which Ammonius, Eusebius, and Euthymius, with about eighty of their fellows, took refuge at Scythopolis in Palestine. Such is the story of Palladius; but the version of his proceedings, as given by Theophilus himself in his Synodical Letters to the episcopate of Palestine and of Cyprus, puts the blame on the other side; and he implores the bishops to 'oppose the refugees, wherever they may come'.[9] In sharp

[1] Socr. *H. E.* VI. vii, §§ 1–9; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xi, § 4.
[2] Palladius, *Vita*, § 6 (*Op.* xiii. 20 B; *P. G.* xlvii. 21).
[3] Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xii, § 2.
[4] Palladius, *Vita*, § 6 (*Op.* xiii. 20 sq.; *P. G.* xlvii. 21–3); Socr. *H. E.* VI. ix, § 9; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xii. 2 sqq.
[5] The synodical letter is a violent attack on the monks of Nitria and on 'the errors of Origen', and is addressed to the bishops of Palestine and of Cyprus; tr. Jerome, *Ep.* xcii (*Op.* i. 541–3; *P. L.* xxii. 759–69).
[6] For the letter of Theophilus and Jerome's reply see Jerome, *Epp.* lxxxvii, lxxxviii (*Op.* i. 536–7; *P. L.* xxii. 755–6).
[7] = Jerome, *Ep.* xcvi (*Op.* i. 561–81; *P. L.* xxii. 774–90).
[8] Palladius, *Vita*, § 7 (*Op.* xiii. 22 D; *P. G.* xlvii. 24).
[9] Jerome, *Ep.* xcii, § 5 (*Op.* i. 552; *P. L.* xxii. 768).

contrast to the paeans of exultation, over the conduct of Theophilus, contained in the contemporary correspondence of Epiphanius[1] and Jerome, the reply of the episcopate is correct, but no more. 'We shall not receive any one whom you excommunicate.'[2] So, hunted from place to place, the exiles found that they had but one course open to them. They determined to seek redress at Constantinople. About the end of 401, three[3] of the Tall Brothers, with some fifty companions, threw themselves there at the feet of Chrysostom[4]; and it is at this point that the current of the Origenistic controversy flows suddenly and strongly with fatal consequences, into the main stream of his episcopate.

§ 9. Their arrival embroiled Chrysostom and Theophilus, 402–3. The three brothers, with their companions, introduced to Chrysostom, begged him to intercede for them with Theophilus; and intimated that, if he would not, they must seek protection from the secular courts.[5] Hearing from some Alexandrian clergy then at the Capital that the refugees were men of good repute, he gave them lodgings in the Church of the Anastasia, on condition of their keeping silence while he wrote to their archbishop. At the same time, as they were under the archbishop's ban, he could only allow them to be present at the Eucharist: they were not to communicate. This was a course of action at once candid and moderate. Theophilus replied by driving from his see of Hermopolis Minor, Dioscorus, who presently joined the other Tall Brethren in Constantinople, and by reminding Chrysostom of the fifth Nicene Canon which required that all cases should be terminated in the province in which they arose; and he sent five anthropomorphist monks to accuse the refugees before the Emperor.[6] At the same time, he wrote to the once-despised Epiphanius bidding him take steps against Origenism. The complacency of Epiphanius may be well imagined. 'He flattered himself that he had converted the Patriarch'[7]; and, after obtaining from his insular church in 402 a synodical condemnation of

[1] Epiph. to Jerome, A. D. 400 = Jer. *Ep.* xci (*Op.* i. 540; *P. L.* xxii. 758).
[2] Jerome, *Ep.* xciii (*Op.* i. 555 sq.; *P. L.* xxii. 771).
[3] Ammonius, Eusebius, and Euthymius, according to Theophilus, in Jerome, *Ep.* xc (*Op.* i. 539; *P. L.* xxii. 752); also Isidore and Dioscorus, according to Socr. *H. E.* VI. ix, § 9; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xiii, § 2.
[4] Palladius, *Vita*, § 7 (*Op.* xiii. 25 F; *P. G.* xlvii. 24); Fleury, XXI. xi.
[5] Ibid., § 7 (*Op.* xiii. 24 B; *P. G.* xlvii. 24).
[6] Ibid., § 7 (*Op.* xiii. 24 E; *P. G.* xlvii. 25).
[7] W. R. W. Stephens, *Life*, &c., 299.

Origenism,[1] he departed in hot haste for Constantinople. Meanwhile, the Origenist monks there had got the ear of the Empress Eudoxia, and had obtained an Imperial decree requiring first, that the accusations against them should be heard in the secular courts; and, next, that Theophilus should be summoned to appear before Chrysostom as his judge.[2] So stood affairs at Constantinople when, early in 403, Epiphanius arrived. His first step was to ordain a deacon in defiance of the archbishop's rights; and his next, to try to get condemnations of Origen from such prelates as he could find in the Capital. But he met with a smart rebuke from one of them, Theotimus, a bishop of Scythia: 'I will have nothing to do', said he, 'with sitting in judgment on those who have gone before the Supreme Judge.'[3] Refusing Chrysostom's offers of hospitality, Epiphanius protested that he would have no communication with him till Origen was condemned and the Tall Brothers expelled: to which Chrysostom merely replied that he would leave the matter to the coming Council. Nothing could have been more ridiculous than to accuse Chrysostom of Origenism—bred, as he was, in the literalist interpretation of Antioch, and a born preacher of practical Christianity. Even the zealot Epiphanius came to see the absurdity of the charge; and he began to feel the questionable position in which he had placed himself.[4] He left Constantinople as suddenly as he had come thither; and died at sea, on his way home,[5] 12 May 403. A month later, Theophilus himself arrived at Constantinople, 18 June 403—nominally as the defendant, but, in his own mind, as the judge. 'I am going to Court', he gave out, 'to depose John.'[6] So he came—with his train of Egyptian bishops, with his nephew and successor Cyril,[7] and with bribes as well—'like a beetle', says Palladius, 'laden with dung!'[8] He knew that he had the support of Eudoxia, for she had heard of a sermon in which Chrysostom had lashed the pride of women.[9] Nor had he any difficulty in gathering round him malcontents from the clergy. Severian,

[1] Socr. *H. E.* VI. x, §§ 1–6; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xiv. §§ 1–3; Hefele, ii. 419.
[2] Palladius, *Vita*, § 8 (*Op.* xiii. 25 E; *P. G.* xlvii. 26).
[3] Socr. *H. E.* VI. xii, §§ 4, 5.
[4] Socr. *H. E.* VI. xiv, §§ 6, 7; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xv, §§ 3, 4.
[5] Socr. *H. E.* VI. xiv, § 12; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xv, § 5.
[6] Palladius, *Vita*, § 8 (*Op.* xiii. 29 C; *P. G.* xlvii. 29).
[7] Cyril Al. *Ep.* xxxiii (*Op.* x. 99*; *P. G.* lxxvii. 159 C).
[8] Palladius, *Vita*, § 8 (*Op.* xiii. 26 A; *P. G.* xlvii. 26).
[9] Socr. *H. E.* VI. xv, §§ 1–3; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xvi, § 1.

Antiochus, and Acacius could be counted on.[1] Cyrinus, bishop of Chalcedon, 403–†30, joined the party[2]: he was an Egyptian by birth, and Theophilus gained his adhesion on the journey. Then he persuaded the two deacons whom Chrysostom had deposed, the one for adultery and the other for murder, to come forward as his accusers. All these met in the house of Eugraphia, and resolved to present formal charges against the archbishop before the Emperor.[3] Thus while Arcadius, who was probably not in the secrets of the Empress, was urging Chrysostom to proceed to a trial of Theophilus, which Chrysostom refused on the ground that offences committed in another province did not belong to his jurisdiction,[4] the Egyptian had marshalled his supporters and matured his plans for Chrysostom's deposition.

§ 10. It was to take place at the Synod of the Oak,[5] July 403; so called from a suburb of Chalcedon of that name, where was an estate of the late Praetorian Prefect, Rufinus, with a palace, a church, and a monastery of his building.[6] Chrysostom was so venerated by his people that it was not considered safe to hold the Synod at the Capital: so they held it just across the water at the Oak. Here assembled thirty-six[7] bishops, under the presidency of Paul, exarch of Heraclea 390–403; all of them Chrysostom's enemies, and all but seven the suffragans of Theophilus.[8] The question of Origenism was dropped, and the Synod proceeded to the new charges against him. Photius, who had read the minutes, now lost, describes what took place in the Synod, while Palladius supplements the story from the point of view of Chrysostom and his friends. As they were sitting with him, a laconic summons arrived from the Synod, addressed simply 'to John. We have received an indictment against you,

[1] Socr. *H. E.* VI. xv, § 5; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xvi, § 2.
[2] Socr. *H. E.* VI. xv, § 9; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xvi, § 4.
[3] Palladius, *Vita*, § 8 (*Op.* xiii. 26 F; *P. G.* xlvii. 27).
[4] Chr. *Ad Innocentium*, i, § 1 in ibid., § 2 (*Op.* xiii. 6 A; *P. G.* xlvii, 9; and *Op.* III. ii. 516 D; *P. G.* lii. 531).
[5] Palladius, *Vita*, § 8 (*Op.* xiii. 28; *P. G.* xlvii. 28); Socr. *H. E.* VI. xv; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xvii. The *acta* have been preserved by Photius, *Bibl.*, c. lix (*Op.* iii. 17 sqq.; *P. G.* ciii. 105 sqq.); see also Mansi, iii. 1141 sqq.; Hefele, ii. 430 sqq.; Tillemont, *Mém.* xi. 196 sqq.; Fleury, XXI. xviii; Stephens, *Life*, c. xviii; and Chrysostom's own account in his letter to Pope Innocent.
[6] Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xvii, § 3.
[7] So Palladius, *Vita*, § 8 (*Op.* xiii. 28 F; *P. G.* xlvii. 29). Photius says 45, *Bibl.* lix (*Op.* iii. 19 B; *P. G.* ciii. 113 A). Palladius was there; Photius had the *acta* before him. Tillemont thinks the balance lies in favour of Palladius: see *Mém.* xi. 595.
[8] Palladius, *Vita*, § 3 (*Op.* xiii. 10 B; *P. G.* xlvii. 12).

containing endless accusations. Put in an appearance therefore : and bring with you the presbyters Serapion and Tigrius : for we want them also '.[1] To this citation Chrysostom objected on the ground that Theophilus was now the party ignoring the Nicene decisions by interfering beyond his jurisdiction : and he also went on to challenge the tribunal, as consisting of men like Theophilus, Acacius, Severian, and Antiochus, all of whom had shown that they were prejudiced against him. Ignoring these protests the Synod proceeded to examine a series of twenty-nine charges brought against the archbishop in a document presented by his deacon John and now preserved in Photius. They were imputations, some on his personal behaviour, and others on his administration. ' He had said that his clergy were a twopenny-halfpenny lot. He had called Epiphanius a fool and a demon. He had been very rude to Acacius. He has the bathroom heated for himself alone ; and when he has had his bath, Serapion shuts it up, so that no one else can use it. He takes his meals alone, and eats like a Cyclops. He eats lozenges on his throne.' Such were the personal charges. There was a spice of truth in each[2] ; but much more of malice. And similar misrepresentations were made out of his administration. ' He had dealt harshly with several of his clergy. He had sold the rich furniture of his church, including the marbles with which Nectarius had adorned the Church of the Anastasia ' : and so forth. Then followed a supplementary list of eighteen charges presented by a monk Isaac ; but they do not add anything of interest save that Chrysostom was given at times to inappropriate quotations, or to unbalanced language when preaching, e. g. on the subject of repentance—' If you sin again, repent again. Come to me and I will heal you '[3]—Chrysostom himself makes allusion to two other and, from his vehement repudiation of them, doubly interesting charges. He had administered Baptism when not fasting[4] ; and had given

[1] Palladius, *Vita*, § 8 (*Op.* xiii. 28 D ; *P. G.* xlvii. 28).

[2] e. g. as to No. 28, about lozenges ; he had advised people to take lozenges after communicating, so as to be sure of swallowing the Blessed Sacrament, Palladius, *Vita*, § 8 (*Op.* xiii. 26 E ; *P. G.* xlvii. 27).

[3] No. 7 of Isaac's 18, with which cf. Socr. VI. xxi, § 4. God's goodness was a common topic with Chr., but he was careful to warn men against presuming on it ; e. g. *In Matt. Hom.* lxi, § 1 (*Op.* VII. i. 611 ; *P. G.* lvii. 589) ; and *In* 1 *Cor. Hom.* xxiii, § 5 (*Op.* x. 207 ; *P. G.* li. 195). For a noble passage on ' the abyss of the Divine mercy ' see *De Sacerdotio*, iii, § 15 (*Op.* I. ii. 394 D ; *P. G.* xlviii. 653).

[4] *Sermo antequam iret in exsilium*, § 4 (*Op.* III. ii. 417 sq. ; *P. G.* lii. 431)

Communion to persons after they had eaten.[1] Chrysostom in defending himself more than recognizes the obligation of fasting Communion. But the two charges taken together are instructive in regard to it. The obligation of fasting before Communion, as we must note if we are to appreciate it equitably, is combined with a similar obligation to fast when about to baptize; and the grounds of both are taken to be ecclesiastical. The baptizing in question is the solemn function on Easter Even which culminated in Communion. And the ordinary hour for the celebration of the Eucharist on the Lord's Day was, in Chrysostom's time, nine o'clock in the morning. Nor, on any day in the week, would the first meal of the day, in that age, have been taken by that hour[2] any more than it would have been taken so early, Sunday or week-day, by our forefathers for many centuries later—till breakfast before going to business or to church, became the rule in England, *c.* 1750.[3] Comparatively easy then as was fasting Communion in his day, Chrysostom does not make light of its obligation: though he does not go so far as, with Augustine,[4] to trace it to the Apostles and so to claim for it the ultimate sanction of the Holy Spirit. To have been charged, however, with ignoring the obligation was to him a much graver accusation than any of the rest. They were 'monstrous and incredible'[5]; a tissue of misrepresentations, half-truths, and pure inventions. But they served their turn. The Synod deposed him (after recurring to the charge of selling the marbles of Nectarius)[6] on the pretext of contumacy[7]; and then, in a letter to the Emperor petitioned that for high treason, viz. in alluding to the Empress as Jezebel, he might be banished.[8] The order was made: and Chrysostom was hurried across the Bosporus to Praenetum in Bithynia. But it was only a few days' banishment. The night of his departure

[1] *Ep.* cxxv (*Op.* III. i. 668; *P. G.* lii. 683).

[2] W. Bright, *Lessons*, &c., app. x. The hour of about 9 a.m. for the principal service of Sunday is still customary in the College Chapels of Oxford; only that service is now Mattins instead of the Eucharist, though the Prayer-Book presumes the old order. On Fasting Communion in relation to the social customs of the time, see M. Creighton, *The Church and the Nation*, 308.

[3] For the beginnings of the change from two to three meals a day, see *Social England*, iv. 448, v. 349.

[4] *Ep.* liv, § 8 (*Op.* ii. 126; *P. L.* xxxiii. 203).

[5] Stephens, 308.

[6] Photius, *Bibl.* lix (*Op.* iii. 19 A; *P. G.* ciii. 112 C).

[7] Socr. *H. E.* VI. xv, § 17; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xvii, § 10.

[8] Palladius, *Vita*, § 8 (*Op.* xiii. 30; *P. G.* xlvii. 30).

there was a disturbance in her room[1] which alarmed the Empress, and caused her to write to him protesting her innocence.[2] Next morning the populace beset the palace and demanded his recall. A chamberlain was sent to fetch him; he was escorted back over the water; and, in spite of his remonstrances that he could not take possession of his see till his deposition was annulled by a Council greater than that which had deposed him,[3] borne along by the crowds, with hymns and lighted tapers to do him honour, till he was seated once more in triumph on his throne[4] in the Church of the Apostles and forced to deliver an *extempore* address.[5] It was followed next day by a second, chiefly a panegyric of Eudoxia for the letter that she had written to him and for all else she had done to promote his return.[6] Theophilus, no longer feeling safe in the neighbourhood of the capital, took his departure.[7] A rival council of sixty bishops, so it would appear, quashed the proceedings of the Synod of the Oak.[8] The reconciliation, to all seeming, was complete; and Archbishop and Empress vied with each other in compliments and eulogies. So ended the rivalry between Chrysostom and Theophilus in the discomfiture of the latter: 'that bold bad man', as Gibbon describes him, 'whose hands were alternately polluted with gold and blood.'[9]

§ 11. But within two months[10] a fresh collision occurred between Chrysostom and Eudoxia, which led to the exile and death of Chrysostom, 403–7.

(1) The events that led up to his exile began in the autumn of 403. In September of that year a silver statue was erected in honour of Eudoxia.[11] It stood on a porphyry column still

[1] Palladius, *Vita*, § 9 (*Op.* xiii. 30 D; *P. G.* xlvii. 30); only Thdt. says 'an earthquake', *H. E.* v. xxxiv, § 6.

[2] *Sermo ii post reditum ab exsilio*, § 4 (*Op.* III. ii. 429; *P. G.* lii. 445).

[3] He had the case of Athanasius in mind, Palladius, *Vita*, § 9 (*Op.* xiii. 30 F; *P. G.* xlvii. 30); Socr. *H. E.* VI. xvi, § 10.

[4] Socr. *H. E.* VI. xvi; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xviii; Thdt. *H. E.* v. xxxiv, §§ 6, 7.

[5] *Sermo i post reditum* (*Op.* III. ii. 424 sq.; *P. G.* lii. 439 sq.).

[6] *Sermo ii post. red.* (*Op.* III. ii. 427–31; *P. G.* lii. 443–8).

[7] Palladius, *Vita*, § 9 (*Op.* xiii. 30 D; *P. G.* xlvii. 30).

[8] Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xix, § 8; but there is some doubt, as Chrysostom says he could get no redress, *Ep. ad Innocentium*, i, § 5, *ap.* Palladius, *Vita*, § 2 (*Op.* xiii. 7 E; *P. G.* xlvii. 10); Tillemont, *Mém.* xi. 214.

[9] Gibbon, c. xxviii (iii. 200).

[10] Palladius, *Vita*, § 9 (*Op.* xiii. 30 D; *P. L.* xlvii. 30).

[11] Socr. *H. E.* VI. xviii, § 1; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xx, § 1: D[ominae] N[ostrae] Ael[iae] Eudoxiae semper Augustae V[ir] C[larissimus] Simplicius Praef[ectus] Urb[is] dedicavit, *C. I. L.* III. i, No. 736.

preserved, with its dedicatory inscription, in a museum at Constantinople, and originally fronting St. Sophia. Its inauguration was celebrated with licentious dancing; for no doubt it was true of this display, as of other performances of dancers and mimes in those days, that, as Chrysostom elsewhere puts it, 'where there is dancing, there is the devil'.[1] At any rate, he could not tolerate such unseemly exhibitions within full view of his cathedral; and spoke his mind. It was reported to the Empress that he had preached, in a sermon: 'Again Herodias rages; again there is madness; again there is trouble; again she dances; again she demands, in a charger, the head of John.'[2] The sermon is spurious[3]; but probably Chrysostom, in his indignation, had allowed himself to say something of the sort in conversation. Whatever his words, they were carried to Eudoxia: and at once she was ready to assist any new designs against him. The signal thus given, Chrysostom's old enemies[4] appeared again in Constantinople, and sent word to Theophilus to ask his advice. Not venturing to set foot there again himself, he sent 'three miserable bishops—Paul, Poemen, and another but newly consecrated'; and by them he advised the archbishop's adversaries to take technical ground against him; for the Arians had done so, with great success, against Athanasius.[5] Like Athanasius, Chrysostom had been deposed by a synod; and, according to the fourth and the twelfth canon of the Dedication Council of Antioch, 341, he ought not to have resumed his see till reinstated in it by a spiritual decision of at least equal authority.[6] So the Synod which Chrysostom had long been demanding was at last to be held, by the Emperor's orders. It met at the end of 403; nor could any doubt be entertained of its decision being adverse to him, when at Christmas, Arcadius ominously refused to communicate, according to custom, in the Cathedral on the ground of the illegality of his position.[7] No sooner were the discussions opened, June 404, in the Emperor's presence, than the charges made at the Oak were ignored, which shows clearly what they were

[1] *In Matt. Hom.* xlviii, § 3 (*Op.* VII. i. 498 A; *P. G.* lvii. 491): see *Picture*, 192 sq.; Bingham, *Ant.* XVI. xi, § 15.
[2] Socr. *H. E.* VI. xviii, § 5; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xx, § 3.
[3] See it in *Op.* viii. 1–7 (*P. G.* lix. 485–90).
[4] Socr. *H. E.* VI. xviii, § 6.
[5] Palladius, *Vita*, § 9 (*Op.* xiii. 30; *P. G.* xlvii. 30); Socr. *H. E.* VI. xviii, § 11.
[6] Mansi, ii. 1309 B, 1313 B.
[7] Socr. *H. E.* VI. xviii, § 7.

worth,[1] and the technical point was put forward. Led by Elpidius, bishop of Laodicea in Syria *c.* 400, Chrysostom's friends succeeded in creating a diversion in his favour by asking whether the synod would commit itself to a Council which condemned Athanasius and to a canon repudiated at Sardica? 'Not to trouble your Majesty any further,' said Elpidius, 'let the bishops who produce these canons, profess in writing to believe as their authors believed.' 'An excellent suggestion,' replied[2] the bored Augustus: and rose to go. Reduced to confusion, the synod dragged on in impotence through Lent, until, as Easter was approaching, fresh representations were made on its behalf to the Emperor by Antiochus to the effect that Chrysostom now stood condemned, and must not be allowed to celebrate the feast in his church. The order was thereupon issued for his removal. It was Easter Even,[3] 16 April 404, and Chrysostom was conducting the Vigil, with its solemn rites of Baptism and Confirmation to culminate in Easter Communion. Some three thousand candidates for baptism were assembled (whether in the church[4]—St. Sophia or, perhaps, the Apostles—or in the baths of Constantine,[5] is not quite clear) when a body of soldiers attacked the congregation, spilt the sacred Symbols[6] in the hands of a Deacon, shed the blood of some Presbyters so that it poured into the fonts, and so terrified the women who were ready for baptism that they fled, naked and as they were, to save life and honour.[7] A succession of tyrannous measures followed against the adherents of Chrysostom, who now began to be known as 'Joannites'.[8]

(2) Though he was confined to his palace, his life was twice attempted[9]; and it was during the distress of this enforced seclusion between Easter and Whitsuntide, 404, that Chrysostom sought the aid[10] of Innocent I, now bishop of Rome, 402–†17.

[1] 'Frivolous and improbable,' Gibbon, c. xxxii (iii. 378).
[2] Palladius, *Vita*, § 9 (*Op.* xiii. 32; *P. G.* xlvii. 31 sq.).
[3] Ibid., § 9 (*Op.* xiii. 33 B; *P. G.* xlvii. 32).
[4] So Chrysostom, *Ad Innocentium*, i, § 3, *ap.* Palladius, *Vita*, § 2 (*Op.* xiii. 8 A; *P. G.* xlvii. 10 sq.).
[5] Palladius, *Vita*, § 9 (*Op.* xiii. 33 E; *P. G.* xlvii. 33).
[6] i. e. the oils: see *The Egyptian Church Order* or *Ap. Tradition* of Hippolytus [*c.* A. D. 225], *ap.* Duchesne, *Chr. Worship*[5], 534 (ed. 1919).
[7] Palladius, *Vita*, § 9 (*Op.* xiii. 34 C; *P. G.* xlvii. 33). For this custom see Duchesne, *Christian Worship*[5], 312, n. 2, and 533 sq. (from *The Egyptian Church Order* or *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus).
[8] Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xxi, § 4. [9] Ibid., § 5.
[10] For his letter see Palladius, *Vita*, § 2 (*Op.* xiii. 5–9; *P. G.* xlvii. 8–12), and Fleury, XXI. xlix.

Not that this request was an appeal in the later and technical sense : for letters were sent in identical terms, to Venerius, bishop of Milan 401–†8, and to Chromatius, bishop of Aquileia, 388–†407.[1] Chrysostom asks these three prelates to have no fellowship with the Synod of the Oak, and to assure him of their communion ; protesting, at the same time, his readiness to defend himself before an unbiassed tribunal. The letter was brought to the Pope, with two others, from the bishops in communion with Chrysostom and from his clergy, by four friendly bishops, Pansophius, Pappus, Demetrius, and Eugenius. But they found that envoys of Theophilus had been there before them ; only, the message which he had sent had been so curt as to defeat its object.[2] Innocent accordingly wrote both to Theophilus and to Chrysostom, saying that he retained his ecclesiastical relations with each, but requiring an impartial council to settle the dispute.[3] It is interesting to note this proposal of the Pope. The papal theory had already found formulation and some acceptance in the West. Innocent, with the Westerns, habitually took a high tone, and claimed to exercise an appellate jurisdiction [4] ; though in Africa, the claims of his see were not readily allowed. But in his support of Chrysostom, so far from regarding himself as giving judgement, he endeavoured to get the task undertaken by a Council. Innocent then had not, as yet, arrogated to himself an authority equal to that of a General Council over the whole Church. Nor had Chrysostom assigned it to him. It is true that, in some places, he uses very high language about the claims of St. Peter. Referring, for example, in the *De Sacerdotio*, to ' Feed my sheep ', he argues that the reason why our Lord shed his blood was to redeem ' the sheep whom He had entrusted to Peter and his successors '.[5] But the context [6] requires that ' his successors ' should mean not ' all subsequent Popes ' but ' all succeeding bishops ' : and so does the general tenor of Chrysostom's teaching.[7] Thus in the case before us, Chrysostom was not appealing to the Supreme Court of Christendom, but endeavouring to enlist the support

[1] *Ep. ad Inn.* i. *ad fin.*
[2] Palladius, *Vita*, § 1 (*Op.* xiii. 4 ; *P. G.* xlvii. 8).
[3] Ibid., § 3 (*Op.* xiii. 9 E, F ; *P. G.* xlvii. 12) ; Jaffé, No. 287.
[4] e. g. in his letter of 27 Jan. 417 to the Co. of Carthage, *Ep.* xxix, § 1 (*P. L.* xx. 583 A) ; Jaffé, No. 321.
[5] *De Sacerdotio*, ii, § 1 (*Op.* i. 372 B ; *P. G.* xlviii. 632).
[6] Ibid., § 2 (*Op.* i. 372 D ; *P. G.* xlviii. 633).
[7] F. W. Puller, *Primitive Saints* [3], 124.

and sympathy of its first bishop : for he wrote in exactly similar terms to other bishops only less distinguished. Yet to no avail.

(3) On the fifth day after Whitsunday, under dictation from the hostile bishops, Arcadius at last signed the edict of banishment, 9 June 404. Chrysostom received the order, 20 June, with calmness ; went into St. Sophia to take leave, as he said, of the Angel who had charge of it ; and began to say good-bye to his friends. He bade Olympias, 368–†416, with the deaconesses Pentadia, *c.* 400, and Procula, who met him in the baptistery, to continue their services to the church ; ' And if there be any other put in my place, with the consent of all and against his will, obey him as if he were John.' [1] Then, to elude the people, he passed out by the door opposite to the main entrance where his horse was waiting, and gave himself up to the guard. That night the Cathedral and the Senate-House opposite were destroyed by fire. The archbishop, meanwhile, had been landed in Bithynia, 20 June ; and he was detained for some days at Nicaea—' the last fair place he was to see on earth ' [2]—till Cucusus in Lesser Armenia, ' the most desolate spot on earth ', [3] was fixed upon by the Empress for the place of his exile.

(4) The exile lasted from 20 June 404 to his death on 14 September 407.

The journey to Cucusus [4] along the great road from Constantinople to Antioch occupied the late summer of 404. Chrysostom left Nicaea on 4 July to traverse the scorching plains of Galatia and Cappadocia under a midsummer sun.[5] He passed through Dorylaeum and Ancyra, where his troubles began with the hostility of the archbishop Leontius [6] ; thence, two hundred miles south-east to Caesarea in Cappadocia. It was an exhausting journey, but for his ' sunniness of mind ' [7], so clearly reflected in the letters written, chiefly to Olympias, on the way.[8] Thus he makes the most of the simple solaces of Caesarea—' a bath of some kind ' and ' a real

[1] Palladius, *Vita*, § 10 (*Op.* xiii. 36 c ; *P. G.* xlvii. 35). For Olympias see Tillemont, *Mém.* xi. 416–40 ; Fleury, xxi. xl ; Newman, *Hist. Sketches*, ii. 241. Pentadia was a widow, for whose protection Chrysostom asserted the right of sanctuary against Eutropius, Soz. *H. E.* viii. vii, §§ 2, 3 ; Chr. *Ep.* xciv (*Op.* iii. 644 ; *P. G.* lii. 658). [2] Newman, *Hist. Sketches*, ii. 247.

[3] Palladius, *Vita*, § 11 (*Op.* xiii. 37 e ; *P. G.* xlvii. 36).

[4] Tillemont, *Mém.* xi. 251–63 ; Fleury, xxi. xlii–xlv ; Newman, *Hist. Sk.* ii. 246–63 ; Stephens, c. xxi. [5] *Ep.* cxx (*Op.* iii. 661 ; *P. G.* lii. 674).

[6] *Ep.* xiv, § 1 (*Op.* iii. 596 ; *P. G.* lii. 613).

[7] Newman, *H. S.* ii. 237.

[8] *Epp.* viii, ix, xii, cxcix, cxx, xiii, xiv (*Op.* iii ; *P. G.* lii).

bed '.[1] The citizens of Caesarea received him with veneration ; but the archbishop Pharetrius, *c.* 400, proved unfriendly. He sent monks, who would look askance on Chrysostom as an Origenist, to attack his lodging[2] ; and then induced a wealthy lady named Seleucia, who had put him up at her country seat, to turn him out.[3] Beyond Caesarea, save for the fear of Isaurian freebooters,[4] we have no details of the journey till he arrived at Cucusus—the place where his predecessor, Paul, had died, *c.* 352—at the end of August 404. Here he was well received. A wealthy citizen, Dioscorus by name, lent him his house.[5] The bishop was no less kind.[6] For the winter, at least, he was at peace : among warm-hearted friends, and not more than a hundred and twenty miles away from his old home at Antioch.

Meanwhile the condition of the church at Constantinople in his absence was one of utter confusion.[7] Two bishops who had sided with him, Cyriacus of Synnada, *c.* 400, and Eulysius of Apamea, *c.* 403, on pretence of their being concerned in the fire, were arrested, [8] and afterwards banished [9] ; while Eutropius a reader and Tigrius a priest were put to the torture.[10] A week after Chrysostom's departure, one of his adversaries, Arsacius, the brother of Nectarius, and now over eighty, was put into his place as archbishop of Constantinople,[11] 28 June 404–†11 November 405. The ' Joannites ' would not recognize him, and a persecution followed, for which complicity in the fire was the pretext ; Olympias,[12] Nicarete,[13] Pentadia, and other devout women were the most conspicuous sufferers. Houses where ' foreign clergy ', taking part in the quarrel, had been sheltered, were, by *Quoniam personae*[14] of 29 August 404, to be confiscated ; and, by *Si quis servos*[15] of 11 September 404, masters and trade-guilds who suffered their dependents to be present at ' Joannite ' conventicles were

[1] *Ep.* cxx (*Op.* iii. 661 ; *P. G.* lii. 674).
[2] *Ep.* xiv, § 2 (*Op.* iii. 596 sq. ; *P. G.* lii. 613 sq.).
[3] Ibid., § 3 (*Op.* iii. 597 sq. ; *P. G.* lii. 615 sq.).
[4] *Ep.* xiii (*Op.* iii. 593 A ; *P. G.* lii. 610).
[5] Ibid. (*Op.* iii. 593 B ; *P. G.* lii. 611).
[6] Ibid. xiv, § 1 (*Op.* iii. 595 A ; *P. G.* ii. 612).
[7] Fleury, XXI. xxxviii–xli ; Newman, *H. S.* ii. 276.
[8] Palladius, *Vita*, § 11 (*Op.* xiii. 37 E ; *P. G.* xlvii. 35).
[9] Ib., § 20 (*Op.* xiii. 77 A ; *P. G.* xlvii. 71).
[10] Ib., § 20 (*Op.* xiii. 78 C ; *P. G.* xlvii. 72) ; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xxiv, §§ 8,9.
[11] P. *Vita*, § 11 (*Op.* xiii. 37 F ; *P. G.* xlvii. 36) ; Socr. *H. E.* VI. xix, § 1 ; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xxiii, § 1.
[12] Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xxiv, §§ 4–7.
[13] Ibid. xxiii, §§ 4–8.
[14] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. ii. 37.
[15] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. iv. 5.

to be heavily fined. The enemies of John were thus secure of the capital, when the death of Flavian, 26 September 404, gave them the opportunity to make themselves masters of Antioch also. The Empress Eudoxia died[1] 6 October; but her death made no change in the situation. They still had Arcadius in hand, and were ready with a strong anti-Joannite candidate for the see of Antioch, by name Porphyrius. Palladius gives him an infamous character[2]; but Theodoret, a more independent and, in Antiochene affairs, a better-informed authority, alludes only to his munificence.[3] Porphyrius then became archbishop of Antioch,[4] 404–†13; and the party thus controlled three out of the four great sees in Christendom. On 18 November 404, by *Rectores provinciarum*,[5] Arcadius addressed an order to the Prefect of the East to the effect that all who would not communicate with Arsacius, Theophilus, and Porphyrius were to be treated as schismatics; while recalcitrant bishops were to be visited with deprivation and confiscation. Within a year of this Rescript Arsacius died, and was succeeded by Atticus,[6] 406–†26, the prime mover, as it was said, in all the plots against Chrysostom.[7] Some communicated with him out of policy; but numbers defied the fresh edicts[8] which he procured, and preferred loss and exile.

Men might have thought themselves back in the days of Valens; and, as then by Basil, so now, on behalf of Chrysostom, urgent appeal was made for the intervention of the Pope and the West. Early in 405 bishops ejected from their sees began to arrive in Rome[9]; Cyriacus, bishop of Synnada, first; Eulysius, bishop of Apamea, on behalf of fifteen bishops of 'John's synod' and of Anysius, bishop of Thessalonica 383–†410, the papal Vicar in Eastern Illyricum; Palladius of Helenopolis, Chrysostom's biographer; Germanus, a presbyter, and his friend the famous John Cassian, 360–†435, a deacon of the church of Constantinople; Demetrius of Pessinus, proxy for others who 'deplored the consecration of Porphyrius'; Domitian, a presbyter and Church

[1] Socr. *H. E.* VI. xix, § 6; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xxvii, § 1.
[2] Palladius, *Vita*, § 16 (*Op.* xiii. 56 sq.; *P. G.* xlvii. 53 sq.); Fleury, XXI. xlvii.
[3] Thdt. *H. E.* V. xxxv, § 2.
[4] Socr. *H. E.* VII. ix; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xxiv, § 11.
[5] *Cod. Theod.* XVI. iv. 6; Soz. *H. E.* IV. xxiv, § 12; Palladius, *Vita*, § 3 (*Op.* xiii. 11 B; *P. G.* xlvii. 13).
[6] Socr. *H. E.* VI. xx; Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xxvii, §§ 3–7. Both speak well of him.
[7] Palladius, *Vita*, § 11 (*Op.* xiii. 38 B; *P. G.* xlvii. 37).
[8] Ibid., § 11 (*Op.* xiii. 38 C, D; *P. G.* xlvii. 37).
[9] Ibid., § 3 (*Op.* xiii. 11; *P. G.* xlvii. 13).

Steward of Constantinople; and, perhaps most interesting of all to the Romans, Vallagas a presbyter of Nisibis, with news of 'the afflictions of the monasteries in Mesopotamia'. The two last brought with them the minutes of the court of Optatus, the Prefect of Constantinople, from which it appeared that ladies of rank and deaconesses there had been compelled, under fines and indignities, to communicate with Arsacius. Innocent 'could endure it no longer'.[1] He wrote at once to Chrysostom, exhorting him to patience.[2] In the same strain he wrote to the faithful at Constantinople,[3] declaring against the Antiochene canons. None but those of Nicaea were binding on Catholics; and, in any case, these had been condemned at Sardica. The remedy was an Oecumenical Council, and he was considering the best way to procure it. At last, he managed, with the aid of a synod of bishops in Italy, to induce Honorius to 'write to his brother to order a General Council to be held at Thessalonica'.[4] This the Western Emperor did thrice, 405–6; adding the further demand that Theophilus be required to attend 'as the prime cause of all the mischief'[5]; a request that Innocent, meanwhile, had conveyed, 404, to that unworthy colleague of his, in a sharp letter of his own.[6] Five bishops, headed by Aemilius of Beneventum, 404–†15, and the more famous Gaudentius of Brescia, 387–†410, took the letter of Honorius to the East. They were accompanied by Palladius and three other refugee bishops; and they also bore letters from Innocent, Venerius, Chromatius, and others, in which they insist that the decisions against Chrysostom are to be ignored, with a view to an inquiry *de novo*. But this was not at all to the mind either of Atticus or of the Eastern Court. Atticus, finding himself repudiated by the Joannites, procured a new edict, similar to that obtained by Arsacius, against them; and, when the Western delegates were nearing Athens, they were arrested, carried off to a Thracian fortress and ultimately sent back without

[1] Palladius, *Vita*, § 3 (*Op.* xiii. 12; *P. G.* xlvii. 14).
[2] Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xxvi, §§ 1–6; Innocent, *Ep.* xi (*P. L.* xx. 513); Jaffé, No. 298.
[3] Soz. *H. E.* VIII. xxvi, §§ 7–19; Innocent, *Ep.* vii (*P. L.* xx. 501–7); Jaffé, No. 294.
[4] Palladius, *Vita*, § 3 (*Op.* xiii. 12 B; *P. G.* xlvii. 14).
[5] Ibid., § 3 (*Op.* xiii. 12 F; *P. G.* xlvii. 14). Honorius wrote thrice: his first letter is lost; the second and third = Innocent, *Epp.* viii, ix (*P. L.* xx. 507–11).
[6] Palladius, *Vita*, § 3 (*Op.* xiii. 10; *P. G.* xlvii. 12); Innocent, *Ep.* v (*P. L.* xx. 493); Jaffé, No. 288.

a hearing.[1] The truth was that the Court of Arcadius was in no mood just then to listen to overtures from Ravenna. For Alaric, after his defeat at Pollentia, 29 March 403, had made terms with his conqueror, Stilicho, who wanted to get Eastern Illyricum, i.e. all the Balkan peninsula save Moesia and Thrace, back for the West; and together they were preparing to march on Constantinople.[2] So after four months the Western deputies were fain to return: glad enough to get home safe, though they had effected nothing. The one point of permanent interest about the episode is that the word of the Pope was not in the least held to be decisive in matters respecting the East; and even the party in the East, which sought his aid, applied to him not as to a supreme judge but as to a powerful friend, whose support they solicited precisely as they solicited the support of other Western prelates, only less powerful, Venerius of Milan and Chromatius of Aquileia.

Chrysostom remained at Cucusus, with a brief but painful interval, till the summer of 407. When he arrived, in the autumn of 404, his enemies seem to have hoped that the winter would finish him up. But he managed to survive; and, in fact, to be very busy with correspondence during 405.[3] His letters reveal, among other things, his deep interest in the mission-stations that he was enabled to establish among the Goths[4] of Cilicia and in Phoenicia.[5] In the winter of that year, the news that the raids of Isaurian marauders had begun forced him to flee from Cucusus; and, after spending January 406 amid snow, forests, and rapine,[6] he reached Arabissus some sixty miles off. It was 'more of a prison than a home'; but, being a fortress, it was, at least, secure.[7] Here he passed some months of misery. In the autumn he wrote his second letter to Pope Innocent,[8] who had acted so nobly in the whole affair of the persecution. Then he set to work on two religious treatises, whose purpose is clearly reflected in their titles: *Quod nemo laeditur nisi a seipso*[9] and *Ad eos qui scandalizati sunt ob adversitates quae contigerunt.*[10] Early in 407

[1] Palladius, *Vita*, § 4 (*Op.* xiii. 13; *P. G.* xlvii. 15 sq.).
[2] Hodgkin, I. ii. 745 sq.
[3] e. g. *Ep.* vi (*Op.* iii. 579–83; *P. G.* lii. 598–601); Fleury, XXII. ii; Newman, *Hist. Sk.* ii. 292 sq.; W. Bright, *Lessons*, 93 sqq.
[4] e. g. *Epp.* ccvi, ccvii (*Op.* iii. 715 sq.; *P. G.* lii. 725 sq.); Fleury, XXII. i.
[5] e. g. *Epp.* ccxxi, cxxvi, liv, lv, cxxiii; Fleury, XXII. i.
[6] *Ep.* cxxvii (*Op.* iii. 673; *P. G.* lii. 687); Fleury, XXII. ii.
[7] *Ep.* lxix (*Op.* iii. 631; *P. G.* lii. 646); Fleury, XXII. ii.
[8] *Op.* iii. 521 sq. (*P. G.* lii. 535); Fleury, XXII. xii.
[9] Ibid. 444–64 (*P. G.* lii. 459–80). [10] Ibid. 464–514 (*P. G.* lii. 479–528.

he was again in weak health, and suffering from the hardships of winter; but hopeful, and even sanguine of his recall.[1] But this was not to be. He was too influential at Cucusus; for not only did he maintain relations there with his flock in the capital but he was in closer union with his friends at Antioch. His persecutors could not tolerate, says Palladius, 'the sight of the entire Antiochene community going in pilgrimage towards Armenia, whence in turn resounded through the church of Antioch the sweet philosophy of John.'[2] With an uneasy conscience, therefore, they procured his banishment to Pityus, a desolate place on the north-east shore of the Euxine, some four hundred miles from Cucusus. But Chrysostom never got there; for it seems that his guards who, in the summer of 407, conducted him on the journey, were given to understand that promotion awaited them if he did not. They reached Comana in Pontus, and halted for the night at the wayside chapel of St. Basiliscus, who had suffered martyrdom at Nicomedia, along with Lucian of Antioch, in the persecution of Maximin. Next morning they hurried him on three miles further; but he was so exhausted that they had to return to the chapel. Then he put on clean white garments, made his last Communion, and said his usual thankgiving, 'Glory be to God for all things. Amen.' So saying, he stretched out his feet and tranquilly expired, 14 September 407.

There is a striking contrast between these last joyous words of Chrysostom and the bitter farewell of Gregory VII, 1073–†85, 'I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, and therefore I die in exile'.[3] But none could better express the lesson of his episcopate—'the moral power of a purely unworldly life. . . . Few indeed among the crowds which attended his funeral,[4] or which went forth to meet his remains when brought back, thirty years later, to Constantinople,[5] 27 January 438, could have anticipated that a name which had been so determinedly cast out as evil, would so indefeasibly inherit the earth.'[6] Certainly, Chrysostom had his faults. He could not make allowances, and

[1] *Ep.* iv, § 4 (*Op.* iii. 575; *P. G.* lii. 594); Fleury, XXII. xii.
[2] Palladius, *Vita*, § 11 (*Op.* xiii. 39 B; *P. G.* xlvii. 37); for this last journey, ibid (*Op.* xiii. 39 sq.; *P. G.* xlvii, 37 sq.); and Socr. *H. E.* VI. xxi, § 3.
[3] Milman, *Latin Chr.*[3] iv. 138.
[4] Palladius, *Vita*, § 11 (*Op.* xiii. 40 D; *P. G.* lii. 39).
[5] Socr. *H. E.* VII. xlv; Thdt. *H. E.* v. xxxvi; Fleury, XXVI. xl.
[6] W. Bright, *Lessons*, 107 sq.

he could not bridle his tongue. But 'it was well to be so hated, if he was so beloved'.[1] In one thing, at any rate, he soars above his contemporaries and contrasts specially with his arch-enemy, Theophilus, that he was wholly unharmed either by the secularizing influence of a great see or by the demoralizing effect of intercourse with the Imperial Court. Chrysostom perished in a persecution that 'arose not out of differences of doctrine' but out of 'a struggle for power between the temporal and [the] ecclesiastical supremacy.' His sorrows were due to the patronage of the State over the Church. The moral triumph was his by the testimony of all succeeding ages; but the material victory rested with the State. Byzantinism set in with his death in exile, and with it 'the degradation of the episcopal authority in Constantinople, from which it never rose'.[2] Eudoxia, who was largely responsible for the persecution of Chrysostom, died before him; and Arcadius, whose feebleness had led him into tyranny, followed his Empress to the grave, 1 May 408.[3]

[1] Newman, *Hist. Sk.* ii. 237.
[2] H. H. Milman, *Hist. Chr.* iii. 148.
[3] Socr. *H. E.* vi. xxiii; Soz. *H. E.* ix. i. 1.

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